

**NICHOLAS OF MODRUŠ, 'THE GLORY OF ILLYRIA':  
HUMANIST PATRIOTISM AND SELF-FASHIONING IN  
RENAISSANCE ROME**

Doctoral Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the  
Department of Medieval Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Central European University  
Budapest, June 2013

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| AHAZU | Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb   |
| AGA   | Augustinian General Archives, Rome   |
| ASF   | Archivio di Stato, Florence  |
| ASS   | Archivio di Stato, Perugia; Sezione di Archivio di Stato di Spoleto  |
| ASV   | Archivio Segreto Vaticano  |
| ASVe  | Archivio di Stato, Venice  |
| BA    | Biblioteca Angelica, Rome  |
| BAK   | Biskupski Arhiv, Kotor   |
| BANLC | Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome  |
| BAP   | Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia  |
| BAV   | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana   |
| BC    | Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome   |
| BL    | British Library, London  |
| BMC   | Biblioteca Malatestiana, Cesena  |
| BNCF  | Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence  |
| BNF   | Bibliothèque National du France, Paris   |
| BNN   | Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples   |
| Bodl. | Bodleian Library, Oxford   |
| DAD   | Državni arhiv, Dubrovnik   |
| HDA   | Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb   |
| MTAK  | Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest   |
| ÖNB   | Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna   |
| Ricc. | Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence   |
| DBG   | <i>Nicolai Episcopi Modrussiensis De bellis Gothorum</i> . Appendix 4.   |
| DBI   | <i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> , 76 vols. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–. (Available online at <a href="http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia">www.treccani.it/enciclopedia</a> ; last accessed March 6 2013.) |

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of the last five years that I worked on my dissertation I took so many train rides from Zagreb to Budapest and back that it was only fitting to use my final student visit to Hungary to reminisce and acknowledge those who were instrumental in the progress of my work. First and foremost, CEU's Department of Medieval Studies represented a home away from home and I cannot thank enough its faculty for the support I have enjoyed over the years. In particular, I would like to thank Gábor Klaniczay, Tijana Krstić, Volker Menze, Katalin Szende, and Anna Somfai, who have all contributed to the development of my intellectual interests or have helped me in one way or the other. Yet I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to my supervisor Niels Gaul, the inspirational discussions with whom were no less instrumental in the shaping of this dissertation than were his friendship and unrelenting support.

I also thank other institutions to which I was attached in the past years or which financially supported my research, the Harvard University, Warburg Institute, Renaissance Society of America, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Picensi and the International Visegrad Fund.

I owe gratitude to James Hankins for the giving me the opportunity to work with him, his continuing interest and support for my work, and his suggestions that have much contributed to its quality. I would also like to thank Neven Jovanović, who was involved with my project since its inception and who always found the time for discussions ever since my time as an undergraduate. There are also other people on whose help and insight I drew much in the past years and I would specifically like to thank Stefano Baldassarri, Neven Budak, Antonella Ghignoli, Borislav Grgin, Dolores Grmača, Marco Guardo, Timothy Janz, Craig Kallendorf, Jill Krayer, Bratislav Lučin, Darko Novaković, Michael D. Reeve, and David Rundle.

I am grateful to my friends and fellow colleagues from CEU that made the time I spent in Budapest unforgettable: Ivana Dobcheva, Mircea Dulus, Seda Erkoc, Dora Ivanišević, Lovro

Kunčević, Divna Manolova, Mihail Mitrea, Mihai Olaru, Noel Putnik, Trpimir Vedriš, Marijana Vuković. I am grateful for the help of Dejan Zadro and particularly Peter Sposato, who sent me articles and books throughout the research period, especially when I withdrew back home, off the grid as it were, to finish up my dissertation.

My family and friends from home remained the stable point throughout this period of my life. Tomislav Car, Tomislav Grgurić, Maja Spudić, and Kristina and Saša Škrgić, among others have long listened to my trials and tribulations, and were often there to help with the numerous technical aspects of the dissertation.

I thank my parents, Petar and Vlasta, and my brother Matej for their love and support during the years of my academic odyssey.

Finally, I am grateful to Ana for her love, patience, and understanding, which pushed me across the finish line.

*June 8 2013, Zagreb–Budapest Train Ride*

*I ošće vas molim, gospodo redovnici i žakni, da se spomenete na  
pritču ovu da je knjigam teško priti, i gdo knjige počtuje da je  
knjigami počtovan.*

*And above all, allow me to remind you, gentlemen of the clergy  
and deacons, that it is hard to get books, and the one who does  
respect the books is respected by the books in return.*

The Kolunić Miscellany, 1486

## INTRODUCTION

In December of 1486, in what is today counted among the most memorable episodes of Renaissance intellectual history, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, the twenty-three-year-old prodigy philosopher, arrived at Rome in order to publish his *900 Theses* on religion, philosophy, physics and magic, and debate publicly any scholar who wished to challenge them. The pope, Innocent VIII (r. 1484–1492), however, soon halted the proposed debate, set up a commission that was supposed to examine the orthodoxy of Pico’s work, and forced the young count to prepare his defense. In the midst of his preparations, on March 13 the following year, Pico visited the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria del Popolo in order to consult the monastic library which, thanks to the various bequests during the pontificate of Innocent’s predecessor Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484), by this time boasted a well stocked collection of some 540 volumes containing around 600 works.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not he regularly visited this library as part of his preparatory routine we cannot tell, but we do know from the register of loans that on this day he borrowed from it a manuscript containing Gerard of Siena’s commentary on the first book of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*.<sup>2</sup> As Pico retired to the privacy of his *studiolo*, the incipit page that opened before him had a text in Gothic script divided into two columns with framing floral decorations extending across all four margins with *bas-de-page* sporting a coat of arms consisting of the fox *rampant* on a red background topped by a miter – a silent sign indicating that the manuscript once belonged to a bishop (see App. 9, pl. 1). It is unlikely that Pico would have started his reading here. Few of such theological manuals were read from cover to cover, and indeed, given the circumstances, Pico was certainly more likely to be in a pressing need of arguments that would support the most heterodox of his theses than he was interested in assessing the full specter of Gerard of

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Esposito, ‘Centri di aggregazione: La biblioteca agostiniana di S. Maria del Popolo,’ in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471–1484)*, ed. Massimo Miglio, et alii, 569–597 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1986), 584.

<sup>2</sup> App. 1, doc. 74: *Die XIII martii 1487. Dominus comes de la Mirandola habuit primum librum Gerardi de Senis heremitarum.*



Siena's theology. In order to orient himself in the text and more easily find the topics he was interested in, Pico would have first looked for the table of contents, a standard paratextual addition to such theological commentaries. Here he would have found one on fol. 280r, and as he would spread the codex in front of him, on the facing page, fol. 279v, he would have noticed the colophon that read:

*Thus finishes the lectura of the first book of the Sentences, edited by brother Gerard of Siena, bachelor of Sacred Scripture from the Order of Hermits. Copied by Hugo Leck of Holland, of the Utrecht diocese, at the request of the venerable lord Nicholas, bishop of Modruš and governor of the city of Ascoli, in the year of the Lord 1469, on the eighteenth day of the month of October, the feast day of St Luke.*<sup>3</sup>

If he did not recognize the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš appearing at the incipit page, the bishop's name would hardly have struck Pico as unfamiliar. Indeed, nearly half of the collection of Santa Maria del Popolo at the time consisted of books that once formed a part of the bishop's library, a good number of which still bore colophons and coats of arms that recorded his ownership. The young count might have encountered, if not read, the bishop's *Oratio in funere Reuerendissimi domini domini Petri cardinalis S. Sixti (Oration at the Funeral of Pietro Cardinal of St Sixtus)*, which, with seven print runs by 1487, was one of the most frequently printed funeral orations of the fifteenth century, widely available with booksellers across Italy and Germany.<sup>4</sup> He might even have heard the bishop's name uttered in the streets of Florence or directly from the humanist Angelo Poliziano when in 1479 in the midst of her war with pope Sixtus he visited the city, where not a year before Nicholas of Modruš had been sent as the papal legate to deliver cardinal Raffaele Riario from his imprisonment ensuing after the Pazzi conspiracy. In any case he certainly had a chance to notice the bishop's tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo, as he passed through the corridor that led from the convent through to the sacristy, where the following epitaph stood:

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<sup>3</sup> BA, Ang. lat. 551, fol. 279v: *Explicit lectura primi libri sententiarum edita a fratre Gerardo de Senis sacre pagine baccalario ordinis fratrum hermitarum sancti augustini. Scriptum per me Hugonem Leck de hollandia traiectensis diocesis Ad instantiam Reuerendissimi domini Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis Ciuitatis Asculique Gubernatoris Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxix, Decima octaua die mensis octobris In die sancti Luce etc.* Esposito, 'La biblioteca agostiniana,' 593, drew the attention to the fact that it was Modruš's manuscript that was consulted by Pico. See App. 8b, no. 32 for the description of the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 25.

*To the best and greatest God.  
Renowned Nicholas, from whom no knowledge was hidden,  
No ability of speech – how small an urn covers him now.  
He is the one who earned indisputable praises after you Jerome,  
He is the other honor and hope to you Illyrian land.  
Did the bishop die, oh sinister Fate, or does he live on? On he lives!  
The small Modruš does not fear you will take its glory away!<sup>5</sup>*

Though by the time Pico visited the Augustinian library seven years passed since the bishop died, the name of Nicholas of Modruš, the ‘Glory of Illyria,’ was still alive in the Roman intellectual circles, preserved in the memories of his contemporaries and still extant testaments to his life. Yet while the books that once formed part of his library, as testified by later-date marginal notes, continued to play a role in the intellectual circles of Renaissance Rome, his name and his authorial works, just as the whole body of classicizing humanist literature, gradually faded into oblivion.

It was the Italian Carmelite Evasio Leone (1765–1847) that seems to have been the first person in centuries to carry out systematic research on the life and works of Nicholas of Modruš whilst preparing his edition of the bishop’s treatise *De consolatione* (*On Consolation*).<sup>6</sup> Leone’s plans eventually came to no fruition, but we do know about them thanks to the study of Leone’s correspondence by Carlo Frati, who in turn added his own research on Nicholas’ life, works, and library,<sup>7</sup> even though earlier, unbeknownst to him, a Hungarian scholar Vilmos Fraknoi reached many of the same conclusions.<sup>8</sup> Among the pioneers was also Nikola Žic, a Croatian scholar who in the 1930s published a series of articles on Nicholas and his library, though mostly relying on Frati’s work.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it was the

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<sup>5</sup> App. 1, doc. 68.

<sup>6</sup> For his life, see Andrea Merlotti, ‘Leone, Evasio,’ in *DBI*, vol. 64 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/evasio-leone\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/evasio-leone_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013). The manuscript of *De consolatione* which Leone copied in his own hand and prepared for print is now located in Casale Montferrato, Seminario Vescovile, under the shelf mark I.A.8.

<sup>7</sup> Carlo Frati, ‘Evasio Leone e le sue ricerche intorno a Niccolò vescovo Modrussiese,’ *La bibliofilia* 18 (1916/17): 1–35, 81–98; Carlo Frati, ‘Ancora a proposito di Niccolò vescovo Modrussiese,’ *La bibliofilia* 18 (1916/17): 183–185.

<sup>8</sup> Vilmos Fraknoi, ‘Miklós Modrusi püspök élete, munkái és könyvtára’ [The life, works and library of Nicholas bishop of Modruš], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 5 (1897): 1–23.

<sup>9</sup> The most important are Nikola Žic, ‘Najstarija incunabula hrvatskog autora’ [The oldest incunable of a Croatian author], *Nastavni vjesnik* 41 (1932/33): 1–7; Nikola Žic, ‘Kodeksi modruškog biskupa Nikole’ [Codices of Nicholas bishop of Modruš], *Nastavni vjesnik* 41 (1932/33): 141–149; Nikola Žic, ‘Knjižnica modruškog biskupa Nikole’ [The library of Nicholas bishop of Modruš], *Nastavni vjesnik* 41 (1932/33): 336–347; Nikola Žic, ‘Grob znamenitog Hrvata’ [The grave of an eminent Croat], *Nastavni vjesnik* 42 (1933/34): 331–333. See also his later contribution: Nikola Žic, ‘Glagoljsko pismo Nikole Modruškog’ [Glagolitic letter of Nicholas of Modruš], *Slovo* 1 (1952): 33–35.

seminal article of Giovanni Mercati – bringing to light ample amount of documentary sources and passages from his works – that would until today remain the standard reference material to Modruš's life and works.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, apart from *De consolatione* and *Oratio in funere* that were already mentioned, other works of his were identified by this time: *Dialogus de mortalium felicitate* (*Dialogue on the Happiness of the Mortals*), *De humilitate* (*On Humility*), *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum* (*On the Titles and Authors of the Psalms*), *De bellis Gothorum* (*On the Wars of the Goths*), and *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* (*Defense of Ecclesiastical Liberty*). Finally in 1988, a Croatian historian Miroslav Kurelac drew attention to *Navicula Petri* (*Peter's Barge*), establishing finally the number of Nicholas' preserved authorial works at eight.<sup>11</sup> Though in the process Kurelac also argued, as had Serafin Hrkać before him,<sup>12</sup> that Nicholas was the author of the now supposedly lost *Oratio de Constantinopolis expugnatione* (*Oration on the Fall of Constantinople*), my own research has shown that the work they referred to was in fact one by a Greek émigré scholar, Niccolò Sagundino.<sup>13</sup>

Even though much was known about the chronology of Nicholas' life and works by then, all of these works – with the exception of a few excerpts included in Mercati's article and the bishop's famous *Letter to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy* in the collection of Glagolitic

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<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Mercati, 'Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrussiese,' in *Opere minori*, vol. 4, 205–267 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937).

<sup>11</sup> Miroslav Kurelac, 'Nikola Modruški: Životni put i djelo 1427–1480' [Nicholas of Modruš: The life path and work], in *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku* [The bishopric of Krbava in the Middle Ages], ed. Mile Bogović (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), 123–142.

<sup>12</sup> Serafin Hrkać, 'Nikola Modruški' [Nicholas of Modruš], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 2 (1976): 145–156.

<sup>13</sup> Hrkać and Kurelac have both referred to the research of a nineteenth-century Croatian historian Franjo Rački who amongst the manuscripts located in the Barberini library that were of interest for the 'South Slavic history' noted the *Oratio Nicolai Sagudini, eppi modrussiensis de Constantinopolis expugnatione. 1415. p. 125*. The problem, however, was that both Hrkać and Kurelac mistakenly interpreted 1415 as the erroneously given year of the fall of Constantinople and concluded that the manuscript had been lost. However, Rački's 1415 represented a shelf mark, following a system that was already by his own time out of use. Moreover, whether by Rački's own error or that of the printer, it was also the wrong number. The manuscript in question was located under the number 1418 and would later, when the Barberini collection entered in the Vaticana in 1902, be cataloged as Cod. VIII.43 while today it can be found under the shelf mark Barb. lat. 43. The work referred to by Rački, *Oratio de Constantinopolis expugnatione*, is indeed located on the fols. 125r–131r of the manuscript, but it is a work by Niccolò Sagundino, an author who, as it can be gathered from this example and the flyleaves of Corsin. 127, in Baroque Rome came to be identified with Nicholas of Modruš. However, while here it was Sagundino's work that was attributed to this amalgam 'Nicolaus Sagundinus Episcopus Modrussiensis,' in the case of the Corsiniana manuscript this happened to the works of Modruš. See Hrkać, 'Nikola Modruški,' 154; Kurelac, 'Nikola Modruški,' 139; and Franjo Rački, 'Rukopisi tičući se južno-slovenske povjesti u arhivih srednje i dolnje Italije' [Manuscripts concerning South Slavic history in the archives of central and southern Italy], *Rad JAZU* 18 (1872): 205–258, at p. 257. For the description of Barb. lat. 43, see Sesto Prete, *Codices Barberiniani Latini*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: In Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1968), 67–75.

sources published by a nineteenth-century Croatian polyhistor Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski<sup>14</sup> – still remained unpublished. The situation began to change in 1971 when Serafin Hrkać published a critical edition, and soon a Croatian translation, of *De mortalium felicitate*,<sup>15</sup> to which in 2006 he added the edition of *Navicula Petri*.<sup>16</sup> However, while the edition of the former was eventually superseded by that of Fernando Lepori,<sup>17</sup> that of *Navicula Petri* has been recently supplanted with my own edition of the work accompanied by a Croatian translation.<sup>18</sup> Two other works of Nicholas received critical editions. Most importantly, in 2002 the study of Modruš's oeuvre was facilitated by Neven Jovanović's critical edition of one of the bishop's most extensive and ambitious achievements, *On Consolation*,<sup>19</sup> to which the same scholar also added the edition of *Oratio in funere*.<sup>20</sup> In addition to philological work, however, valuable historiographical research ensued. Borislav Grgin analyzed Nicholas' banishment from the court of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus,<sup>21</sup> Mislav Elvis Lukšić scrutinized the episode when Nicholas was abducted by Charles Kurjaković count of Krbava,<sup>22</sup> Jadranka Neralić uncovered a number of new documents in the Vatican archives

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<sup>14</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed., *Acta Croatica*, vol. 1, (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarnica dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1863), 107–108; for the Latin transcription of the letter, see Stjepan Damjanović, *Slovo iskona: Staroslavenska / Starohrvatska čitanka* [The letter of beginning: Old Church Slavic / Old Croatian reader] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002), 237–239 (App. 2, lett. 16).

<sup>15</sup> Nicolaus Modrusiensis, 'De mortalium felicitate dialogus,' ed. Serafin Hrkać, *Dobri pastir* 25 (1971): 141–200; Nikola Modruški, 'O sreći smrtnika' [On the happiness of mortals], trans. Serafin Hrkać, *Nova et vetera* 35 (1985): 43–69.

<sup>16</sup> Nicolaus Modrussiensis, 'Navicula Petri,' ed. Serafin Hrkać, *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 63–64 (2006): 221–237.

<sup>17</sup> Fernando Lepori, 'Ragione naturale e rivelazione in una disputa alla Scuola di Rialto: Il 'De mortalium foelicitate' di Nicolò Modrussiese,' *Medioevo: Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale* 13 (1987): 223–296.

<sup>18</sup> Nikola Modruški, 'Petrova ladica' [Peter's barge], ed. and trans. Luka Špoljarić, in *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* [Sources for the history of Croatian literature], vol. 38, ed. Dunja Fališevac (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, forthcoming).

<sup>19</sup> Nicolaus Modrussiensis, 'De consolatione liber,' ed. Neven Jovanović, in *Hrvatska književna baština* [Croatian literary heritage], vol. 1, ed. Dunja Fališevac, et alii, 55–251 (Zagreb: Ex libris, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> *Oratio in funere* is currently only available in electronic form via *Croatiae Auctores Latini (CroALa)*, the online database of Latin texts composed by Croatian authors (<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/>); see Nicolaus Modrussiensis, 'Oratio in funere Petri Riarii, versio electronica,' ed. Neven Jovanović (available at <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.61:1.croala>); last accessed March 6 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Borislav Grgin, 'Biskup Nikola Modruški – papinski poslanik na dvoru ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Matijaša Korvina' [Bishop Nicholas of Modruš – Papal legate at the court of Hungarian-Croatian king Matthias Corvinus], in *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija* [Croatian medieval diplomacy], ed. Mladen Andrić and Mirko Valentić, 215–223 (Zagreb: Diplomatska akademija Ministarstva vanjskih poslova Republike Hrvatske, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Mislav Elvis Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga kod Krbavskih knezova g. 1462.' [The imprisonment of Nicholas of Modruš by the counts of Krbava in 1462], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 42 (2000): 105–171.

concerning the bishop's career,<sup>23</sup> while Gracija Brajković pointed to the records of the Kotor commune that noted the bishop's visit to his hometown.<sup>24</sup> When it comes to the bishop's works, however, only two works received some attention. *De mortalium felicitate* was analyzed by Fernando Lepori,<sup>25</sup> as well as two Croatian scholars, Ljerka Schiffler,<sup>26</sup> and Erna Banić-Pajnić.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, *De consolatione* was discussed by George McClure in context of other humanist consolatory works,<sup>28</sup> while Neven Jovanović compared some of its rhetorical features to that of *Evangelistarium*, a work by another Dalmatian humanist, Marko Marulić of Split.<sup>29</sup> Last but not least, the codicological and palaeographical studies should be mentioned: Mladen Bošnjak's discussion of the incunable editions of Nicholas' *Oratio*,<sup>30</sup> Paolo Cherubini's work on the bishop's manuscripts that were produced by Giovanni da Itri,<sup>31</sup> and Antonio Rollo's on those produced by the Greek scribe Andronico Callisto,<sup>32</sup> as well as, finally, my own recent contribution concerning the manuscript section of Nicholas' library.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Jadranka Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480): Bishop, Man of Letters and Victim of Circumstances,' *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 20/2 (2003): 15–23.

<sup>24</sup> Gracija Brajković, 'Pokloni Ivanu Crnojeviću, Nikoli Modruškom, Vlatku Kosači i drugi rashodi i prihodi Blagajne kotorske komune 1470–1473' [The gifts to John Crnojević, Nicholas of Modruš and Vlatko Kosača, and other expenses and income of the treasury of the Kotor commune 1470–1473], *Godišnjak pomorskog muzeja u Kotoru* 50 (2002): 97–113. The documents were published again by Đuro Tošić [Ђуро Тошић], 'Изводи из благајничке књиге которске општине у XV вијеку' [Excerpts from the treasury records of the Kotor commune in XV century], *Miscellanea* 22 (2004): 129–140.

<sup>25</sup> Fernando Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto dalla fondazione alla metà del cinquecento,' in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 539–605 (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), at pp. 559–570.

<sup>26</sup> Ljerka Schiffler, 'Filozofski Dijalog o sreći smrtnika Nikole Modruškog' [Philosophical Dialogue on the happiness of the mortals by Nicholas of Modruš], in *Humanizam bez granica: Hrvatska filozofija u europskom obzoru* [Humanism with no boundaries: Croatian philosophy within the European horizon], ed. Ljerka Schiffler, 95–105 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo, 1992).

<sup>27</sup> Erna Banić-Pajnić, 'Modruški o ljudskoj sreći kao sreći smrtnika' [Modruš on human happiness as happiness of the mortals], in *Magnum miraculum: Homo*, ed. Erna Banić-Pajnić, et alii, 79–98 (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> George McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 120–131.

<sup>29</sup> Neven Jovanović, 'Čitanje Modruškog Marulićem: *De consolatione* i *Evangelistarium*' [Reading Nicholas of Modruš through Marulić: *De consolatione* and *Evangelistarium*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 8 (1999): 137–168.

<sup>30</sup> Mladen Bošnjak, 'Dvije značajne hrvatske knjižice' [Two important Croatian books], in *Hrvatska revija: Jubilarni zbornik 1951–1975* [Croatian review: The jubilee edition 1951–1975], ed. Vinko Nikolić, 590–598 (Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije, 1976).

<sup>31</sup> Paolo Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri: Armigero, fisico e copista,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, vol. 1, ed. Concetta Bianca, et alii (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1980), 33–63, with plates 1–5 on pp. 437–441.

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Rollo, 'Interventi di Andronico Callisto in codici latini,' *Studi medievali e umanistici* 4 (2006): 367–380.

<sup>33</sup> Luka Špoljarić, 'Ex libris Nicolai Episcopi Modrussiensis: Knjižnica Nikole Modruškog' [Ex libris Nicolai Episcopi Modrussiensis: The library of Nicholas of Modruš], *Colloquia Maruliana* 21 (2012): 25–68.

Yet, in spite of the extensive bibliography, the lack of in-depth studies of his career and his works, and particularly of studies that would see the two in connection, resulted in the fact that the Nicholas of Modruš that emerged in the course of the twentieth century was one painted with broad strokes. Bishop of Modruš, Croatia, born sometime before 1427 in Kotor, Dalmatia, Nicholas was employed by the papacy in important anti-Ottoman diplomatic missions to the Bosnian and Hungarian courts in 1463/1464, whereafter he spent the rest of his career until his death in 1480 in the administrative apparatus of the Papal States, forming there his grand library and engaging himself with philosophical and antiquarian matters. This Janus-like image of a diplomat who played a prominent role in anti-Ottoman diplomacy in the Balkans in 1463, on the one hand, and of a disinterested humanist, on the other, led to some paradoxical situations. In Croatia every schoolchild is supposed to learn about Nicholas of Modruš as the first Croatian author to have his work printed, his *Funeral Oration*, yet no Croatian scholar has ever attempted to analyze the work and situate it within its context. One finds a similar situation in Bosnia, where the Nicholas of Modruš imagined by Marko Šunjić,<sup>34</sup> Mladen Ančić,<sup>35</sup> Srećko Džaja,<sup>36</sup> and Dubravko Lovrenović,<sup>37</sup> was a papal legate that can only be noted for his diplomatic failures in preventing the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia and for his reports on the event which were supposedly central to the spread of the myth portraying the Bosnian treason. Yet again none of these historians discussed his comments in the context of *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*, the work where Nicholas included them, let alone his subsequent career. In Romania, as Castilia Manea-Grgin pointed out, he is noted as the person who left the only contemporary description of the voivode Vlad Țepeș Dracula and one of the first authors who have written on the Roman origins of the Wallachians. Yet Romanian historians have never ventured to look at *De bellis Gothorum*, the work where Nicholas included these descriptions, as a whole, which until now

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<sup>34</sup> Marko Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija: Odnosi u XIV. i XV. st.* [Bosnia and Venice: Relations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] (Sarajevo: HKD Napredak, 1996), 364–366.

<sup>35</sup> Mladen Ančić, 'Renesansna diplomacija i rat: Primjer pada Bosne 1463.' [Renaissance diplomacy and war: The case of the fall of Bosnia in 1463], in *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija* [Croatian medieval diplomacy], ed. Mladen Andrić and Mirko Valentić, 143–177 (Zagreb: Diplomatska akademija Ministarstva vanjskih poslova Republike Hrvatske, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> Srećko M. Džaja, *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine: Predemancipacijsko razdoblje 1463.–1804.* [Confessionality and nationality of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The pre-emancipation period 1463–1804] (Mostar: Ziral, 1999), 251–263.

<sup>37</sup> Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti: Sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska 1387–1463* [At the landslide of history: The holy crown of Hungary and the holy crown of Bosnia] (Zagreb: Synopsis, 2006), 356.

remained buried in manuscript.<sup>38</sup> Nicholas even holds a prominent place in Bulgarian historiography, being noted as the owner of one of the most important Bulgarian medieval manuscripts, Vat. slav. 2, preserving the medieval Bulgarian translation of Constantine Manasses' *Chronicle* copied in 1344/45 in Trnovo for the emperor Ivan Alexander (1331–1371) and his family. Again, though it is long believed that the manuscript passed into the Vaticana from Nicholas' collection, there were no efforts to engage in a more in-depth comparison to Nicholas' book-collecting in general.<sup>39</sup> Finally, his name can often, even if in passing, be found within the framework of Italian and anglophone studies on Renaissance Rome, particularly in the context of his library or one of the few preserved letters of his in which he attacked the luxury and depravity of cardinal Pietro Riario. Yet in spite of ample amount of research on Roman intellectual circles of Paul II's and Sixtus IV's Rome, no one has attempted to place the bishop of Modruš within them.

This dissertation attempts to resolve such contradictions by presenting a new (re)construction of the life and career of Nicholas of Modruš: one that introduces an ample amount of unpublished material, that corrects a number of mistakes and assumptions, and that addresses various previously unconnected paths of research. Therefore, in terms of genre, the dissertation represents a biography, which successively analyzes four periods of Nicholas' life and career.<sup>40</sup> The *Prologue* focuses on the period before the bishop's arrival at Rome in 1464; *Part I* on the first period of his curial career from 1464–1471, corresponding to the pontificate of pope Paul II; *Part II* on 1472 and 1473, the first years of the pontificate of Sixtus IV; and, finally, the *Epilogue* on the final period of Nicholas' career under Sixtus IV from 1474 until his death in 1480. However, just as every biography is selective, so is this one. As their titles

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<sup>38</sup> The passages in question have been published by both Fraknói and Mercati and have found much interests among the Romanian historians, such as Șerban Papacostea, Adolf Armbruster and Ștefan Andreescu; see Castilia Grgin-Manea, 'Biskup Nikola Modruški o vlaškom knezu Vladu III. Drakuli-Țepeșu te o podrijetlu i jeziku Rumunja' [Bishop Nicholas of Modruš on Wallachian count Vlad III Draculea-Țepeș and on the origin and language of the Romanians], *Povijesni Prilozi* 28 (2005): 107–133.

<sup>39</sup> Axinia Džurova, et alii, ed., *Constantine Manasses: Synopsis chroniki*, 2 vols (Athens: Globul Cosmote Group, 2007), vol. 1, 226.

<sup>40</sup> The dissertation, therefore, rejects the extreme strands of socio-cultural history of the linguistic turn, which negate the significance of the individual as a social agent. It can be placed in line with the re-emerging turn to biography as a legitimate genre of historiography, which seeks to analyze the individual as one that was, to quote David Nasaw, 'formed by and provided meanings to the social and discursive orders in which [he was] inserted at birth and lived [his life];' see David Nasaw, 'AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography: Introduction,' *American Historical Review* 114/3 (2009): 573–578, quotation at p. 577. For discussions on the use and theoretical considerations of biography, see the quoted volume of *American Historical Review* and the contributions of Lois W. Banner, Judith M. Brown, Kate Brown, Robin Fleming, Jochen Hellbeck, Alice Kessler-Harris, Susan Mann, Barbara Taylor, and Liana Vardi.

suggest, it is *Part I* and *Part II* that represent the core chapters, which bring to the forefront the two periods of the bishop's life and career that were previously omitted from discussions, and which are here used to shed light on Nicholas' humanism and his patriotism respectively within the context of the his career, and larger political concerns of the period.

*Part I* focuses on the first period of Nicholas' career in the Papal States. In line with Christopher Celenza's recent manifesto for studying Italian Renaissance intellectuals, the analysis here is influenced by the sociological perspective of Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>41</sup> Taking Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' of *habitus*, capital, and field as the basis, the Renaissance Curia is interpreted as a field in which the social agents are imagined as constantly involved in a competitive game, seeking to advance their position with recourse to different strategies.<sup>42</sup> The goal of *Part I* is, therefore, to place Nicholas within this game, that is to say to approach him relationally, interpreting his intellectual pursuits, as well as his social practices and career trajectory, *vis-à-vis* the field in which he sought to establish himself.<sup>43</sup> Given that Nicholas belonged to the group of intellectuals who prominently used their authorial writings in order to advance their position, *Part I* also makes use of Stephen Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning, who highlighting *inter alia* the emergence of etiquette literature in the Renaissance – such as Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano (Book of the Courtier)* or Cortesi's *De*

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<sup>41</sup> Christopher S. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 58–79.

<sup>42</sup> The first of Bourdieu's thinking tools, *habitus*, represents his response to one of the central sociological problems, the problem of the structure and the agency in regulating human behavior. Bourdieu imagines *habitus* as a system of 'durable' (i.e. 'lasting over time') and 'transposable' (i.e. 'being capable of becoming active within a wide variety of theaters of social action') dispositions that govern perceptions, appreciations and practices of social agents. The *habitus* however does not act alone, for each social practice is a result of one's *habitus* and one's capital. However, unlike in the Marxist tradition, one does not possess only economic capital, but can be imagined as possessing a portfolio of capital, which next to economic includes also cultural and social one: meaning, it is not only the money and assets that one possesses but also aesthetic and cultural preferences, forms of knowledge, language, as well as social networks, family and cultural background, and so forth. All these forms of capital have a different symbolic value within a given field, which represents the final interconnected concept which pits individuals in relation to each other. What determines one's position within the field is one's portfolio of capital, and what governs one's social actions is one's *habitus*. For an introduction into the sociological theory of Pierre Bourdieu, see Michael Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Durham: Acumen, 2010), for *habitus*, capital and field specifically, pp. 49–81, 101–117.

<sup>43</sup> To be sure, the object of Bourdieu's enquiries were not individuals but social structures. He eschewed what he termed to be a 'biographical illusion,' and focused on the paradoxes in contemporary fields in order to expose the fallacies behind widely accepted orthodoxies, as for instance he did with study of journalism or academic world. There is, however, a fundamental difference in the source material available to Bourdieu and Bourdieu-inspired sociologists approaching modern social phenomena and to a historian approaching Renaissance intellectuals. While the former identify and analyze contemporary social phenomena, the latter identifies and analyzes the social phenomena of the past mediated through the fragmentary nature of sources. While the former, therefore, rely on quantitative analysis in their interpretations, the latter is forced to resort to qualitative analysis, especially in the case when one that is faced with such scant documentary and epistolary material as with Nicholas of Modruš.



*cardinalatu (On Cardinalate)* – lay down his famous precept that in Renaissance ‘there were both selves and a sense that they could be fashioned.’<sup>44</sup> In focus of his analysis were precisely such individuals as Nicholas, individuals who ‘moved out of a narrowly circumscribed social sphere (...) into close contact with the powerful and great,’<sup>45</sup> and who in their efforts to achieve upward social mobility sought to fashion their selves – according to prescribed norms and always in relation to ‘something perceived as alien,’ the ‘Other’ – through social performance and authorial works. Therefore, by relying on the relational perspective of Pierre Bourdieu and Greenblatt’s focus on the creative rhetorical strategies of individuals *Part I* analyzes Nicholas’ turn to humanism, that is to say his imitation of classical literary practices, in the context of his curial career.<sup>46</sup> However, to this end *Part I* places emphasis not on Nicholas’ oeuvre but on his library, that is to say its formation, contents, physical appearance as well as the bishop’s marginal notes, and adds a diachronic perspective to the monolithic image of a humanist he enjoys today.

By focusing on Nicholas’ history of the Gothic wars composed during the first years of Sixtus IV’s pontificate, *Part II* approaches the bishop’s patriotism, more precisely his appeals to a national focus of loyalty. Against the ‘modernist’ approaches that imagine nation as a modern phenomenon emerging in the late eighteenth century together with capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, and so forth, the linguistic turn has shifted the focus on the symbolic and cultural practices as constitutive markers of the nation. And, as Serhii Plokhy stressed in his study on the premodern identities of the Eastern Slavs,

*essentials of premodern ethnicity, which (...) include a collective name, a common myth of origins, a shared history, a distinctive culture, association with a particular territory, and a sense of solidarity, are very similar to the constituent elements of nations, and so (...) are the two types of identity.*<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1–9, at p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 7.

<sup>46</sup> The definition of humanism as imitation of classical literary practices on the level of genre, rhetorical techniques and style, is the one that was put forward by Ronald Witt in his seminal study on the diachronic development of the origins of humanism; see Ronald Witt, ‘*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*’: *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), esp. pp. 1–30.

<sup>47</sup> Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.

Accordingly, the dissertation does not shy away from the word ‘nation,’ because it does not treat the nation as an ‘objective reality’ but rather as a discursive construction. *Part II*, therefore, can be seen as falling in line with the recent emergence of studies focusing on the ‘texts from the early modern period which appealed to a national focus of loyalty,’ most notably highlighted by the recently edited volume by Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky devoted to the patriotic discourses of the period in East Central Europe.<sup>48</sup> More precisely, this dissertation focuses on the South Slavic manifestation of the phenomenon, and takes as its basis the analytical model promulgated by Zrinka Blažević in her pioneering study on Illyrism as a discursive articulation of South Slavic identity.<sup>49</sup> By focusing on the topoi integral to the narrative of the national identity, Blažević effectively disposed with the modernist paradigm of Illyrism as a nineteenth century phenomenon and diachronically traced its origins to Renaissance Dalmatia. *Part II* sheds light on a hitherto unexplored episode of this story, as it analyzes Nicholas’ *De bellis Gothorum*, a work that suffered an unfortunate *fortuna* during the last century, regularly dismissed as uncreative ever since Giovanni Mercati found it ‘mostly based on Jordanes and hence of little interest for the history of the Goths.’<sup>50</sup> This is the reason that this work, composed and revised in 1471 and 1472, was until now available only in a single, severely truncated manuscript copy. Relying on my own identification of a new copy of the work, equally truncated but preserving a three times larger portion of the text, *Part II* situates the work in its ideological and socio-political contexts.

The dissertation combines a wide range of extant documentary, epistolary, literary, codicological and palaeographical evidence, published and unpublished, most of which find their place among the *Appendices*. These are not the central pieces of the dissertation and in their present state merely intend to serve as a first hand survey of the source material.

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<sup>48</sup> Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky, ‘Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism in East Central Europe in the Early Modern Period,’ in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky, 1–72 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), quotation at p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* (Zagreb: Golden marketing–Tehnička knjiga, 2008); see also Zrinka Blažević, ‘Indetermi-Nation: Narrative Identity and Symbolic Politics in Early Modern Illyrism,’ in *Whose Love of Which Country*, ed. Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, 203–223. See also Reinhard Lauer, ‘Genese und Funktion des illyrischen Ideologems in den südslawische Literaturen (16. bis Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts), in *Ethnogenese und Staatsbildung in Südosteuropa*, ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, 116–143 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

<sup>50</sup> Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 230. The work passed completely under the radar of international scholarship, and for instance it did not find a mention in Eric Cochrane’s otherwise bibliographically extensive overview of Italian Renaissance historiography; see Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1981).

*Appendix 1* presents the documents and other sources directly referring to Nicholas, published and unpublished likewise. *Appendix 2* includes the edition of Nicholas' correspondence, *Appendix 3* of his dedicatory letters, both important sources for the nature of his social networks and self-fashioning strategies. *Appendix 4* contains the transcription of Nicholas' *De bellis Gothorum*, while *Appendix 5* offers the last four sections of his *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*. *Appendix 6* includes the edition of parts of the lost book of poems presented to Nicholas by his humanist client Francesco Maturanzio, which have been preserved as part of a larger collection of the latter's poems. *Appendix 7*, the *Repertorium*, offers a list, and in most cases, the codicological descriptions of all manuscripts known to date which preserve the works of Nicholas of Modruš. *Appendix 8a* includes the 1480 inventory of Nicholas' books donated to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo by Sixtus IV expanded by identifications of the titles, as well as manuscript copies and incunable editions in question. *Appendix 8b* presents the catalogue of the presently identified manuscripts that formed Nicholas' library. Finally, *Appendix 9* offers plates in support of various details discussed in the body of the dissertation.

### ***Reconstruction of Nicholas of Modruš's Library***

Before any effort is made to analyze Nicholas' library, i.e. before we address the questions that represent the focal point of *Part I* of the dissertation, it is first necessary to establish a set corpus of the books. In the joint summary of their individual findings, Concetta Bianca and other contributors to the first volume of *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* have highlighted the ample amount of material for studying the libraries of Roman Renaissance prelates.<sup>51</sup> While in most cases only a small part of the collection can be reconstructed – usually through identification of individual codices based on the marks of ownership or on epistolary evidence – in case of a few of them we can gain much insight from the preserved inventories. Likewise a substantial amount of material exists for Nicholas' library.

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<sup>51</sup> Concetta Bianca, et alii, 'Materiali e ipotesi per le biblioteche cardinalizie,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 73–84, at 78.

For long has Nicholas' library, particularly its size, attracted the attention of scholars. When in 1916 Carlo Frati published his research on the bishop, he devoted a significant amount of attention to the manuscripts that formed his library. Relying on the catalog of Enrico Narducci, Frati noted eight manuscripts in the Biblioteca Angelica of Rome as Nicholas', on the basis of which he concluded that the whole group that these are a part of belonged to the bishop.<sup>52</sup> It is a group of eighty, mostly fifteenth-century, manuscripts that are now located under the shelf-marks Angelici latini 524–603, but that were transferred as a whole from the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria del Popolo in 1849 and cataloged under the letter F. As it will soon be seen, erroneously thinking that Narducci had claimed that all of these eighty manuscripts represent the bequest of Nicholas' contemporary, Roman lawyer Giovanni Baroncelli, to the Augustinians, Frati argued instead that they were in fact the Nicholas' bequest. Even though he was aware of the fact that some of the manuscripts carried Baroncelli's *ex libris*, Frati believed that since the latter died in 1468 and since some manuscripts were copied after this date, the whole group had to be considered as Nicholas' who died in 1480. Additional pieces of information, however, were soon brought to light. For not long after Frati, Giovanni Mercati published the results of his own research on Nicholas, to which he appended the list of twenty of the the bishop's manuscripts kept in the Vaticana. While Frati argued that Nicholas bequeathed his library to the Augustinians, Mercati proved on the basis of library loan records that following Nicholas' death his books passed into the Vaticana.<sup>53</sup> Although one should not forget that Vilmos Fraknói was the first to write about Nicholas' manuscripts in the Angelica,<sup>54</sup> it is the works of Mercati and Frati that modern scholarship, Croatian and international, has relied on in referring to the bishop's library, which it was believed consisted of twenty manuscripts in the Vaticana and some eighty in the Angelica.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Frati, 'Evasio Leone,' 84–90.

<sup>53</sup> Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 208–214.

<sup>54</sup> Fraknói, 'Miklós modrusi,' 20–23.

<sup>55</sup> Nikola Žic introduced the Croatian academia to Frati's research concluding that 'It matters little whether Nicholas owned all eighty pieces or a few less, since there are at least two more in the Vaticana. What is important is that the library of Nicholas of Modruš in Rome represents a rarity that is matched by few others.' (See Žic, 'Knjižnica,' 347: 'Sporedno je, da li bijaše Nikolinin vlasništvom svih ovih osamdeset komada ili za par manje, jer ih imade još i u Vatikanskoj knjižnici dva, ali je glavno, da knjižnica Nikole Modruškoga u Rimu predstavlja jednu rijetkost, kojoj u svijetu nema mnogo premaca.') His conclusions proved to be influential for the image that Nicholas would enjoy as a great book collector in Croatia; see e.g. Aleksandar Stipčević, *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata* [Social history of the book among the Croats], vol. 1 (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2004), 43, where the author speaks of eighty of Nicholas' manuscripts in the Angelica without any reservations.

In order to reconstruct Nicholas' library and bring Frati's hypothesis under close scrutiny, it is first important to trace its *fortuna*. As Giovanni Mercati pointed out, two entries in the loan records of the Vaticana reveal that immediately following Nicholas' death his books passed into the Vaticana, probably under the papal right of spoil (*ius spoli*), as it happened with the libraries of cardinals Guillaume d'Estouteville and Ferry de Clugny.<sup>56</sup> First in June 1480 cardinal Raffaele Riario borrowed from the apostolic library a manuscript of Horace's *Odes* that came *ex libris reuerendi Episcopi Modrusiensis* – a manuscript, it should be mentioned, which the young cardinal never returned and which remains unidentified.<sup>57</sup> Four months later, on October 4, another of Nicholas' books was borrowed from the Vaticana, this time an unidentified incunable *liber de instrumentis bellicis*, by Cornelio Porcari. This entry furthermore explicitly stated that after his death, Nicholas' library 'came into the possession of our most holy lord,' i.e. the pope.<sup>58</sup> While Mercati had already hypothesized that Nicholas' manuscripts in the Angelica represented the remnants of the pope's donation to the Augustinians, this was finally confirmed in 1954 when David Gutiérrez published a hitherto largely unconsulted inventory of the monastery of Santa Maria del Popolo dated January 1480, with the appended lists of books donated to the Augustinians between 1480 and 1482, among which one finds *Inventarium librorum qui a Sixto pontifice maximo monasterio donati sunt de libris reverendissimi quondam domini domini episcopi Mendruxiensis*.<sup>59</sup> Notwithstanding the librarian's problems in properly spelling the name of a little known bishopric across the Adriatic, the inventory lists 210 books, manuscripts and incunables likewise, that belonged to Nicholas of Modruš and that were after his death immediately donated by Sixtus IV to the Augustinians. Some of these donated books followed the fate of the main collection of Santa Maria del Popolo, which passed, in 1849, into the Biblioteca Angelica, where they were identified by the librarian Narducci, and on the basis of his catalogue by Frati and Fraknói. Others, as a more careful scrutiny of the history of both the libraries in question and manuscript themselves will show, have treaded different paths.

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<sup>56</sup> Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 207. According to the canon law, papal treasury had the right (*ius spoli*) to the goods of beneficed ecclesiastics who died without having made a will.

<sup>57</sup> App. 1, docs. 70 and 72.

<sup>58</sup> App. 1, doc. 71: *quoniam liber iste fuerat comodatus reuerendo episcopo Modrusiensi cuius biblioteca ad S. D. N. post eiusdem episcopi obitum deuenerat*.

<sup>59</sup> David Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini bibliothecis,' *Analecta Augustiniana* 23 (1954): 164–372, with the history of the library of Santa Maria del Popolo and its inventories on pp. 257–291, and inventory of Nicholas' books specifically on pp. 281–287. For the inventory, see App. 8a.

Today the Apostolic library is cataloged according to shelf-marks dating from the beginning of the 17th century, when under the direction of Domenico (1555–1606) and Alessandro Rinaldi (d. 1649) the manuscripts were transferred from the Renaissance *sala* into the new location designed by Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) for pope Sixtus V (1585–1590). There the manuscripts of the *fondo antico* together with the late-sixteenth-century acquisitions were divided according to subject matter and authors and cataloged anew. The manuscripts of the *fondo antico*, which includes the library of Sixtus IV and hence, *ipso facto*, Nicholas’ manuscripts that were not donated to the Augustinians, can today be found distributed across the shelf-marks Vaticani latini 1–3194, 3555–4615, and 4726–4888.<sup>60</sup> The first problem that one encounters when searching for Nicholas’ manuscripts in the Vaticana is the fact that of the *fondo antico* only the Vaticani latini 1–1266 and 1461–2192 have been cataloged.<sup>61</sup> Others have only been inventoried in the manuscript *Inventarium librorum latinorum MSS. Bib. Vat.*, which is of little use, since it exclusively records the titles and authors of the works in the manuscripts, providing neither codicological and paleographical descriptions nor provenance notes.<sup>62</sup> It is no wonder then that in all twenty manuscripts he listed (Vatt. gr. 249, 257, and Vatt. lat. 221, 353, 376, 432, 507, 513, 995, 1527, 1532, 1544, 1579, 1729, 1748, 1752, 1756, 1759, 1762, 2059), Mercati relied on the catalogues available at the time.<sup>63</sup> Among the cataloged ones, however, Mercati missed Vatt. lat. 1956 and 1957, two volumes of Pliny’s *Natural History* that also bear Modruš’s coats of arms. Moreover, after Mercati’s piece was published, three more of Nicholas’ manuscripts have been identified in the Apostolic Library: Vat. lat. 2372 on the basis of his coat of arms,<sup>64</sup> Barb. lat. 791 on the

<sup>60</sup> Assunta Di Sante, ‘La Biblioteca rinascimentale attraverso i suoi inventari,’ in *Le Origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento (1447–1534)*, ed. Antonio Manfredi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010), 309–350.

<sup>61</sup> Marco Vattasso, and Pio Franchi de’ Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1–678* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1902); Bartholomeus Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1461–2059* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912); Augustus Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 679–1134* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1931); Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1135–1266* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1958); Anneliese Maier, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 2118–2192* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1961); Claudio Leonardi, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 2060–2117* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1987).

<sup>62</sup> Volumes 1–5 of the *Inventarium* cover the *Vat. lat.* 1–4888. For additional literature on the Vaticana and its *fondi*, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1993), 850–869.

<sup>63</sup> At the time only Vattasso–Franchi de’ Cavalieri’s and Nogara’s catalogues were available, which resulted in *Vat. lat.* 2059 being the final identified manuscript on Mercati’s list. The only exception is *Vat. lat.* 995 which preserves Nicholas’ own work and can accordingly be identified via the *Inventarium*.

<sup>64</sup> Cherubini, ‘Giovanni da Itri,’ 33–63.

basis of colophon evidence,<sup>65</sup> and Vat. gr. 13 on the basis of marginal notes.<sup>66</sup> One should mention here that it is also probable that Nicholas owned Vat. lat. 1539, a manuscript of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* copied by Giovanni da Itri, a scribe that copied six other manuscripts for Nicholas all of which can be found in the *fondo antico* or in the Angelica (Vatt. latt. 1532, 1752, 1756, 1762, 2372 and Ang. lat. 577).<sup>67</sup> Discussing the Vaticana manuscripts, one should consider here Vat. slav. 2, the aforementioned deluxe manuscript produced at the Bulgarian imperial court. Bulgarian scholar Bogdan Filov believed that this manuscript, which is labelled on fol. 1v as *Iste liber appellatur Flos omnium Cronicarum*, is mentioned in Platina's second inventory from 1481, listed as *Liber qui appellatur flos cronicarum littera sclavonica ex membr. in rubeo*, but not in the first one, from 1475. Arguing that the manuscript must have therefore ended up in the Vaticana in this period, he concluded that it was probably part of Modruš's library. José Ruyschaert, however, managed to identify the manuscript in the 1475 inventory as well, as *Flos chronicarium ex membr. in albo*, which excludes the possibility that it passed into the Vaticana together with Nicholas' collection in 1480.<sup>68</sup> In spite of the fact that the studies in the recent facsimile edition of the manuscript refer to Ruyschaert's work, the old provenance story is repeated nevertheless. However, in light of his conclusions and the fact that Nicholas' library passed into the Vaticana in 1480, the bishop's ownership of this manuscript has to be rejected.

Let us turn to Nicholas' manuscripts in the Angelica, which as was said represent the remnants of the books donated by Sixtus IV to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo. These eight manuscripts (Angg. latt. 537, 549, 551, 553, 559, 560, 561, 577) had all been identified by Narducci on the basis of coats of arms and colophons. However, the problem lies with the remaining manuscripts of the Angg. latt. 524–603 group, which have all been

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<sup>65</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), vol. 2, 432.

<sup>66</sup> Rollo, 'Interventi di Andronico Callisto,' 367–380.

<sup>67</sup> Vat. lat. 1539 was, like other manuscripts da Itri copied for Modruš that are preserved in the Vaticana, copied on parchment, but, unlike others was not decorated, and does not carry his coat of arms or his marginal notes. However, since it found its place in the Vaticana next to the others, it seems probable that we are dealing here with Nicholas' copy that he never had decorated, just as he never did with Angg. latt. 538, 550, 555, 556, or with Vat. lat. 8764. The fact that one does not find his marginal notes also does not exclude the possibility of Nicholas' ownership: a number of manuscripts identified as Nicholas' does not bear any trace of his marginalia (e.g. Vatt. latt. 376, 507, 513, 1579). On Vat. lat. 1539, see Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' 48–50.

<sup>68</sup> Bogdan Filov, *Les miniatures de la Chronique de Manassès à la Bibliothèque du Vatican (Cod. Vat. slav. II)* (Sofia: Musée National Bulgare, 1927), 7, n. 1; José Ruyschaert, 'La formazione dei due fondi di manoscritti slavi della Biblioteca Vaticana,' in *Catalogo dei manoscritti slavi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ed. Axinia Džurova (Sofia: Svjat, 1985), 6–12; Džurova, ed., *Constantine Manasses*, vol. 1, 226.

attributed by Frati to Nicholas. The inventory of 210 of Nicholas' books that were donated by Sixtus to the Augustinians allows us to bring this claim under close scrutiny.

Before proceeding to analyze the Angg. latt. 524–603, however, it is important to say a few words on the inventory itself, and its advantages and disadvantages when it comes to the reconstruction and study of Nicholas' library. In terms of the information it provides, it can be concluded that we are dealing here with a typical inventory of books, which provides the shorthand title and author of each item, continues with the information whether it is a printed book or a manuscript, briefly describes the binding, and finally at a few places even notes the *incipit* and *explicit* of the item. For instance *Item quoddam opus sancti Thome manu scriptum, nudis tabulis, cuius initium Veritatem meditabitur, finis Usque in sempiternam*, refers to the work of Thomas Aquinas which on the basis of *incipit* can be identified as his *Summa contra gentiles*. Among the 210 items in the inventory one finds 100 manuscripts, 103 incunables, six books that are unspecified in this respect, and finally Ptolemy's *mappa mundi*. In order to facilitate the analysis in *Part I*, out of the six unspecified items, two that were more likely printed copies will be treated as such (App. 8b, items 73, 172),<sup>69</sup> while four that were more likely manuscripts will accordingly be analyzed as manuscripts (App. 8b, items 14, 44, 152, 205).<sup>70</sup> This leads to the number of 104 manuscripts, and 105 incunables. In terms of the material used for copying, four items are specified as being written on parchment, seemingly implying that the rest were overwhelmingly copied on paper. Although again one might allow for a small degree of inconsistency on part of the librarian who drafted it, it is important to note that all of the manuscripts that have been identified so far do match his descriptions. Comparing these to the manuscripts identified in the Vaticana almost all of which have been copied on parchment, it seems that Sixtus' donation represented a less prestigious and less expensive part of Nicholas' library, even if it was probably much larger in its scope. However, the fact that the Vaticana still possessed at least one of Nicholas' incunables, the

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<sup>69</sup> App. 8a, item 73 could have been acquired together with item 55, since they contain different sermons by Roberto Caracciolo's produced by the Venetian printers John of Cologne and John Manthen. Item 172, Curtius Rufus, was probably a printed copy acquired in the 1470s together with the works of other Roman historians (items 164–168, 170, 173, 175–176, 183, 184, 188, 189).

<sup>70</sup> The clearest case is that of item 44, a *Quadragesimale* listed as a parchment copy. Though there are examples of parchment-printed books it is highly unlikely that this was the case here. Item 14 was also likely a manuscript version, as it is preceded by a volume with identical contents but in print, and thus following the pairs of items 8 and 9, and items 10 and 11. It is a case similar to item 205 (probably a manuscript copy of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* which Nicholas supplanted with the printed version, item 202) and possibly item 152, a copy of Cicero's speeches.



aforementioned, presently unidentified *liber de instrumentis bellicis*, clearly shows that Platina did not keep only the most valuable codices. The most important drawback of the inventory is precisely its partial character. For while some inventories of Renaissance libraries list the complete number of books at the time of death, accordingly even invite statistical analyses, one should bear in mind that we only possess the inventory of a *part* of Nicholas library. While it probably offers a more-or-less precise insight into the scholastic part of the library – assuming that Bartolomeo Platina, Sixtus’ librarian who was probably responsible for such decisions, donated to the Augustinians that part of the library he thought would be of use to them – it is impossible to ascertain either how many manuscripts and incunables did Nicholas’ library count altogether at the time of his death or which ancient and humanistic works it contained.

The inventory is extremely helpful as it facilitates the search for Nicholas’ manuscripts that due to the lack of colophons and coat of arms escaped the attention of scholars so far, but that can be identified on the basis of implicit evidence of ownership, such as marginal notes, or the hands of scribes and type of paper used that can be found in the already identified manuscripts. In the first place it allows us to put Frati’s hypothesis to a test. To be sure, his conclusion that eighty manuscripts supposedly identified by Narducci as Baroncelli’s was in fact Nicholas’ was from the start based on the wrong premise, since Narducci had identified only the *legal* manuscripts of the F group as a unit that belonged to Baroncelli.<sup>71</sup> While the inventory lists only one legal manuscript donated to the Augustinians, 46 out of the eighty Angelici are of this genre (Angg. latt. 524–536, 540–544, 546–548, 552, 564–574, 576, 578–589), none of which is the one of Nicholas. Rather, most of them represent, as Narducci rightly claimed, the bequest of Nicholas’ contemporary, Giovanni Baroncelli. Next, the inventory does not list any medical text, while two such can be found among the said shelf-marks (Angg. latt. 539, 562). Further eleven manuscripts containing classical, scholastic and other religious works cannot be matched to the entries in the inventory (Angg. latt. 590–591, 594, 596–603). This brings us to altogether 59 out of the eighty manuscripts that undoubtedly

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<sup>71</sup> Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe* (Rome: Typis Ludovici Cecchini, 1893), 233: ‘Hic notandum, *codices iuridicos omnes* (emphasized LŠ) qui in hoc armario continentur, usque ad annum 1849 in conuentu Augustiniano S. Mariae de Populo adseruatos fuisse, quo anno, ob metum tumultuum in Bibliothecam Angelicam sunt delati. Conjici itaque mihi posse videtur, hos omnes peruenisse ex hereditate Joannis de Baroncellis;’ for the Angg. latt. 524–603, see pp. 232–255.

*did not* belong to Nicholas. What is clear therefore is that though the Angg. latt. 524–603 may represent a group that passed together to the Angelica from Santa Maria del Popolo in the nineteenth century, they do not represent a group of Nicholas’ manuscripts that were donated by Sixtus. Yet, the eight manuscripts that have been positively identified as Nicholas’ by his coat of arms (Angg. latt. 537, 549, 551, 553, 559, 560, 561, 577) were not the only manuscripts of the bishop among this group. Indeed we can identify five other undecorated manuscripts in the group that preserve Nicholas’ marginalia (Angg. latt. 538, 550, 555, 556, 575), which agree with the items in the inventory.<sup>72</sup> This brings us to altogether thirteen Angelican manuscripts that once belonged to the bishop’s library, and that will be considered in its analysis in *Part I*.

Before proceeding it is important to consider the remaining eight manuscripts of the Angg. latt. 524–603. Four of these manuscripts (Angg. latt. 545, 554, 558, 563) can, in combination with the inventory, *probably* be attributed to Nicholas on the basis of codicological and – in the absence of his marginal notes – other palaeographical features. First of all, it seems that Angg. latt. 554 and 563 have been copied on the same paper as Ang. lat. 559 (watermark *lettre R* without Briquet number).<sup>73</sup> Moreover, Ang. lat. 563 contains, just as 559, the works of Duns Scotus, and the two seem to have been written in pair. In addition, Ang. lat. 558 was copied on the same paper as part of the third fascicule of Cod. Corsin. 127 (watermark *croix grecque*, Briquet 5575), and 545 on the same paper as 537 (watermark *balance dans un cercle* without Briquet number). These four manuscripts, aside from the same paper, share a number of codicological and palaeographical features with the manuscripts already identified as owned by Nicholas, such as the folio format and *mise-en-page*, and indeed may on closer inspection show the hand of the same scribes. Yet, since none of them bear the bishop’s coat of arms, an *ex libris*, a colophon, or his marginal notes, their attribution has to be considered only *probable*, and therefore cannot be subjected to the following analysis. The remaining four manuscripts contain works which can be matched with the entries in the inventory, but they were copied at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century (Angg. latt.

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<sup>72</sup> For the discussion of the hand of Nicholas of Modruš, see Cherubini, ‘Giovanni da Itri,’ 46–48; for examples of his autograph, see App. 9, pl. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18.

<sup>73</sup> Since these are all folio-sized scholastic manuscripts, the watermark is located at the center page between the two columns of the text, and thus partly covered. Although it seems to be the case that we are dealing with the same watermark in all three manuscripts, corrosion of the ink makes it difficult to precisely determine this.

557, 592, 593, 595). Although one cannot exclude the *possibility* that we are here dealing with manuscripts that Nicholas bought, the absence of colophons confirming the transactions as well as his marginal notes makes it somewhat unlikely. Therefore, like the previous group of manuscripts that probably belonged to Nicholas, so this one cannot be considered during the analysis.

*Table 1: Analysis of the group of eighty manuscripts Carlo Frati argued belonged to Nicholas of Modruš*

| INVENTORY            | IDENTIFICATION |                | ANGG. LATT. 524–603  | NR. |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------|--|-----|
| TITLES MENTIONED     | POSITIVE       | COAT OF ARMS   | 537, 549, 551, 553, 559, 560, 561, 577                                   | 13  |
|                      |                | NICHOLAS' HAND | 538, 550, 555, 556, 575  |     |
|                      | PROBABLE       | PAPER          | 545, 554, 558, 563   | 4   |
|                      | POSSIBLE       |                | 557, 592, 593, 595   | 4   |
| TITLES NOT MENTIONED | REJECTED       |                | 524–536, 539–544, 546–548, 552, 562, 564–574, 576, 578–591, 594, 596–603 | 59  |
| TOTAL                |                |                |  | 80  |

Although the thirteen manuscripts identified in the Angelica are located among the shelf marks 524–603, there is a small possibility that some manuscripts mentioned in the inventory are located among the other part of the library's collection.<sup>74</sup> This is suggested by one of the manuscripts of Giovanni Baroncelli – whose books were, as was mentioned, also located in the library of Santa Maria del Popolo – which is located under the shelf-mark Ang. lat. 308. It is, however, equally likely that this particular manuscript came from Santa Maria del Popolo to the Angelica independently from those in 1849. Both were after all Augustinian libraries, and, as will be seen shortly, the collection of the library of Santa Maria del Popolo was characterized by a high degree of fluidity, to which Nicholas' books were likewise subject. Therefore, although it is possible that some of Nicholas' books may have ended up in the Angelica separately from the main collection in 1849, it seems likely that manuscripts identified among the Angg. latt. 524–603 represent nearly all what is left from 104 Nicholas' manuscripts donated to the Augustinians by Sixtus. Even though all of the identified manuscripts are folio-sized, some decorated with Modruš's coats of arms, it is probable that a

<sup>74</sup> Due to the time constraints, the focus of my research in the Biblioteca Angelica was on the Angg. latt. 524–603. However, as will be seen below, I have inspected some other manuscripts the contents of which matched the entries in the inventory.

number of them, and especially those containing works of ancient and humanistic authors, were undecorated, without any ownership markers, and of smaller, *octavo*, format. This would not only make their identification today more difficult, but their very survival over the course of the centuries, assuming that librarians as well as readers took greater care of more valuable books. It is no wonder then that none of Nicholas' manuscripts of ancient and humanistic works can be identified with any degree of certainty today in the Angelica. The following examples can be illustrative. The inventory lists a copy of Leonardo Bruni's *Memoirs* as *Leonardus Aretinus de temporibus manu scriptus rubeis tabulis*, and we do find a quattrocento copy of this work in the Angelica, as the third fascicule of Ang. lat. 1509.<sup>75</sup> This octavo manuscript was copied in humanistic cursive, but it does not have either any decoration or marginal notes. Although it is certainly conceivable that it is the copy mentioned in the inventory, this is very difficult to prove if one considers that Bruni's works enjoyed enormous popularity in the course of the quattrocento.<sup>76</sup> The same can be said about *Cornelius Tacitus manu scriptus tabulis nigris*, which could perhaps be identified with Ang. lat. 1172 containing Tacitus' *Germania* and letters of Diogenes Laërtius translated by Francesco Griffolini Aretino. Here again it is difficult to hypothesize that we are dealing here with Nicholas' copy when any other provenance would be equally conceivable.<sup>77</sup>

While the inventory allows much in reconstructing Nicholas' library, it also reveals how little of the 104 manuscripts donated to the Augustinians actually passed from Santa Maria del Popolo in 1849 into the Angelica. The number of thirteen manuscripts (with the *caveat* that a few others may still lurk therein) provokes the question of the fate of the rest. The fact that a number of the identified manuscripts suffered damage from humidity before entering the Angelica suggests that some were damaged to such an extent that they were no longer regarded usable, and were therefore used as pastedowns, heating material, or simply thrown away.<sup>78</sup> In Santa Maria del Popolo the books were obviously not kept in ideal conditions and may have suffered most in 1521, when the building where they were kept was in danger of

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<sup>75</sup> App. 8a, item 161.

<sup>76</sup> James Hankins lists 69 manuscripts of Bruni's *Memoirs*; see James Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum: A Critical Guide to the Writings of Leonardo Bruni*, vol. 1: *Handlist of Manuscripts* (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1997), 257. For Ang. lat. 1509, see Narducci, *Catalogus*, 652.

<sup>77</sup> App. 8a, item 185.

<sup>78</sup> Angg. latt. 549, 553, 557, 561, Neap. VII.G.100, Barb. lat. 791, Vat. lat. 8764 (on the final three see below). The damages suffered by Ang. lat. 557 are quite significant.

collapsing.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, one should keep in mind that books in institutional libraries are, as Anthony Grafton and Roger Chartier remind us, exposed just as much to the centrifugal tendencies of the readers as they are to the centripetal ones of the librarians.<sup>80</sup> Readers not only make new connections between texts or write in the margins, they often rip out pages or even steal whole books, which are particularly in times of war subject to looting. The fate of the library of Santa Maria del Popolo during the Sack of Rome is not certain, but it is well documented that during the Napoleonic occupation, between 1808 and 1814, French and Polish soldiers were based in the convent. Moreover, in 1811 a French official was appointed head librarian, after the Augustinian, Carlo Thil, refused to swear an oath of allegiance. After all, it is precisely from the fear of riots in the city that in 1849 the remaining books were transferred to the Angelica, which was obviously considered a safer place.<sup>81</sup>

There are innumerable manuscripts across Europe that have left their collections in such circumstances, and three examples suggest that many of Nicholas' suffered the same fate. The aforementioned Barb. lat. 791, containing the *Reportatio on the Sentences* by Francis of Marchia and copied by George of Dachau for Nicholas of Modruš, can undoubtedly be identified with the entry in the inventory, *Reportatio super 4<sup>o</sup> sententiarum magistri Francisci de (omm. litt.) nudis tabulis manu scriptus*.<sup>82</sup> This is, after all, confirmed by the colophon written in fifteenth-century humanistic bookhand on the verso of flyleaf iii, which informs us that the manuscript belonged to the library of Santa Maria del Popolo.<sup>83</sup> The *fortuna* of this manuscript is particularly illustrative: copied for Nicholas of Modruš during his governorship in Fano, it entered the Vaticana together with the rest of his library, was soon after donated to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo, somehow found its way into the Barberini library, only to return in 1902, after 422 years, to the Vaticana when the whole collection was bought by pope Leo XIII (1878–1903). Next, Neap. VII.G.100. of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, containing Hugh of Newcastle's *Quaestiones on the Second Book of the Sentences* and according to the colophon copied in Ascoli by Hugo Dordraci for Nicholas of Modruš,

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<sup>79</sup> Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis bibliothecis,' 290.

<sup>80</sup> Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), 19.

<sup>81</sup> Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis bibliothecis,' 261.

<sup>82</sup> App. 8a, item 48.

<sup>83</sup> Barb. lat. 791, fol. iii<sup>v</sup>: *Franciscus de Marchia super quatuor sententiarum / Bibliothecę S. Marię de Populo Urbis.*

can be identified in the inventory as *Secundus Ugonis manu scriptus nudis tabulis*.<sup>84</sup> Finally, the inventory lists one of Nicholas' works, *On Consolation* as *Consolatio Nicolai episcopi tabulis rubeis manu scripta*, and I would argue that we are dealing here with Vat. lat. 8764.<sup>85</sup> For whereas the other known copy of the work, Vat. lat. 5139, is a dedication copy for Marco Barbo, Vat. lat. 8764, copied on paper, left undecorated and containing marginal notes in Nicholas' hand, seems to have been a copy made for Nicholas' own library.

Vat. lat. 8764 raises the question of manuscripts containing Nicholas' own works, since of these, some were dedicatory, some later copies, while some were undoubtedly produced for his own library or remained in the working stage and never circulated. Aside from Vat. lat. 8764, Vat. lat. 995, a copy of Nicholas' *On the Titles and Authors of Psalms*, was also produced for his own library. The latter is the only example of Nicholas' own work that bears only his coat of arms;<sup>86</sup> it is an *octavo*-sized parchment manuscript copied in humanistic cursive, the almost exact copy of Urb. lat. 586, which was copied in pair by the same scribe.<sup>87</sup> Cod. Corsin. 127 of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, is another *octavo*-sized composite codex consisting of three fascicules (A: *De bellis Gothorum*; B: *De humilitate* and C: translations of Isocrates' speeches). These were originally separate manuscripts produced for his own library that were bound together probably only after his death but definitely before 1738, when the flyleaf with the table of contents was added and when they were listed together as one manuscript in the first inventory of the Corsiniana library.<sup>88</sup> Fascicule B, an autograph, and fascicule C, scribal copy with corrections of the text in Nicholas' hand, seem to have been, just as Vat. lat. 8764, his own personal copies of works that he had sent to their respective dedicatees.<sup>89</sup> Fascicule A, on the other hand, an autograph as well, seems to have been a working copy of Nicholas' history of the Gothic wars, without a dedication and containing numerous interlinear and marginal corrections, which was most probably never published. The same holds true for, Vat. lat. 6029, preserving the earlier

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<sup>84</sup> App. 8a, item 79.

<sup>85</sup> App. 8a, item 57.

<sup>86</sup> Vat. lat. 5139 also has Nicholas' coat of arms, but it appears side by side with that of Marco Barbo, the dedicatee of the work, at the *bas-de-page* of the incipit page.

<sup>87</sup> As the shelf-mark suggests, Nicholas sent Urb. lat. 586 as a gift to Federico da Montefeltro duke of Urbino, which will be treated in the *Epilogue*.

<sup>88</sup> *Indice de' libri manoscritti che si conservano nella Libreria della Ecc.ma Casa Corsini*, in manuscript. On the history of the Corsiniana see Olga Pinto, *Storia della Biblioteca Corsiniana e della Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1956), 21–45.

<sup>89</sup> For Nicholas' authorship of the translations of Isocrates' speeches, see *Part I*.

redaction of the same work: an undecorated manuscript, without a title and dedication, copied by a humanist scribe but also containing marginal and interlinear emendations by Nicholas himself. The high number of its shelf mark suggests that either the manuscript was not part of Nicholas' library when it ended up in the Vaticana, or that it was but left it before returning back at the later date – the coats of arms on the spine belonging to pope Urban VIII (1623–1646) and cardinal librarian Antonio Barberini (1633–1646) suggest, some time between 1633 and 1646.<sup>90</sup> One could consider here also BC MS 276, the copy of *De mortalium felicitate* which Nicholas seems to have prepared for Matthias Corvinus but never presented it, and the copy of the *Defensio* with his own corrections which can be found as part of a humanist miscellany, Ricc. 365, but since in case of both it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion, these will not be considered as part of his library.<sup>91</sup>

This all leads to the number of 42 presently identified manuscripts that once belonged to the library of Nicholas of Modruš. Since the fascicules of Corsin. 127 were copied as separate manuscripts in different periods and were bound together only after Nicholas' death, in the following analyses they will be considered as separate manuscripts, Corsin. 127A, Corsin. 127B, and Corsin. 127C, which sets the corpus at 44 items. On the other hand, not a single copy of the printed editions Nicholas owned has been identified. The total number of known books that formed part of Nicholas' library includes:

- 1) 210 books listed in the inventory, 16 manuscripts of which can be identified in the Angelica, the Vaticana and the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli;
- 2) 25 manuscripts identified in the Vaticana that were not donated to the Augustinians and hence do not appear in the inventory;
- 3) the two books (a manuscript and an incunable) mentioned in the Vatican register of loans but not identified today;
- 4) and the three manuscripts identified in the Corsiniana;

which thus establishes the final count of the known **items** at **240**. Out of these 240 books, **106** were as we saw **incunables** (the 105 listed in the inventory along with the one mentioned in the Vatican registry of loans), **133 manuscripts**, and **one** was actually a **map**.

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<sup>90</sup> For Antonio Barberini, see Jorge Mejía, et alii, *I cardinali bibliotecari di Santa Romana Chiesa* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), 173–177.

<sup>91</sup> For their descriptions, see App. 7, nos. 2, and 7.

Once again, a caveat is in order before proceeding. As was mentioned, it is impossible to ascertain the total number of books that Nicholas' library included when upon his death it passed into the Vaticana, for it is certain that 240 was not the total count. What books and how many of them did Sixtus, or rather his librarian Platina, keep for the Vaticana it is impossible to say. Whether we are dealing here with only a bit more than these thirty items identified today or another, say, hundred books more is a question that will remain unanswered, which in turn makes any attempt at a quantitative analysis of Nicholas' library and its comparison to the libraries of his contemporaries inconclusive.

*Table 2: Identified manuscripts of Nicholas of Modruš*

| CAT. NR. | LIBRARY  | SHELF-MARK     | CONTENTS  |
|----------|----------|----------------|---|
| 1        | VATICANA | Vat. gr. 13    | Theodore Gaza, Greek Grammar  |
| 2        |          | Vat. gr. 249   | Aristotle, <i>Physics, On the Heavens, On Generation and Corruption, Meteorology, On the Soul</i> |
| 3        |          | Vat. gr. 257   | Aristotle, <i>Metaphysics</i>   |
| 4        |          | Vat. lat. 221  | Lactantius, <i>The Divine Institutes, On the Wrath of God and On the Works of God</i>             |
| 5        |          | Vat. lat. 353  | Jerome, <i>Letters</i>  |
| 6        |          | Vat. lat. 376  | Various works of Jerome and Augustine   |
| 7        |          | Vat. lat. 432  | Augustine, <i>The City of God</i>   |
| 8        |          | Vat. lat. 507  | Augustine, <i>Against Faustus</i>   |
| 9        |          | Vat. lat. 513  | Various works of Augustine and Pseudo-Augustine   |
| 10       |          | Vat. lat. 995  | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>On Psalms</i>  |
| 11       |          | Vat. lat. 1527 | Columella, <i>On Agriculture and On Trees</i>   |
| 12       |          | Vat. lat. 1532 | Aulus Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i>  |
| 13       |          | Vat. lat. 1544 | Macrobius, <i>Commentary on Scipio's Dream</i> ; Calcidius, <i>Commentary on Plato's Timaeus</i>  |
| 14       |          | Vat. lat. 1579 | Vergil, <i>Bucolics, Georgics and Aeneid</i>  |
| 15       |          | Vat. lat. 1729 | Cicero, <i>Tusculan Disputations</i>  |
| 16       |          | Vat. lat. 1748 | Cicero, <i>Against Catiline</i>   |
| 17       |          | Vat. lat. 1752 | Cicero, <i>Against Verres</i>   |
| 18       |          | Vat. lat. 1756 | Cicero, <i>Philippics</i>   |
| 19       |          | Vat. lat. 1759 | Cicero's philosophical works; Vegetius, <i>On Military Matters</i>                                |



|    |                     |                 |   |
|----|---------------------|-----------------|---|
| 20 |                     | Vat. lat. 1762  | Quintilian, <i>Institutes of Oratory</i>  |
| 21 |                     | Vat. lat. 1956  | Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> vol. 1  |
| 22 |                     | Vat. lat. 1957  | Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i> vol. 2  |
| 23 |                     | Vat. lat. 2059  | Geber, <i>On Astronomy</i>  |
| 24 |                     | Vat. lat. 2372  | Celsus, <i>On Medicine</i>  |
| 25 |                     | Vat. lat. 6029  | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>On the Wars of the Goths</i>   |
| 26 |                     | Vat. lat. 8764  | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>On Consolation</i>   |
| 27 |                     | Barb. lat. 791  | Francis of Marchia, <i>Reportatio on the Sentences</i>                                      |
| 28 | ANGELICA            | Ang. lat. 537   | Alexander of Hales, <i>The Sum of Theology Book 2</i>                                       |
| 29 |                     | Ang. lat. 538   | Alexander of Hales, <i>The Sum of Theology Book 3</i>                                       |
| 30 |                     | Ang. lat. 549   | Questions concerning the various works of Aristotle   |
| 31 |                     | Ang. lat. 550   | Harvey Nedellec, <i>Questions concerning Angels and Quodlibetal</i>                         |
| 32 |                     | Ang. lat. 551   | Gerard of Siena, <i>Lectura on the First Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences</i>              |
| 33 |                     | Ang. lat. 553   | Gaetano da Thiene, <i>Expositio on Aristotle's 'On the Soul'</i>                            |
| 34 |                     | Ang. lat. 555   | Alexander of Hales, <i>The Sum of Theology Book 4 vol. 1</i>                                |
| 35 |                     | Ang. lat. 556   | Alexander of Hales, <i>The Sum of Theology Book 4 vol. 2</i>                                |
| 36 |                     | Ang. lat. 559   | Duns Scotus, <i>Quodlibetal Questions</i>   |
| 37 |                     | Ang. lat. 560   | Marsilius of Inghen, <i>Questions concerning Aristotle's 'On Generation and Corruption'</i> |
| 38 |                     | Ang. lat. 561   | Albert of Saxony, <i>Questions concerning Aristotle's 'On the Heavens'</i>                  |
| 39 |                     | Ang. lat. 575   | Giovanni Capreolo, <i>Commentary on the First Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences</i>         |
| 40 |                     | Ang. lat. 577   | Alfonso de Vargas y Toledo, <i>Lectura on the First Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences</i>   |
| 41 | NAZIONALE DI NAPOLI | Neap. VII.G.100 | Hugh of Newcastle, <i>Questions concerning the Second Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences</i> |
| 42 | CORSINIANA          | Corsin. 127A    | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>On the Wars of the Goths</i>   |
| 43 |                     | Corsin. 127B    | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>On Humility</i>  |
| 44 |                     | Corsin. 127C    | Nicholas of Modruš, Translations of Isocrates' speeches                                     |

## PROLOGUE: LIFE BEFORE ROME

On September 18 1464 Nicholas bishop of Modruš was appointed castellan of Viterbo and embarked on his curial career. Yet when he arrived to Rome, his starting social position and the way he would play the game, as it were, were determined by the combination of his economic, social and cultural capital, that is to say his economic means, his social background and social network, his education, diplomatic experience and so forth. Moreover the conditions that prompted his very move to the eternal city are somewhat unclear and have long been under the scrutiny of historians. Did he move voluntarily in search of higher career opportunities or was he banished from the kingdom by Matthias Corvinus? Was the banishment connected to the centralizing policy of the king or was it due to Nicholas' intrigues, motivated by potential personal gains? These are the questions that the *Prologue* seeks to answer through a diachronic overview of his life and career before Rome.

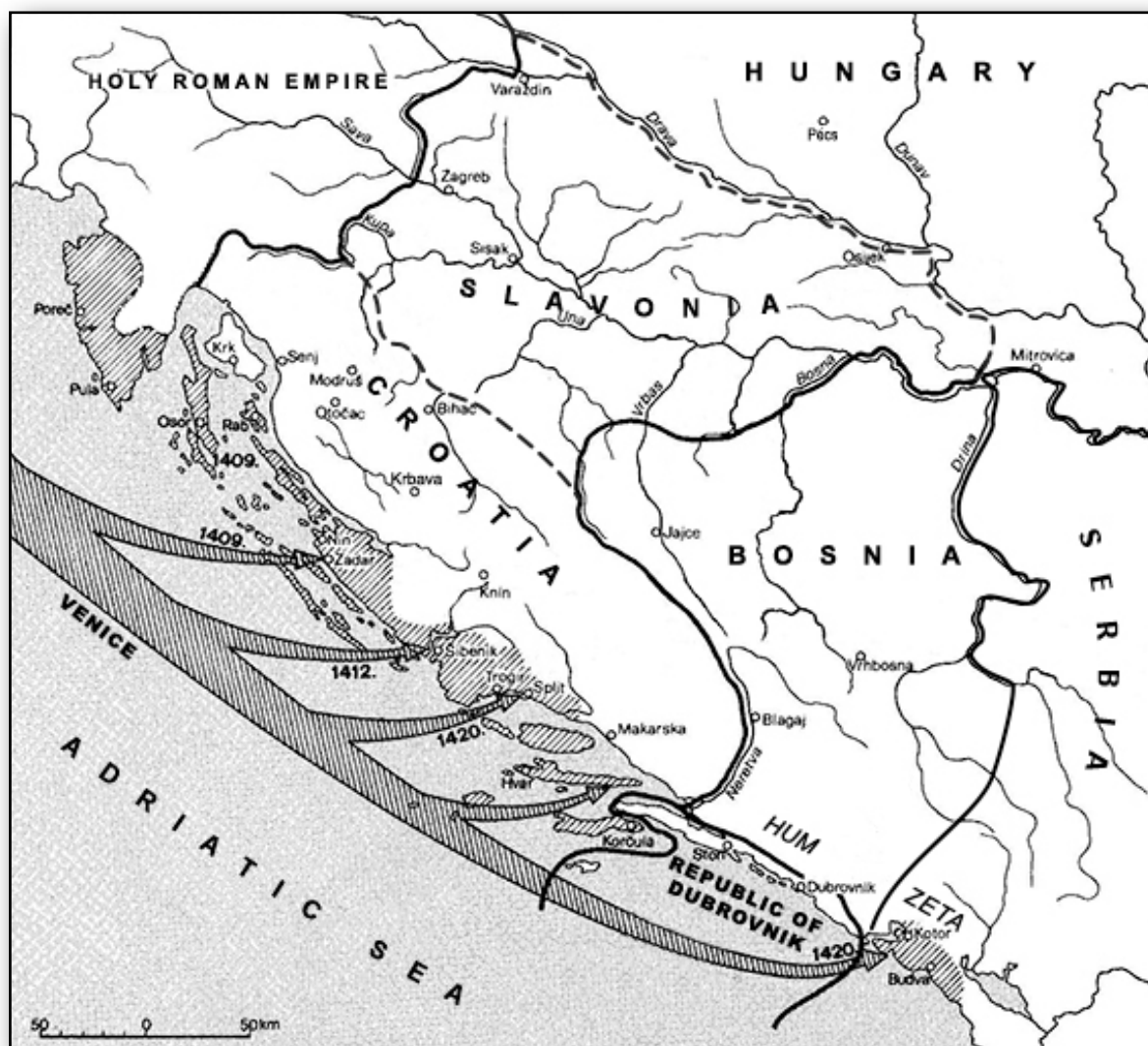
### *Background and Education*

Although not much is known concerning Nicholas' youth, a few pieces of evidence allow us to draw some conclusions concerning his date of birth, social background and the educational path. Nicholas was born in Kotor, Dalmatia. Rather than being a unified territory, the *regnum Dalmatiae* consisted of a series of highly autonomous urban communes which all save for Dubrovnik entered the Venetian dominion in 1420 after the Republic's war with Sigismund of Luxembourg king of Hungary (r. 1387–1437).<sup>92</sup> Kotor in fact was one of the southernmost

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<sup>92</sup> The Venetian conquest of Dalmatia was treated in detail by Marko Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću* [Dalmatia in the fifteenth century] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967), 35–74. For a short overview in English, see Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 17–38; as well as John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 488–491. For the political and socio-economical history of Renaissance Dalmatia next to the work of Marko Šunjić, see also Tomislav Raukar, 'Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV. st. i u prvoj polovini XVI. stoljeća' [Communal societies in Dalmatia in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century], *Historijski zbornik* 35 (1982): 43–118.

communes, which geographically and culturally continued to be perceived as part of Dalmatia in the course of the fifteenth century, but effectively came to serve as the center of the Venetian territories in the southern Adriatic, surrounded by the Republic of Dubrovnik from north, rulers of Hum and Zeta from the east and Albanian lords from the south (see Map 1).<sup>93</sup>



Map 1: Venetian Dalmatia and the surrounding South Slavic realms in the second quarter of the 15th century

Nicholas' precise date of birth is not known. Given the fact that he was elected bishop of Senj in Croatia in November of 1457 without age dispensation being indicated in the bull of appointment,<sup>94</sup> it is only certain that he was born in 1427 or earlier, but, given his *cursus honorum*, probably not much earlier. In the earliest records he appears as *Nicolaus de*

<sup>93</sup> On the administrative organization of Venetian territories in the southern Adriatic, see Sima Ćirković [Сима Ћирковић], et alii, *Историја Црне Горе* [History of Montenegro], vol. 2.2 (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1970), 255–275.

<sup>94</sup> The canonical age for becoming a bishop was thirty, unless a papal dispensation *de defectu aetatis* was granted.

*Catharo*, while at two places at least one finds *Nicolaus Machin* or *Machinensis de Catharo*,<sup>95</sup> and it has been argued on this basis that while Nicholas came from Kotor, he was actually born in Majine (*Machine* in the contemporary Latin sources), a parish located twenty kilometers further southeast. Still, the fact that simultaneously with a periphrastic construction *de Catharo* one finds an indeclinable form *Machin* at one place and an adjective *Machinensis* at another would rather suggest that *Machin* / *Machinensis* represented the family name, Majin, and *de Catharo* the name of the *patria*. Such a conclusion gains more weight when one considers the documentary evidence from the Kotor archives, where the last name Majin can be found already in the 14th century as *Machinich*.<sup>96</sup> Recently, however, Jadranka Neralić drew attention to the documents that identify Marko Paskvali (*Marcus de Pasqualibus*), a cleric of the Kotor diocese, as Nicholas' nephew (*nepos*) on the basis of which she argued that Nicholas himself belonged to the Kotor noble family of Paskvali.<sup>97</sup> Yet, against the author's conclusion one can draw not only on the two documents that mention Nicholas as *Machin* / *Machinensis*, but also on the fact that not a single document identifies Nicholas himself as *de Pasqualibus*. It seems highly unlikely that, if he did indeed belong to a noble family of Kotor, he would have never identified himself in such a way. Moreover, recently discovered records of the Treasury of the Kotor commune, dated June 1472, inform that 'Lord Nicholas, our most esteemed citizen, bishop of Modruš, would come these days to visit his hometown with the papal galleys.'<sup>98</sup> This is the only document of the Kotor provenance that mentions Nicholas, and neither this one refers to him as a Paskvali. Furthermore, these lines not only confirm that Kotor was Nicholas' *patria*, but identify the bishop as a *citadin* of the city rather than a *nobile*.<sup>99</sup> But, even if the conclusion that Nicholas belonged to the Paskvali family has to be

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<sup>95</sup> App. 1, doc. 3: *Nicolao Machin Electo Segniensi tunc clerico Catharensis diocesis*; App. 1, doc. 8: *Nicholaus Machinensis de Chatharo, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gracia episcopus Modrusiensis*.

<sup>96</sup> Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima (XIV–XVI vijek)* [References to Montenegrin clans in Kotor documents (XIV–XVI centuries)], vol. 1 (Cetinje: Obod, 1963), 172–173.

<sup>97</sup> App. 1, doc. 56; see Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 15. For more on Marko Paskvali, see *Part I*.

<sup>98</sup> App. 1, doc. 37: *mosignor Niccolò, nostro citadin dignissimo, veschouo de Modrussa vignerà cum le galie de papa questi zorni visitar la sua patria*.

<sup>99</sup> The middle and the second half of the fourteenth century witnessed the codifying of social stratification in the Dalmatian communes, comparable to the situation in northern Italy. On the one end stood the fully formed patriciate, i.e. the *nobiles* who were the only ones enjoying the right to sit in the communal councils. They were joined by the *cives* (or *citadini*) representing the most distinguished members of the *popolo*, and forming together with the *nobiles* the communal elite. On the other end stood the *habitatores* (or *popolo minuto* in later Venetian sources), the disenfranchised city folk with no share in political power. For a short overview of the social development of Dalmatian communes in the late Middle Ages, see Tomislav Raukar, 'Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV stoljeću' [Communal societies in Dalmatia in the fourteenth century], *Historijski zbornik* 33/34 (1980/1981): 139–209, at pp. 180–183.

rejected, the documents brought forth by Neralić are nevertheless important, as they indicate that Nicholas' commoner family possessed enough symbolic capital to secure family ties with the Paskvali, one of the most influential noble families of Kotor. And since their prestige did not derive from the status of nobility, one can assume that the family enjoyed social recognition on the basis of its economic wealth, which indeed would also account for Nicholas' subsequent educational path.<sup>100</sup>

Nicholas' education is one of the questions frequently overlooked in the studies on the bishop's life and work, and yet it is a question that cannot be left unanswered when discussing his intellectual formation. Most probably, like many other Dalmatian intellectuals of the quattrocento, he finished his primary – and probably secondary to some extent – education in the home town, in which case he would have attended the school in Kotor for some time in the period between the mid 1430s through mid 1440s. Dalmatian communes made efforts to ensure presence of communally-appointed teachers in the course of the fifteenth century, and in this respect Kotor was no different.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, already upon the submission of the commune to the Venetian dominion in 1420, the communal council requested from the Republic to cover the annual salaries of the entire administrative apparatus, including that of the school teacher. In spite of this, the information concerning the identity of teachers in Kotor of the quattrocento is scant, given that notarial documents still did not include the records of the communal council, the body that appointed the communal teacher. However, unlike it was the case with other Dalmatian communes – particularly the major ones: Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir and Split – which, as *Part II* will show, witnessed a steady influx of lay humanist teachers, the backgrounds of all the known teachers in Kotor reveal that, the grammar school here remained throughout the fifteenth century in the hands of local, or, occasionally, regional Dalmatian and Italian, clergy.

Again, as was the case with most other Dalmatian Renaissance intellectuals, Nicholas continued his education within the territory of the Venetian state. As he would later explicitly

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<sup>100</sup> As the research of Zrinka Nikolić Jakus has shown, marriages between male patricians and female members of the rich commoner families, supported by rich dowries, were not uncommon in late medieval Dalmatia, which seems to have been the case with the Paskvalis and Majins as well; see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, 'Obitelj dalmatinskog plemstva od 12. do 14. stoljeća' [The family of Dalmatian nobility from twelfth through fourteenth centuries], *Acta Histriae* 16 (2008): 1–30, at p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> For the grammar school in fifteenth-century Kotor, see Risto Kovijanić, and Ivo Stjepčević, *Kulturni život starog Kotora (XIV–XVIII vijek)* [The cultural life of old Kotor (XIV–XVIII centuries)] (Perast: Gospa od Škrpjela, 2003), 35–48.

indicate in the *Dialogue on the Happiness of the Mortals* (and allude to in the prefatory letter to *Peter's Barge*), he spent 'many years' in Venice studying under Paul of Pergola in the Scuola di Rialto. Pergola was the head of the philosophical, Aristotelian Scuola di Rialto from 1421 to 1455, reaching considerable fame among his contemporaries for the teaching of logic, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, metaphysics and theology.<sup>102</sup> Though over the course of the quattrocento family ties, networking and money would continue to represent the most important means a Venetian patrician had at his disposal when it came to the competing for administrative offices, educational capital seems to have gradually gained some importance, at least symbolically if not in practice.<sup>103</sup> This is reflected in the public funding not only of the philosophical Scuola di Rialto – which was since 1397 funded by the legacy of Tommaso Talenti but in 1455, following Pergola's death, came to be publicly funded as well – but also of the humanistic school of grammar and rhetoric, the Scuola di San Marco from 1446.<sup>104</sup> However, while the active civic life represented the highest ideal – at least for the first two generations of Venetian patrician humanists<sup>105</sup> – a few isolated pieces of evidence suggest that not everyone agreed on the educational path best suited for it. For though the influence of the Scuola di Rialto ultimately remained unparalleled,<sup>106</sup> nevertheless, Pergola's years of teaching were marked by academic rivalry with the rhetoricians' camp, which was spearheaded, at the time, by the Greek émigré scholar George of Trebizond. As was vividly demonstrated by John Monfasani in his reconstruction of the intellectual climate in the city during the second half of

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<sup>102</sup> For an overview of Pergola's career and teachings see Fernando Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 542–559; and Bruno Nardi, 'Letteratura e cultura veneziana del Quattrocento,' in *La civiltà veneziana del Quattrocento*, 99–145 (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), at 111–118. A number of primary sources on the Scuola di Rialto were published by Arnaldo Segarizzi, 'Cenni sulle scuole pubbliche a Venezia nel secolo XV e sul primo maestro di esse,' *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto: Lettere ed Arti* 75 (1915/16): 637–665. There are rare examples of lists of the students in Venice. The information on a person's connections to a particular school comes from comments in letters and works, just as it is the case with Nicholas himself.

<sup>103</sup> The role that the educational capital played (if any) in the appointments to administrative offices in the Venetian Republic has not been treated in detail thus far. In her study of the Venetian administrators in *stato da mar* O'Connell focused on their careers mostly from the perspective of the office-seeking strategies of individuals and families; see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 39–74. Other studies such as that by Dennis Romano, *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari 1373–1457* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), focused mostly on the role played by the development of interest groups and corruption in the Venetian electoral processes (see e.g. pp. 188–191, and 271–275).

<sup>104</sup> Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 539, and 551.

<sup>105</sup> For intellectual developments across the three generations of Venetian humanists of the quattrocento, see Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 206–251.

<sup>106</sup> The influence of Aristotle extended far beyond the walls of the Scuola di Rialto. Aristotelian concepts of 'government, of social structure, of domestic administration and the relation of family to the state, of friendship, of virtue' permeate and structure the works of a number of Venetian humanists; see King, *Venetian Humanism*, 182–185.

the 1430s, Trebizond instituted a series of lectures in an effort to win students, in the course of which he attacked Pergola with the argument that rhetoric was the discipline that best prepares an individual for excellence in public life, not dialectic and natural philosophy as the latter would have it. Provoked by such comments Pergola called humanists as ‘unsophisticated rhetoricians that have no knowledge of dialectic, their mother and progenitor,’ who ‘care only to appear learned amongst the ignorant, and do not know that it is far better to earn praise from a single wise man than appear as the wisest amongst the cheers of the masses.’<sup>107</sup> It is within this educational context marked by an Aristotelian scholastic curriculum and anti-rhetorical climate that we can trace Nicholas’ formative years.

However, taking into consideration that Nicholas would later appear in the documentary sources as a doctor of arts and theology,<sup>108</sup> it is important to note that the Scuola di Rialto did not have the right to confer degrees on its students – regardless of Pergola’s ambitious attempt to emulate the curriculum of the Paduan faculty of arts and elevate his school to the status of university in 1445. As such his school would often serve only as propaedeutic to those that would continue to earn doctorates of theology and arts at Padua, the city that was officially designated as the state university center with all Venetian subjects being mandated by law to study there.<sup>109</sup> This can be seen from a number of contemporary clerics that followed this academic trajectory. For instance the Venetian noble Francesco Contarini di Bertuccio studied with Pergola until 1449, when he proceeded to study theology, liberal arts and canon law at Padua, before being appointed bishop of Novigrad (Cittanova) in Istria in 1466. Gioacchino Torriani, the general of the Dominican Order from 1487, frequented Scuola di Rialto from the beginning in 1452 before he moved to Padua the following year, where he would earn his

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<sup>107</sup> John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 294–299. Nardi, ‘Letteratura e cultura veneziana,’ 115, n. 32: ... *ego non sum nisi Paulus de pergola, iuxta dictum Birie timentis sophistas: quicquid dicatur, biria semper homo. Et in hac materia rudes rhetorici, qui parentem ac progenitricem suam dialecticam ignorant, solent non nunquam argutiam logicorum deridere, obiicientes quod proprium nomen non audent nunciare, sed deliniti fuco sapientie sunt qui nec merentur rhetores appellari, cum per ianuam recto tramite non introiverint, et apparere rudibus solum laborent, nescientes longe esse prestantius unius sapientis iudicio commendari, quam totius vulgi clamore sapientissimus videri.*

<sup>108</sup> Upon Nicholas’ appointment to the see of Senj, he is referred to as *sacre theologie doctor* (App. 1, doc. 2). On October 8 1461, in the first of the two known charters he issued during his stay in Modruš he refers to himself as *sacrarum litterarum doctor* (App. 1, doc. 7). The change comes, however, in the second of the two charters, dated May 14 1462, in which in addition to being a doctor of theology he presents himself as doctor of liberal arts, *liberalium arcium et sacre theologie doctor* (App. 1, doc. 8).

<sup>109</sup> Christopher Carlsmith, *A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic 1500–1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 100; Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 133 and 139; Lepori, ‘La Scuola di Rialto,’ 549–551.

doctorate in theology seven years later. The famous Averroist Nicoletto Vernia studied with Pergola around 1450, and later acquired a doctorate *in artibus* at Padua in 1458.<sup>110</sup> Ludovico Donato, bishop of Belluno from 1462 and then bishop of Bergamo from 1465, was student in the Scuola di Rialto before he earned his doctorate in arts at Padua in 1450 under Gaetano da Thiene, and one in law in 1457.<sup>111</sup> Therefore, though we lack concrete records of Nicholas graduating there, taking into consideration Venice's centralized policy of higher education, the close ties that Nicholas enjoyed with the Venetian patriciate throughout his career, and finally the career examples of a number of his contemporaries, Padua appears as the likely place where Nicholas earned his own doctorates.<sup>112</sup> For how long exactly did his academic sojourn in Venice and Padua last, and during which years, cannot be answered with certainty, but, given that he seems to have been born in 1427 or not much earlier, and the fact that by 1457 he was referred in the documents as a doctor of theology and arts, it was probably in the period between *ca.* 1440-to-1445 and *ca.* 1453-to-1456 when he received his first ecclesiastical appointment.<sup>113</sup>

The probable chronology of his academic sojourn in Venice and Padua makes the careers and intellectual formation of Contarini, Torriani, Vernia and Donati not only comparative to Nicholas' own, but in fact suggests that at least in the case of some of them we are dealing with his fellow students. Indeed, it would be wrong to consider Nicholas' time in the Venetian Scuola di Rialto and the University of Padua solely in terms of the intellectual formation he received there. Both institutions provided Nicholas with the perfect opportunity for forming a strong social network with the members of the Venetian elite, which, as numerous episodes in his career testify, he undoubtedly seized. He would introduce Domenico Bragadin, his former

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<sup>110</sup> For Contarini, Torriani and Vernia as Pergola's students, see Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 553.

<sup>111</sup> King, *Venetian Humanism*, 368–369.

<sup>112</sup> Against a small possibility that he earned his doctorate at Bologna, the other important university of Italy in the vicinity, it is worth to mention that his name does not appear in the list of Bolognese doctors, for which see Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi, *I dottori bolognesi di teologia, filosofia, medicina e d'arti liberali dall'anno 1000 per tutto marzo del 1623* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1623).

<sup>113</sup> In some studies on the life and work of Nicholas, 1434 to 1455 are given as dates for Nicholas' stay in Venice (see most notably Kurelac, 'Nikola Modruški,' 126). However, they result from the misunderstanding of a comment made by Giovanni Mercati, who actually provided these dates as the years during which Paul of Pergola taught in Venice (Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 254: 'Fu scolaro per molti anni di Paolo della Pergola, celebre maestro di filosofia e teologia a Venezia dal 1434 almeno fino al 1455'). Since Mercati's time, however, new documents came to light that have shown that Pergola was teaching in Venice already from 1421. The line from the prologue of Nicholas' *De mortalium felicitate* 'all of us have been his (sc. Paul of Pergola's) students for many years' (App. 3, lett. 1: *huius enim auditores nos omnes multis annis exitimus*) remains the only explicit reference to the time he studied under the famous teacher.



fellow student and Pergola's successor as the head of the school, as a character into his *Dialogue on the Happiness of the Mortals*.<sup>114</sup> Maffeo Vallaresso, the archbishop of Zadar, would play an important role in Nicholas' release from the captivity in which he was held by the Kurjaković counts in 1462.<sup>115</sup> It is on this account undoubtedly that in 1463 Matthias Corvinus would send him as his ambassador to Venice,<sup>116</sup> as would pope Sixtus IV in 1472.<sup>117</sup> It is in part to his Venetian connections that he owed his first appointments in the Papal States, when Pietro Barbo assumed the papal tiara as pope Paul II, especially when one considers the fact that in this period Nicholas dedicated his *De consolatione* to the pope's cousin, Marco Barbo bishop of Vicenza, and his *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum* to another Venetian, Angelo Fasolo bishop of Feltre.<sup>118</sup> Still, perhaps the most revealing information comes from the set of instructions received in 1473 by the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Federico Cornaro. In the wake of the preparations for a naval expedition against the Ottomans, Cornaro was explicitly ordered to lobby for Nicholas of Modruš to be entrusted with leading the papal fleet, who was referred to as a prelate strongly supportive of the Venetian interests.<sup>119</sup> Most of these particular episodes will be brought under close scrutiny in the course of the dissertation, while for now they should make it clear that though his career path would take him from local politics in Croatia, through the high-level diplomatic endeavors at the Bosnian and Hungarian courts, all the way to the intrigues at the Roman Curia, Nicholas was careful to sustain his Venetian network throughout, more than once relying on it in order to further his position.

### *Career Beginnings: Under Frankopan Patronage*

The networks Nicholas formed during his years in Venice and Padua proved to be more lasting than the one he was trying to build in the Kingdom of Hungary, where after a propitious start his career ended abruptly and, as it seems, ignominiously. The beginnings of his ecclesiastical career, however, are tied to the local context of the Croatia, which stretched from Istria and Carniola in the northwest across the hinterland of Dalmatian communes down

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<sup>114</sup> On Domenico Bragadin as Pergola's successor, see Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 571–576.

<sup>115</sup> For more on this episode, see n. 147.

<sup>116</sup> For more detail on this mission, see further in the *Prologue*.

<sup>117</sup> For more on this mission, see *Part II*.

<sup>118</sup> For more on these, see *Part I*.

<sup>119</sup> App. 1, doc. 39. This will be treated in the conclusions to *Part II*.

south to Hum, bordering with Slavonia and Bosnia to the east. Ever since it had been conquered by the Hungarian king Coloman I (r. 1095–1116), Croatia enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, reflected in its distinct political identity of the ruling elite and associate status as a separate kingdom (*regnum Croatiae*) that was ruled by a viceroy called ‘ban’ (*banus*), holding the joint title of ‘ban of Croatia and Dalmatia.’<sup>120</sup>

In Croatia Nicholas owed his appointments to the Frankopans, by then the most powerful among the Croatian noble families which owned not only lands and towns in Croatia together with the northern-Adriatic island of Krk (Veglia) but also some in Slavonia. Though the years following the death of Nicholas IV Frankopan in 1432 would witness the family’s gradual weakening, this resulted not so much from the official division of Nicholas’ territories among his seven sons and one grandson in 1449,<sup>121</sup> as from the growing centralization efforts of king Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490) after his coronation in 1464 as well as the Ottoman conquests.<sup>122</sup> Stephen, the eldest and most influential among the brothers and initially a loyal supporter of Corvinus, would from his seat in Modruš still play an important role in regional politics during the early years of the king’s reign.<sup>123</sup> As far as the relationship among the brothers was concerned, while they would occasionally find themselves on opposing sides when it came to the kingdom’s politics, during Nicholas’ years in Croatia, until 1464, they seem to have generally acted in accordance with respect to the local matters in order to affirm the unity of the family.

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<sup>120</sup> After the Venetian conquest 1408–1420, the title of the ‘ban of Dalmatia’ represented only an empty title reflecting the still-existing claims of the Hungarian kings. For the history of Croatia within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (1102–1526), see Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: Prostor, ljudi, ideje* [Croatia in the Middle Ages: Territory, people, ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997); for an overview in English, see Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 21–23, 149–153, 204–214, 488–498, 590–595. For the history of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

<sup>121</sup> After Nicholas’ death, his sons ruled together at first, before they eventually decided to officially divide the patrimony. For the details of the division, see the still standard study of the medieval history of the family by Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani* [The Frankopans, counts of Krk] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901), 219–238.

<sup>122</sup> The detrimental effects that Corvinus’ policy of centralization, the Venetian conquest of Krk in 1480, and above all Ottoman raids and conquests exerted on the Frankopans and the rest of the Croatian nobility have been treated by Borislav Grgin, *Počeci rasapa: Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* [The beginnings of the deterioration: King Matthias Corvinus and medieval Croatia] (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002), 90–106, 143–151, 171–186.

<sup>123</sup> Stephen became the senior brother following the death of Nicholas V of Ozalj in 1455/1456; see Klaić, *Frankapani*, 244.

Though following his studies Nicholas initially returned to Kotor where he entered priesthood, at some time point in the period between 1453 and 1456 he was appointed by Francis bishop of Krk (in office 1444–1456) as the commendatory abbot of the monastery of St Lucia of Baška located on the island.<sup>124</sup> Since Krk was ruled by the renegade John Frankopan who in 1451 had put himself under the protection of Venice,<sup>125</sup> it would be tempting to see the workings of Nicholas' Venetian network behind this appointment. Yet, this probably did not happen on the bidding of the ruler of Krk who seems to have had little influence over bishop Francis since he strove to replace him with a bishop of his own choosing. John Frankopan finally managed to realize his plans in 1456 when Francis was transferred to the bishopric of Krbava, and replaced with a bishop of Krk origin that would serve John as a faithful ally in exerting power over his dominion.<sup>126</sup> The move was undoubtedly arranged in agreement with his brother Stephen, who relied on Francis, himself from Modruš by birth, in his own rule and particularly in his attempt to officially move the center of the bishopric from Krbava to Modruš, the seat of his rule. Stephen's efforts represented a culmination of the long-increasing influence of the Frankopans in the Krbava bishopric at the expense of the counts of Krbava, the Kurjaković family, the traditional patrons of the bishopric. After securing Francis' transfer to the see of Krbava in 1456, Stephen finally in 1460 managed to convince the pope to officially move the seat of the bishopric to

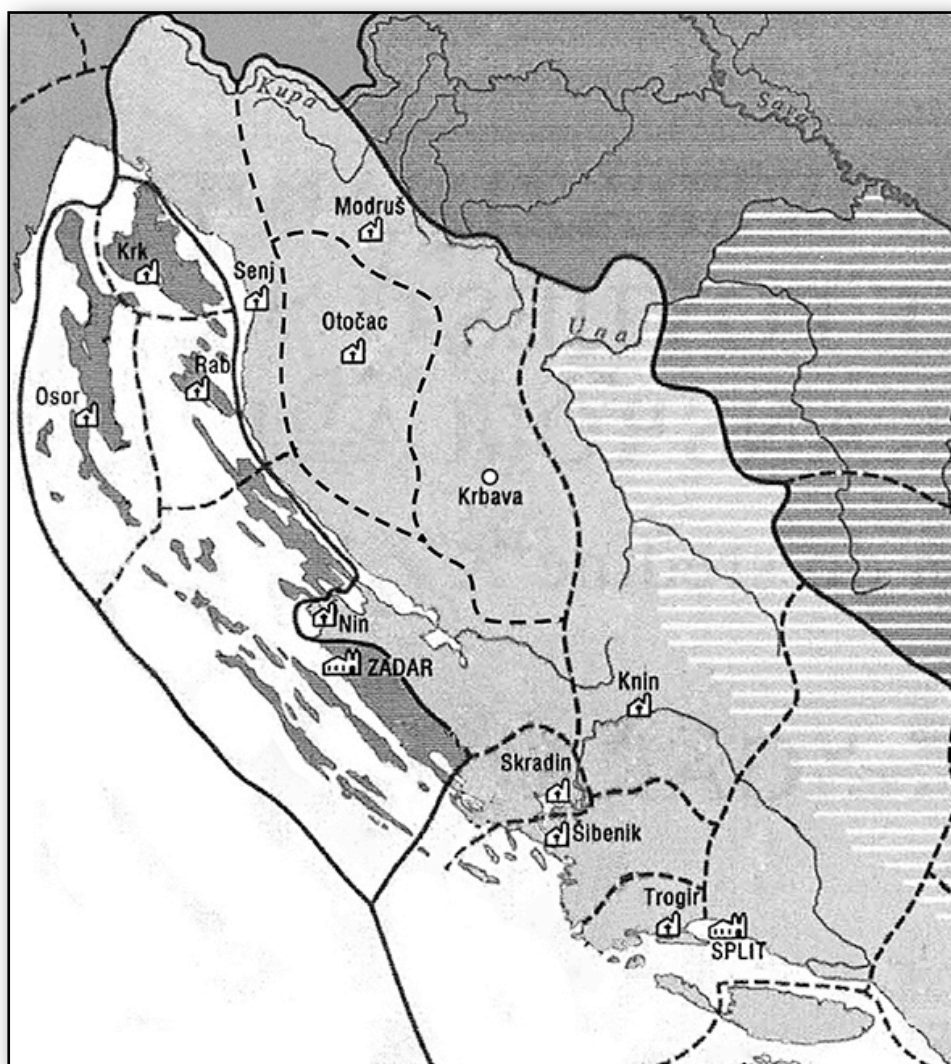
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<sup>124</sup> This can be gathered from the papal bull dated November 14 1457, by which pope Calixtus III (r. 1455–1458) gave the monastery *in commendam* to Giovanni Battista Sabelli, where it is indicated that earlier, following the death of abbot Matthew, Francis, at the time bishop of Krk and now of Krbava, gave it *in commendam* to Nicholas who had until then been a cleric of Kotor and was now the newly appointed bishop of Senj; see App. 1, doc. 4: *Olim siquidem, ut nuper accepimus, monasterio sancte Lucie de Bescha ordinis Benedicti Veglensis diocesis ex eo vacanti, quod quondam Matheus Monachus tunc illius Abbas ex certis rationabilibus causis ad id animum suum moventibus regimini et administrationi dicti monasterii, cui tunc preerat, in manibus Venerabilis fratris nostri Francisci tunc Veglensis, nunc vero Corbaviensis Episcopi extra Romanam curiam sponte cessit, idemque Franciscus Episcopus cessionem predictam extra eandem curiam duxit auctoritate ordinaria admittendam: Franciscus Episcopus prefatus dictum monasterium sic vacans dilecto filio Nicolao Machin Electo Segniensi, tunc clerico Catharensis diocesis, sub certis modo et forma commendavit.* Since the testament of count John Frankopan dated March 2 1453 (for which see Šime Ljubić, ed., *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum et artium, 1876), 98–101) still lists Matthew as the abbot of St Lucia in Baška, and since Francis was transferred to the bishopric of Krbava in 1456, it can be concluded that Nicholas was appointed abbot at some point during this period. For the history of the monastery, see Vjekoslav Štefanić, 'Opatija sv. Lucije u Baški i drugi benediktinski samostani na Krku' [The abbey of St Lucia in Baška and other benedictine monasteries on Krk], *Croatia sacra: Arkiv za crkvenu povijest Hrvata* 6 (1936): 1–86.

<sup>125</sup> Klaić, *Frankapani*, 236–238.

<sup>126</sup> Štefanić, 'Opatija sv. Lucije,' 32–36; Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 144–146.

Modruš.<sup>127</sup> The transfer, along with the elevation of Otočac, the seat of Sigismund Frankopan's rule, to the status of bishopric in the same year,<sup>128</sup> led to a significant redrawing of the ecclesiastical geography of the Frankopan dominions (see Map 2). This along with the arranged appointments and transfers of the bishops themselves represented an effort on part of some of the brothers to define and more effectively govern their respective dominions in the first decade following the division of the family's patrimony. It is precisely within this context of intra-dynastical politics ensuing in the decade after the division of the Frankopan dominions that we must analyze the succession of Nicholas' first ecclesiastical appointments.



*Map 2: Ecclesiastical geography of northern Croatia and Dalmatia after 1460, with Frankopan dominions covering the bishoprics of Krk, Senj and Otočac along with the northern parts of the Modruš see*

<sup>127</sup> See the most recent treatment of the topic by Borislav Grgin, 'Krbavska i Modruška biskupija u kontekstu kasnosrednjovjekovne hrvatske povijesti' [The bishopric of Krbava and Modruš in the context of the late medieval history of Croatia], in *Humanitas et Litterae: Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka* [Humanitas et litterae: Essays in honor of Franjo Šanjek], ed. Lovorka Čoralčić and Slavko Slišković, 319–330 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 320–324.

<sup>128</sup> Mercati, 'Notize varie,' 216–217; Klaić, *Frankapani*, 247.

Though it remains open through which connections Nicholas started his ecclesiastical career on Krk, his fortunes were tied to bishop Francis and count Stephen. This can be seen from Stephen's donation to one of his subjects, Martin Oštreherić, issued on July 10 1457 in Modruš, which reveals that, though still acting as the abbot of St Lucia in Baška, Nicholas followed Francis' suit and moved to Stephen's seat of rule.<sup>129</sup> (He himself would later refer to this period of his life in the Frankopan dominions in the revised version of his *De bellis Gothorum*, where he recounted the story of a revenant coming back from the grave and impregnating his own widow.<sup>130</sup>) Not long after, in November of 1457, Nicholas was elected bishop of the coastal town of Senj,<sup>131</sup> an important port for the export of wood from its hinterland<sup>132</sup> which held a special place within the Frankopan dominions, since the 1449 division decreed that all lines of the family should enjoy equal control over the town and share its revenues.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, although Nicholas' appointment to the Senj bishopric was probably secured by Stephen, consensus among the brothers was needed. Such an interpretation gains more weight once one considers the fact that count Martin Frankopan, the second most influential among the brothers and particularly noted among contemporaries for

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<sup>129</sup> App. 1, doc. 1. The document in Croatian lists among the witnesses 'the lord abbot Nicholas from Kotor by birth' (*pred gospodinom Mikulu opatom, ki biše rodom iz Kotora*).

<sup>130</sup> App. 4, 1.9, appar. critic.: *Nos quoque ex huiusmodi monstroso congressu natum uidisse fateri puderet, ni eius rei innumeri ferme testes adhuc superuiverent in Segnia Liburniae urbe, cuius ecclesiae immeriti praefuimus. Vbi nobilis matrona incorruptae pudicitiae fama celebris post mortem uiri demonem ad se forma mariti crebro uentitantem inuita saepius passa, et frequenter familiarium tumultuario praesidio nequicquam defensa, hunc quem diximus filium peperit, paruum Bathium appellatum a Bathiae olim matris uiri nomine, exiguo corpore ac deformi, curtis brachiis, et facie qua Scythas uidere solemus lata atque obesa et parum ab hac Hunorum quam descripsimus dissimili. Nec demon uexare mulierem destitit, donec alterius filii opera ex equestri ordine, cui Georgio nomen erat, sepulcrum patris reseratum, inuentumque corpus uiuidum ac recens, plurimo rubens sanguine et dormienti simile, Episcopi Andreae praedecessoris nostri iussu acuta sude fuerit transfixum.* (Tr.: It would shame me to admit that I too have seen a child of such a monstrous union, had not nearly countless examples survived to this day in Senj, a town in Liburnia (sc. Croatia), in which I was undeservedly governing the church. There, a noble matron, known for her incorrupt and chaste morals, unwillingly yielded herself to a demon who after the death of her husband frequently visited her in his form. And though she was often defended in vain by a hastily assembled guard of her relatives, in the end she gave birth to this child that I referred to, which was named Bathius after her late husband Bathia. The child had a small and deformed body, short hands, and a face long and gaunt, just as we can usually see in Scythians and quite like that of the Huns, as I have described it. The demon did not desist from troubling the woman, until by the efforts of her other son, a knight called George, the father's grave was opened. After his body was found there alive and vigorous, red, full of blood and similar to that of a sleeper, it was pierced through with a sharp stick on the orders of bishop Andrew, my predecessor).

<sup>131</sup> App. 1, docs. 2, and 4.

<sup>132</sup> Bogumil Hrabak, 'Regionalna i međunarodna trgovina Mlečana i Dubrovčana drvetom iz Senja (XIV–XVIII stoljeće)' [Regional and international trade in wood from Senj by Venetians and Ragusans (XIV–XVIII centuries)], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 24 (1991): 57–107.

<sup>133</sup> Klaić, *Frankapani*, 235.

his piety,<sup>134</sup> secured for Nicholas additional revenue from the Cistercian abbey of Topusko in south west Slavonia for which the latter had to give up the benefice from the Baška abbey.<sup>135</sup>

Nevertheless, a puzzling passage of pope Pius' *Commentaries* suggests that already by this time Nicholas' activities were not confined to the borders of his bishopric. Writing on the events taking place at the Congress of Mantua, which he convened in the summer of 1459 in order to organize a crusade against the Ottomans,<sup>136</sup> Pius listed among the Hungarian legates 'Stephen, a count of Croatia from the Roman family of Frankopan,' but also 'bishops of Csanád and Senj'.<sup>137</sup> While some scholars took Pius II's words at face value concluding that Nicholas as bishop of Senj at the time was indeed present in Mantua as part of the Hungarian delegation,<sup>138</sup> others pointed to Hungarian and Venetian documents that listed Francis bishop of Krbava instead of Nicholas among the legates, concluding that Pius made a mistake and that Nicholas was not present there.<sup>139</sup> However, though the documentary evidence leaves no doubt that Nicholas was not an official member of Corvinus' delegation, one should not rule out the possibility that he did accompany Stephen and Francis to the council in unofficial capacity as part of their large retinue,<sup>140</sup> prompting the pope to erroneously include him among the legates. As will be seen in the following pages, in the spring or autumn of 1462, Nicholas sent his *De mortalium felicitate* to the pope, while in the bull appointing him the papal legate to Bosnia himself referred to the instructions given to him in person (*quae tibi uerbo commisimus*). Therefore it may have been already in this period that pope Pius II

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<sup>134</sup> Klaić, *Frankapani*, 238–240.

<sup>135</sup> App. 1, docs. 3, and 7. No documents have been preserved that would give us an idea of his activities during the period of his Senj episcopate. However, given the town's special status within the Frankopan patrimony one can presume that they included careful negotiations between the brothers, especially when they briefly stood on opposite sides during the conflict between the Holy Roman emperor Frederick III and Matthias Corvinus over the Hungarian throne.

<sup>136</sup> For the Congress of Mantua and its immediate aftermath, see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant* (Philadelphia PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), vol. 2, 196–230.

<sup>137</sup> Pius Secundus Pontifex Maximus, *Commentarii*, vol. 1, ed. Ibolya Bellus and Iván Boronkai (Budapest: Balassi kiadó, 1993), 143: *Verum prius legati Bosnenses ex Mantua recesserunt, quam proditio innotesceret, quæ ad legatos Hungaros primum delata est. Ii fuerunt episcopi duo: Cenadiensis et Segniensis, et cum his Stephanus Croatiae comes – ab origine Romanus Frangepania gente, quae sanctissimum olim pontificem Gregorium produxit, præsulum decus ac normam – et Tarvisinus quidam doctor, cui postea Pius apud Dalmatas episcopatum commisit* (Tr.: The Bosnian envoys left Mantua before this treachery was revealed. It was first reported to the Hungarian ambassadors: the bishops of Csanád and Senj, along with Stephen, a Croatian count – from the Roman family of Frankopan, which once produced St. Gregory, the glory and model of all popes – and a certain scholar of Treviso whom Pius later appointed to a bishopric in Dalmatia).

<sup>138</sup> See most notably Kurelac, 'Nikola Modruški,' 126.

<sup>139</sup> See most notably Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 216.

<sup>140</sup> Klaić, *Frankapani*, 245–246, quotes a royal donation issued by Matthias to Stephen where the king refers to the ten months that the count 'spent in Mantua accompanied by a large retinue all at his own expense.'

recognized Nicholas' diplomatic potential on which he would later rely with regard to his anti-Ottoman designs in the Balkans.

### ***Bishop of Modruš and Papal Legate: Stepping on the International Stage***

The turning point in Nicholas' career came in March 1461, when following Francis' death he was appointed his successor as bishop of Modruš.<sup>141</sup> Lying fifty kilometers from Senj further inland, Modruš, today a village of some two hundred inhabitants, was at the time next to Senj the most important town of Croatia, situated on the market road that led from Zagreb in Slavonia to the Adriatic. The city was, moreover, the traditional center of the Frankopan dominions, which after the death of Nicholas IV became the seat of rule of his most influential son, Stephen.<sup>142</sup> So not only that Nicholas' transfer represented an advancement in economic terms – the newly founded Modruš bishopric guaranteed somewhat higher revenue than that of Senj,<sup>143</sup> which in addition further lost on its significance in 1460 after Otočac, Sigismund Frankopan's seat and a parish of Senj, was elevated to the status of an independent bishopric – it placed Nicholas in the role of Stephen's chief collaborator and advisor. As a matter of fact, what the succession of his appointments to the abbey of St Lucia and the bishopric of Senj, the benefice of Topusko, his presence in Modruš in 1457, along with his probable presence in Mantua in 1459 in Stephen's and Francis' retinue, all suggest is that Nicholas was long groomed for this position. To Stephen, who would in these first years of Corvinus' rule act as one of the king's most important supporters in the conflict against the emperor and in this way play an important role in regional politics, Nicholas – a younger, well-educated, and, as his career amply testifies, ambitious cleric with connections to the Venetian elite – must have seemed as the perfect collaborator in his own diplomatic dealings with the king, the pope and the doge.

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<sup>141</sup> App. 1, docs. 5, and 19.

<sup>142</sup> On the history of medieval Modruš, see Milan Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš: Grad knezova Krčkih-Frankopana i biskupa Krbavsko-modruške biskupije* [Medieval Modruš: The town of the counts of Krk-Frankopan and the bishops of the Krbava-Modruš bishopric] (Ogulin: Matica hrvatska ogranak Ogulin, 2008).

<sup>143</sup> App. 1, docs. 5, and 19. Upon his appointment to the bishopric, a bishop had to pay to the Apostolic Camera an amount for the common services corresponding to one third of the bishopric's annual income. Since Nicholas paid 50 florins upon his appointment to the see of Senj and 70 for the Modruš one, it follows that the annual income of the Senj bishopric was 150 florins, that of Modruš 210 florins. In addition, Martin Frankopan secured from pope Pius the confirmation that Nicholas would continue to enjoy the benefice of the Topusko abbey (App. 1, doc. 6).

Nicholas' move to Modruš, to the role of Stephen's bishop, allowed him to establish stronger contacts outside the borders of his bishopric. For one thing he came into closer contact with the Hungarian elite, and it is already his first winter as bishop of Modruš, the winter of 1462, that we find him spending together with other learned men of the kingdom in Oradea (Nagyvárad), in the palace of bishop John Vitéz, one of Corvinus' most influential advisors. The fact that two years later Nicholas referred to this winter as the one he would 'always remember' clearly suggests that it was a threshold event ushering him into Vitéz's circle.<sup>144</sup> Yet, leaving his Hungarian connections aside for the moment, we turn back to pope Pius II. For though Nicholas may have enjoyed personal contacts with the pope even earlier, at Mantua, it is precisely in this period that he saw it opportune to offer a more ambitious presentation of his credentials in the form of his first work, *De mortalium felicitate*. A copy of the work, not preserved today, was sent to Pius in 1462, not long after the winter discussions in Vitéz's circle upon which, as Nicholas would later profess, it was based.<sup>145</sup> This theological work, discussing the question of whether a man can perceive his purpose through reasoning or only through divine revelation, represented an ambitious achievement.<sup>146</sup> Rather than organizing it as a treatise argued from the authorial perspective, Nicholas decided to couch it in the form of a dialogue, which allowed him to present his own social standing by including himself within a circle of prominent intellectuals. In this respect it is significant that rather than presenting discussions as taking place in Vitéz's library among the members of his circle, where as he himself would later state they actually took place, Nicholas chose to set the dialogue in the Venetian Scuola di Rialto, with his teacher Paul of Pergola and two of his fellow students, Domenico Bragadin and Giovanni Cesariense, acting as the interlocutors and he himself as the silent participant. The decision may have been motivated by his still fledgeling social status within the kingdom's elite, where he enjoyed a position considerably less powerful than Vitéz, or Stephen Várdai archbishop of Kalocsa and Janus Pannonius bishop of Pécs, the leading prelates of the kingdom. Setting the dialogue in Venice, in the Scuola di Rialto, on the other hand, allowed him to tie himself to a prestigious school and in this way exhibit his educational credentials to the pope.

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<sup>144</sup> For the winter spent in Vitéz's circle and Nicholas' connection to it, see further in the text, esp. n. 181.

<sup>145</sup> For the dating of the work, see n. 183.

<sup>146</sup> For the edition of the work, see Lepori, ed., 'De mortalium foelicitate.' For the analysis of the work, see Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 559–570; Schiffler, 'Filozofski Dijalog o sreći smrtnika,' 95–105; and Banić-Pajnić, 'Modruški o ljudskoj sreći,' 79–98.



Such high profile networking strategy was not without an effect. Notwithstanding an episode in the summer of 1462 which he spent imprisoned at the hands of the Kurjaković counts who unsuccessfully tried to pressure the pope into relocating the bishopric back to Krbava,<sup>147</sup> the opportunities offered by Nicholas' move to Modruš led to an evident rise in his profile both at the Curia and at Matthias' court and soon took him from the world of local Croatian intra-dynastical politics to that of important diplomatic missions connected to the, at the time, central political question of the region and one which, as this dissertation will show, would define his own career: the Ottoman advances in the Balkans and the fate of the neighboring kingdom of Bosnia.<sup>148</sup>

Bosnia has long enjoyed the precarious political situation. After the death of king Tvrtko I Kotromanić (ban of Bosnia 1353–1377, king of Bosnia 1377–1391), who styled himself also as king of Serbia, Croatia and Dalmatia and under whose rule the kingdom reached its apogee, the following decades witnessed the corrosion of centralized authority and growing internal dissensions between the kings and part of the nobility.<sup>149</sup> As a result Bosnia would in the course of first half of the fifteenth century gradually weaken and, just as the Despotate of Serbia and the Principality of Wallachia, eventually turn into a buffer state by which the Hungarian kings starting with Sigismund of Luxembourg strove to curb the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans.<sup>150</sup> In this period the status of the kingdom in relation to

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<sup>147</sup> The bishop was abducted by Charles Kurjaković in the second half of May and released by August. Though initially the count tried to secure either the transfer of the episcopal seat back to Krbava or the establishment of a new diocese, he eventually consented to release the bishop in exchange for the absolution of sins, which was performed by Matthias de Baronellis, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St George of Kopriva. For a detailed analysis of the episode, see Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga.' For the documents and letters concerning this episode, see App. 1, docs. 9, 10, and 11, as well as App. 2, lett. 1.

<sup>148</sup> Two charters have been preserved from the first year of Nicholas' episcopate of Modruš that testify to his engagement with matters concerning his bishopric. On October 8 1461 he relinquished the tithe owed to the bishopric by the Churches of St Mary and of St Savior for the purpose of construction and maintenance of altars in them, (App. 1, doc. 7), while the following May, at the request of count Martin, he relinquished the revenues owed to the bishopric by the Bužana archpresbyterate in favor of the Pauline monastery of St Mary in Novi (App. 1, doc. 8).

<sup>149</sup> For the history of the Kingdom of Bosnia after Tvrtko I's death, and particularly its relation to the Hungarian crown, see the recent extensive study by Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*. For an overview of the late medieval history of Bosnia, see Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 17–21, 143–149, 275–285, 368–370, 392–395, 453–488, 577–590.

<sup>150</sup> Sigismund's defensive system of buffer states was analyzed by Ivica Prlender, 'Sporazum u Tati 1426. godine i Žigmundovi obrambeni sustavi' [The treaty of Tata in 1426 and Sigismund's defensive systems], *Historijski zbornik* 44 (1991): 23–41; but see also Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 236–237. For fifteenth-century Balkans in general and the Ottoman advances, see Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 453–612.

the Hungarian crown changed according to the political circumstances, oscillating between enforced vassalage and factual independence. This independence was above all reflected in the rule of the hereditary dynasty, the Kotromanić, and the existence of the Bosnian Church, which seems not to have had a large popular following but which had supporters within the most powerful noble families. The long-debated question whether the Bosnian Church was a ‘Manichean’ dualist heresy or merely a schismatic church far exceeds the scope of this dissertation.<sup>151</sup> What matters for the present discussions is that it was viewed as ‘Manichean’ by the papacy, which starting with Eugenius IV (r. 1431–1447) sought to mend its corroded authority in Christendom through politics of church union and the organization of anti-Ottoman crusades, and as a result increasingly started to play a role in Bosnian politics as well. At the same time, with the Hungarian incapability to stop the growing Ottoman pressure, especially after the heavy defeats in 1444 at Varna and 1448 at the Kosovo Field, as well as the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Bosnian king Stephen Tomaš (r. 1441–1461) became increasingly receptive of papal calls. In order to secure help from the popes he started bartering his cancellation of support to the Bosnian church and his conversion to Catholicism, which seems to have finally ensued in the later part of his reign, in the period of 1457–1459.<sup>152</sup>

With the fall of Constantinople began the concluding phase of the Ottoman attack on the remnants of the Hungarian buffer system (see Map 3).<sup>153</sup> While Pius II was at the Congress at Mantua in 1459 unsuccessfully trying to organize the Christian rulers into an anti-Ottoman league, Smederevo fell and with it the Despotate of Serbia, while not long after, in 1462, further east Vlad Țepeș Dracula (r. 1448, 1456–1462, 1476), a Hungarian vassal, was after a difficult campaign driven from Wallachia, which was turned into an Ottoman tributary state under the rule of his brother Radu III the Fair (r. 1462–1475). With Serbia and Wallachia subjugated, the next campaign of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481)

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<sup>151</sup> The literature on the Bosnian church abounds and is highly polemical, but see John V. A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church, A New Interpretation: A Study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); and a discussion by Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 587–613.

<sup>152</sup> For papal politics of church union and the crusades during the pontificates of Eugenius IV and Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455), see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 39–160. For a more detailed view of the Hungarian and Bosnian perspectives, see Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 278–297; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 289–292, 334–337.

<sup>153</sup> For the history of the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans after the fall of Constantinople one can still rely on Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 116–235; see also Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 161–239.

was widely expected to be directed at Bosnia, and indeed the desperate political situation faced by the new king of Bosnia, Stephen Tomašević (r. 1461–1463), can be seen from his letter to the pope, transmitted through Pius' *Commentaries*. Facing the impending threat of annexation by the Ottomans, Hungarian pretensions of suzerainty, and long lasting internal dissensions within the kingdom itself, Stephen Tomašević agreed to papal requests for accepting an unconditionally Catholic position, while the latter sent the royal crown to Bosnia to strengthen his authority before the impending Ottoman attack.<sup>154</sup> Since this act formally confirmed the kingdom's independence in relation to the Hungarian crown, Pius II made strenuous diplomatic efforts in order to appease the situation between Stephen and the new Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus, who in spite of accepting this rapprochement never renounced his suzerain rights to the Bosnian kingdom.<sup>155</sup>

These political developments eventually, at the turn to 1463, brought Nicholas of Modruš, accompanied by a retinue of twenty men, as the last in the long series of papal legates that over the course of two decades circulated to the Bosnian court.<sup>156</sup> Starting with the legation of

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<sup>154</sup> Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 341–345. For the letter, see Pius, *Commentarii*, 534–535.

<sup>155</sup> Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 345–350.

<sup>156</sup> App. 1, docs. 12, and 13. Taking the date from the passage in Nicholas' *De humilitate* at face value (App. 1, doc. 25: *Tertio siquidem Pii Pontificis Maximi anno cum legatione apud Regem Bosnae fungerer, unius nostrorum, qui Turco regnum illud inuadente forte captus est, Scythia quidam e mercenariis ipsius militibus ardentissima cupiditate post abreptum uoratumque dentibus nasum cum auriculis cruorem uniuersum ex patefactis hausit praecordiis*. Tr.: *During the third year of pope Pius' pontificate when I was the legate with the king of Bosnia, one of my men was accidentally captured in the Turkish invasion of the kingdom. Some Scythian mercenary used his teeth to rip his nose and ears off and then ate them. With great passion he then opened his heart and drank all of the blood*), Mercati argued that Nicholas carried out this post even earlier, in the third year of Pius' pontificate, i. e. between September 1460 and August 1461. This supposed 'mission' has been frequently repeated in secondary literature ever since, with some scholars even going so far as to claim – without any basis in the source material – that Nicholas was permanently based in Bosnia for the period of 1461–1463 and hence the papal legate who crowned Stephen Tomašević in the autumn of 1461 (see e. g. Ančić, 'Renesansna diplomacija i rat,' 149). However, there can be no doubt that we are dealing here with Nicholas' error in dating and that he was referring to the fifth year of Pius' pontificate, more precisely to the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia in 1463, and that this was his only mission to the Bosnian court, because of the following: A) papal legations to Bosnia are precisely documented, and the papal legate who was based there permanently during this period was Natale Giorgio, who was joined by Lorenzo Zane for a short period and succeeded by Lucas Tolentić; B) there is not a single document that would confirm that Nicholas was the legate during this period as well; C) in his letter appointing Nicholas as the apostolic legate in Bosnia to 1462, Pius himself does not refer to any previous mission that the bishop might have undertaken in the same kingdom; D) after Mehmed's expedition to Serbia in 1459, the king of Bosnia Stephen Tomaš agreed to pay the tribute to the sultan, which was cancelled only by his son, Stephen Tomašević, in the second half of December of 1462, precisely when Nicholas arrived at the court; E) *De humilitate* is a moral philosophical treatise composed many years later, in 1470, where the story functions as an *exemplum* of cruelty of the 'Scythian Turks' personally witnessed by the author – it is not a historiographical work where the bishop would be attentive to chronology; and, finally, F) the cruelty of the 'Scythian' mercenary against one of his own men, referred to by Nicholas, along with the very phrase *Turco regnum illud inuadente* more than anything evoke the Ottoman conquest of the kingdom, in the course of which, as he would later lament in *Defensio*, Nicholas lost nineteen men of his retinue (see further in the text).

Thomas Tommasini bishop of Hvar in 1439, the activity particularly intensified after the fall of Serbia in 1459, with the legations of Natale Giorgio bishop of Nin (appointed on December 28 1460 and permanently resident in Bosnia until his death in January 1462), Lorenzo Zane archbishop of Split (appointed March 23 1461), and Lucas Tolentić archdeacon of Šibenik (present in Bosnia during the first half of 1462).<sup>157</sup> The pope's decision to appoint Nicholas as the legate was hardly surprising. As others before him, he was a prelate from a neighboring bishopric. In addition, however, as bishop of Modruš, Nicholas was the chief collaborator of Stephen Frankopan, one of the key political figures of the immediate region; he was an expert on theological matters (or at least ambitiously presenting himself as such), and, unlike Natale Giorgio and Lorenzo Zane, he was of the same cultural, South Slavic, background. Finally, even the role that Nicholas would eventually play was profoundly different than that of any other legate before him. To be sure, the bull of appointment reveals that he was supposed to bring to a close 'certain strenuous negotiations concerning the matters of the Catholic faith' (*pro quibusdam arduis negotiis fidem catholicam concernentibus*), undoubtedly connected to consequences of conversion of the 'Manicheans,' that is to say of the members of the Bosnian church, in 1459.<sup>158</sup> However, the bishop's instructions were not only concerned with religious matters. In the bull of appointment Pius II refers to another letter (*quae in certis aliis nostris litteris expressa sunt*) he sent to Nicholas, as well as to the instructions he had given him in person (*quae tibi uerbo commisimus*). What the other set of instructions contained it is not said, but it is significant that immediately upon his arrival, king Stephen Tomašević suddenly cancelled the tribute to the sultan and attacked one of the neighboring Ottoman strongholds. In response sultan Mehmed II appeared at the head of a great army, and within half a year the kingdom fell with the king himself beheaded and major part of the leading nobles taken to captivity.

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<sup>157</sup> Jadranka Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine: Rimska kurija i Dalmacija u XV. stoljeću* [A way to an ecclesiastical benefice: Roman Curia and the fifteenth-century Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 2007), 263, n. 61; 280; and 264–265, n. 69.

<sup>158</sup> Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 334–337.



Map 3: Ottoman advances in the Balkans in the 14th and 15th centuries

The *Commentaries* of pope Pius II represent one of the most important testimonies to the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia.<sup>159</sup> According to Pius, immediately after his arrival at Tomašević's court, the papal legate Nicholas of Modruš advised the king to cancel the annual tribute owed to Mehmed II and attack one of his fortresses. In response the sultan quickly assembled an army in order to subjugate the kingdom, while Nicholas traveled to Hungary to prompt Matthias Corvinus into leading an expedition south. However, soon after the legate

<sup>159</sup> For the passage in which pope Pius II describes the fall of Bosnia, see App. 1, doc. 16.

left the kingdom, during May and June, Bobovac, one of the main fortresses of the kingdom fell to the Turks, because of the betrayal of its commander, a crypto-Manichean by the name of Radak (*Radaces*). Moreover, in the process the king himself was captured and beheaded, while the major part of the nobility was taken into captivity. Pius' account elicited much discussion from the modern Bosnian historians – Srećko Džaja, Marko Šunjić, Mladen Ančić, and Dubravko Lovrenović in particular – who all argue, convincingly, that the pope based this account on the reports of his legate Nicholas of Modruš. For though these reports have not been preserved, the bishop did recount the events in his final work, *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*, composed at the turn to 1480,<sup>160</sup> where he placed the blame for the fall of the kingdom with the 'Manicheans' in the same manner as Pius had done in his *Commentaries*.<sup>161</sup> However, while Bosnian historians in general accept Nicholas' and Pius' accounts, they firmly reject the part of the 'Manichean' betrayal. They rightfully stress that the king had little influence over the course of the events, and that the fall was inevitable, they also present the kingdom as standing unified during the invasion and, in order to support this interpretation, place the blame on Corvinus, the pope and Nicholas. Within such an interpretation, Nicholas is presented as an incompetent diplomat who invented the story of the 'Manicheans' delivering the most important fortress to the Ottomans in order to account for his own failure as well as that of the Curia to save the kingdom.<sup>162</sup>

However, as to what exactly happened afterwards in the spring of 1463 when Nicholas already left Bosnia to solicit help from Hungary, whether the 'Manicheans,' i.e. the nobles associated with the Bosnian church, did indeed deliver the most important fortress of the kingdom to the Ottomans or were simply evoked as the standard scape goats by Nicholas, Pius and Corvinus, it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion. The particulars of the fall of the Bosnian kingdom, after all, far exceed the scope of this dissertation. What matters for the present discussion is that, as will be seen shortly, Nicholas' own performance was not judged

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<sup>160</sup> Džaja, 'Ideološki i politološki aspekti,' Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija*, 364–365; Ančić, 'Renesansna diplomacija i rat,' Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 356.

<sup>161</sup> App. 5, cap. 18, but see further in the text.

<sup>162</sup> It should be noted, however, that such an interpretation completely passes over the fact that Nicholas' account of nobles delivering Bobovac to Mehmed II perfectly agrees with the active role played by the Ottomans in the internal divisions between the king and part of the nobility since the beginning of the century. The only part of Nicholas' account that can be, in my view, subject to debate is the fact that he saw the religious motivations behind it and identify the 'Manichean heresiarchs,' i. e. the leaders of the Bosnian Church, as the traitors, which is above all connected to the question of the influence of the church in the life of the kingdom, especially after the professed conversion of 1459.

poorly neither by the pope nor by Matthias Corvinus. This suggests that his actions, even if he indeed was the one who advised Tomašević to attack one of the neighboring fortresses, were carried out on the pope's orders. Such an interpretation is corroborated by the pope's reference to another set of instructions in Nicholas' bull of appointment. Given the circumstances, these were probably the same as the instructions of one of the previous legates, Lorenzo Zane archbishop of Split, who we know was explicitly mandated to call on a crusade and start a war if he deemed it necessary.<sup>163</sup> Finally, the decision to attack a neighboring Ottoman stronghold should also not cause bewilderment, since it was a standard tactic of the anti-Ottoman wars in the Balkans during this period. For instance, in 1459, while Mehmed was preparing to launch his campaign against Smederevo, Tomašević's father, Stephen Tomaš, fearing his own position and confident of his alliance with Corvinus, preemptively laid siege to Hodidjed, the most important Ottoman stronghold in Bosnia, while at the same time, Thomas Palaiologos despot of Morea (r. 1423–1460), with papal support besieged Patras, one of the key Ottoman strongholds on the Peloponnesos.<sup>164</sup> It seems that the same preemptive reasoning was behind Tomašević's decision to cancel the tribute and attack the Ottoman fortress. As in 1459, it was also carried out in the expectation of an Ottoman large scale offensive on the one hand, and the intensive anti-Ottoman diplomatic activity mediated by the pope on the other. Rather than acts of folly, therefore, Tomašević's actions, just as those of Tomaš and Palaiologos, have to be interpreted as desperate attempts to secure a better defensive position before an imminent attack of the Ottoman main army.

The Ottoman conquest of the Kingdom of Bosnia in the spring of 1463 exposed not only southern Hungary, Slavonia and Croatia to the Ottoman raids but also Venetian Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, leading to a huge diplomatic activity across the Adriatic. With Corvinus preparing his counteroffensive in Bosnia, and the Venetians joining the war in an alliance with the king,

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<sup>163</sup> Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 292.

<sup>164</sup> Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 163–165.

pope Pius II renewed his efforts to organize an Italian and a larger Christian league.<sup>165</sup> The extent to which members of this alliance conducted intense diplomatic negotiations is again best revealed by the *Commentaries* of Pius II. The pope records the response he gave on September 22 to the ambassadors of Florence, which was, much like other northern Italian states, in the light of the Venice's rapid expansion into the Apennine peninsula during the quattrocento, disinclined to join the war that could only strengthen the latter's influence in Italy:

*This is a common war, and the victory should be sought with all means. We, together with Philip duke of Burgundy, will not abandon the Venetians, and joining our fleet with theirs, we will wreak havoc in all the maritime cities of the Turks. From the other side, Matthias king of Hungary will attack Mysia (sc. Moesia) Superior, Macedonia, and other neighboring regions with land forces. Mehmed, who has no shortage of strong enemies in Asia, will find it difficult to defend himself from all sides. He will be defeated, and according to my opinion, completely removed from Europe (...). We do not think that because of this the Venetians will, once they overpower the Turks, impose dominion over Italy. Not everything that the Turks hold in Europe will come under Venetian possession. The Peloponnesos will be ceded to them, and perhaps Boeotia and Attica, as well as many places in Acarnania and Epirus which are adjacent to the sea. George Scanderbeg will lay claim to the main parts of Macedonia, while there is no shortage of Greek nobles to seize rule over the rest of Greece once the Turk has been expelled, since it will be necessary to secure freedom for them as well. The rest which is situated next to Danube – that is to say Bulgaria, which was once called Mysia Inferior, Raška or Mysia Superior, Serbia, and Bosnia – and across the Danube, Wallachia – as the ancients called Dacia – in the Sarmatian or, as*

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<sup>165</sup> For the anti-Ottoman diplomacy in 1463 and 1464 and the military preparations of the pope, Venice, and Hungary, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 240–270. Much details are also provided by Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & co., 1910), 311–374. Numerous documents of Venetian provenance concerning the events in 1463 and 1464 have been published by Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnog slavenstva i mletačke republike* [Documents on the relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian republic], vol. 10 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1891).



*some would have it, Scythian land, all the way to the Black Sea will come under the Hungarians, whose lands they once were.*<sup>166</sup>

The quoted passage presented the military plans of the 1463 coalition and the utopian vision of the ‘post-Ottoman’ Balkans *in nuce*. While Corvinus was, with the land army, supposed to occupy Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Wallachia, and George Kastrioti Scanderbeg (r. 1443–1468) with his Albanian forces Macedonia, the papal fleet was to help the Venetians in securing the Morea and other territories in Greece. Finally, with the resulting collapse of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans – who would find it difficult to resist both the Christian forces from the west and Asian rulers in Asia Minor – the rest of mainland Greece was with Thrace and Constantinople supposed to represent the basis of the restored Byzantine empire under the surviving Palaiologoi. By the following month these plans were already put into motion. Matthias Corvinus, having set the course of actions with Venice and the pope, first conducted a short expedition to Serbia, and then immediately started his Bosnian campaign by which he sought to organize the defense of his southern border and set the base for the future course of actions.<sup>167</sup> The three-month-long campaign resulted, finally, in the conquest of north-western Bosnia together with the Kotromanić royal seat of Jajce, while other major fortresses and important mining towns in the east of the country remained in Ottoman hands. With the coming of the winter Corvinus returned to Hungary with the army and his retinue, while another expedition was being planned for the next year, which was to be coordinated with the fleet under Pius’ personal command setting off from Ancona, and the Venetian armies in Morea.

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<sup>166</sup> Pius, *Commentarii*, 597–598: *Commune bellum est, querenda est omni studio victoria, et nos quidem cum Philippo Burgundię duce Venetis non deerimus, classes classibus coniungemus, atque omnes maritimas urbes infestas reddemus Turchis. Ex altera parte Matthias Hungariae rex Superiorem Mysiam, Macedoniam, vicinasque regiones terrestribus copiis agitabit. Difficile erit Mahumeti, cui non desunt potentes in Asia inimici, omnibus in locis resistere. Vincetur, ut nostra fert opinio, atque ab Europa prorsus eliminabitur, nisi iustus et misericors Deus nostris offensus iniquitatibus aliud (quod absit!) de suo populo censuerit. Nec propterea Venetos Italię iugum imposituros arbitramur, quando de Turchis triumphaverint. Non omnia, quę Turchi occupant in Europa, Venetorum erunt. Peloponnesus illis cedit et fortasse Boetia atque Attica et in Acarnania et in Epiro pleraque loca, quę mari coherent. In Macedonia Georgius Scanderbechius primas partes sibi vendicabit, in aliis Gręcię regionibus non deerunt Gręci nobiles, qui Turcho eiecto tyrannidem occupent; quibus necesse erit libertatem relinquere. Reliqua, quę vergunt in Danubium – ut est Bulgaria, quę olim Inferior Mysia dicta est, et Rascia quę est Superior, et Servia, et Bosna – et ultra Danubium, Valachia – quam prisci Datiam vocavere – in solo Sarmatico, sive (ut quidam uolunt) Scythico usque ad Euxinum pontum cuncta ad Hungaros pervenient, quorum aliquando fuere possessio.*

<sup>167</sup> Matthias’ Bosnian campaign has been extensively treated by Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 363–371; see also Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 301.

Not only that the fall of Bosnia did not have a detrimental effect on Nicholas' career, but in 1463 he became, next to his patron Stephen Frankopan, one of the key diplomatic figures through which the particulars of the anti-Ottoman plans were negotiated between Buda, Venice and Rome. Following the bishop's arrival from Bosnia to Hungary in spring of 1463, Matthias sent the bishop, now acting in the double capacity of papal legate and royal ambassador, first in July to Dubrovnik and then to Venice in October, where we find the bishop seeking financial help for the Bosnian expedition, and no doubt negotiating military plans as well.<sup>168</sup> At the same time, the king invested Nicholas' patron, Stephen Frankopan, with the banship of Croatia and Dalmatia and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Italy in order to negotiate support from Ferrara and Milan, as well as to coordinate his actions with Venice and the pope.<sup>169</sup> After spending months engaged in such important diplomatic missions connected to the launching of wide-scale military operations that were to involve most of the western Balkans, by November the two joined the king's camp in the siege of Jajce.

This, finally, leads to the aforementioned *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*, a work which Nicholas composed in 1480 and which will be more extensively treated in the *Epilogue*, but which now we have to take into consideration since it offers the bishop's eye-witness account of the fall of the Bosnian kingdom:

*After Calixtus passed away, Pius came in his place, who as soon as he sat on Peter's throne turned his attention to the Turk. He traveled to Mantua and by the example of his predecessors roused the Christian rulers to join him so that by joint forces they would attack the common enemy. (...) While this was going on, the Turk was called by the heretics of the Manichean sect, whom, after they had been baptized against their will, the king of Bosnia had entrusted with all the most fortified castles of the kingdom, wishing to win people over through favors and honors. The entire Illyricum, now called Bosnia, was thus conquered through betrayal, with king Stephen himself captured and executed, and his reign submitted to great pillage and bloodshed. I myself, sent there by the pope, took not a small part in these events, and in spite of losing nineteen of my men, I escaped,*

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<sup>168</sup> App. 1, docs. 14, and 15.

<sup>169</sup> Klaić, *Frankapani*, 248–249.

*kept safe through greatest perils and unbelievable hardships owing more to divine rather than human help.*<sup>170</sup>

Having explained the particulars concerning the fall of Bosnia, Nicholas provided an account of the ensuing campaign of Matthias Corvinus:

*That invincible Caesar-like spirit of the pope was not broken by such a course of events but became even more zealous, as he rushed to search for help of others. Since he saw that he was deserted by the Italians, he sent legates across the entire Christendom: to the Spanish, British, Gauls (sc. French) and Germans, and directed me back to Pannonia to urge the invincible king of the Hungarians to bring help to the miserable remnants of the Illyrians, while some ambassadors of the Italians promised to cover part of the expenses for this war. I took on my orders, and having found the king not far away from Belgrade as he was returning with his victorious army and great spoils from Mysia (sc. Moesia, i.e. Serbia), I briefed him on the pope's orders. Eager to obey, he did not put up with the persuasions of many who advised him against it, and even though the winter was already approaching he quickly led his army into Illyricum with me during all this time in the retinue. Within three months the king took back from the Turks nearly seventy fortresses and banished the enemy from Jajce the most famous city of the entire kingdom in which the kings used to reside. He would have undoubtedly banished them from the entire kingdom, had the legates delivered the money that they had promised.*<sup>171</sup>

As was already said, Nicholas' account echoes his reports to the pope agreeing with Pius' in identifying the 'Manicheans' as the traitors. However, what is important to bear in mind is that *Defensio* is, as will be discussed in more detail in the *Epilogue*, a piece of papal propaganda

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<sup>170</sup> App. 5, cap. 18: *Mortuo Calixto Pius suffectus est, qui ut primum cathedram attigit Petri animum in Turcum intendit Mantuamque profectus cunctos ad se exemplo maiorum exciuit principes Christianos quo communibus omnium armis communem omnium hostem fortius aggredere per quos Itolorum coepta steterit expeditio ipsi si tacere uellent totus non taceret orbis. Dum haec ita geruntur Turcus sollicitatus ab heresiarchis sectae Manichaeorum quibus male libentibus baptizatis rex Bosnae homines beneficiis honoribusque demulcere cupiens munitissimas quasque regni arces crediderat, uniuerso Illyrico quod nunc Bosna cognominatur per prodicionem potitur rege ipso Stephano capto et trucidato, regno autem eius maximis ruinis cladibusque affecto, quarum ego missus a Pontifice non parua pars exstiti; nam unde uiginti meorum amissis ipse post maxima pericula incredibilesque labores diuina potius quam humana ope seruatus euasi.*

<sup>171</sup> App. 5, cap. 18: *His rebus non fractus sed uehementius accensus caesareus ille inuictissimusque Pontificis animus festinat externa quaerere praesidia quando domesticis Itolorum se desertum animaduertet, dimittit per uniuersas Christianorum prouincias legatos: ad Hispanos, Britannos, Gallos ac Germanos et me rursus in Pannonias destinat ad excitandum inuictissimum Regem Vngarorum illis miserandis Illyricorum reliquiis opem ferre pollicentibus ad id bellum partem sumptuum quibusdam Itolorum legatis. Capesso iussa nactusque Regem haud longe a Belgrado cum uictore exercitu incredibilique praeda e Mysia redeuntem, paucis mandata expono. Neque enim cupidissimus parendi animus multis se monere passus est, ducit impigre quamuis appetente iam hieme militem in Illyricum et intra tres menses me semper castra sequente septuaginta ferme oppida Turcis erripuit ac ex clarissima totius regni urbe Iaize in qua reges residere sunt soliti hostes pellit, toto procul dubio regno pulsurus si promissae ab oratoribus pecuniae datae fuissent.*

composed for print and wide circulation in the midst of the papal war against Florence and Milan. Therefore rather than representing an encomiastic praise of Corvinus, the king is here constructed as an inverted mirror to the Italians, as a ruler eager to *obey* the pope and coming to relieve Bosnia only on the latter's *orders* – in contrast to the actual course of events where Jajce, much like Belgrade, represented one of the key strategic points for the security of his own kingdom.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, even though Nicholas presented himself as delivering the papal orders to the king near Belgrade who only then decided to launch his expedition into Bosnia, in reality the bishop was still on a mission to Venice by the time Corvinus started his Bosnian campaign, and he was there on the king's orders no less.<sup>173</sup> Indeed, as the *Epilogue* will show, the quoted passage represents a part of the chapters that serve as the rhetorical climax of *Defensio*, which is not only supposed to downplay the role of secular rulers such as Corvinus, presenting them as the agents of the popes in the crusades, but also to extol Nicholas' own role in these events.<sup>174</sup>

Before proceeding with the discussion of Nicholas' career however, it is important to consider the important political consequences that Stephen Tomašević's demise and Matthias' reconquest of the part of Bosnia had. While earlier Bosnia had been ruled by a hereditary dynasty which in 1461 even received a papal confirmation of independence, Matthias' 1463 campaign allowed the king to realize Hungarian claims of suzerainty and place it – in the same manner as Slavonia, and jointly Croatia and Dalmatia – under the rule of a ban. Furthermore, while earlier these kingdoms were under separate administration, as it were, from this point on Matthias as well as his successors would regularly confer the governing over all of them to a single ban (or, occasionally, to two co-bans), all for the purpose of organizing an effective defense system against the Ottomans.<sup>175</sup> Such an organization of the

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<sup>172</sup> As Franz Babinger put it: 'As long as Hungarian troops in Bosnia could endanger his withdrawal, Mehmed and his successors were unable to lead their armies into the heart of Hungary, much less to threaten Germany. The Ottoman campaigns against Jajce, renewed in rapid succession in the ensuing period, demonstrate the strategic importance of this place;' see Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 232.

<sup>173</sup> App. 1, doc. 15.

<sup>174</sup> The chapters in question can be found in App. 5.

<sup>175</sup> The administration of bans in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia during these years has been recently treated in detail by Vedran Klaužer, 'Djelovanje Blaža Mađara, bana Bosne, Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije u njegovom prvom mandatu (1470.–1472.): Prilog poznavanju vršenja banske dužnosti u kasnom 15. stoljeću' [The activity of Blaise Magyar, the Ban of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, during his first term of duty (1470–1472): A contribution to research on the duties of a ban in the late fifteenth century], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 30 (2012): 123–144. See also Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 380–381; and Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 173.

part of the territory south of the Drava river, i.e. of the South Slavic kingdoms, would remain more or less the same not only until the end of Matthias' reign but until the collapse of the kingdom in 1526 at the Battle of Mohács. Nevertheless, the complex political relationship between the Hungarian and Bosnian crown would not cease with Tomašević's death. Though the king's son and daughter were with the fall of the kingdom taken to the Ottoman court, his mother, the dowager queen Catherine Vukčić Kosača (1424–1478), would together with part of the Bosnian nobility seek refuge in Rome, where she would join the Palaiologoi and other claimants to the kingdoms of the Balkans disappeared under the advances of Mehmed II. There she would be recognized by the papacy as the titular claimant to the Bosnian throne and continue to enjoy support until her death in 1478.<sup>176</sup>

### *At the Hungarian Court*

We now turn to the time Nicholas spent with the royal court during the siege of Jajce and the ensuing winter, and bring under closer scrutiny his connections to the Hungarian elite. If Corvinus' court made for a lively place where most important barons and prelates regularly took residence, this was even more so during the three-month-long siege of Jajce and the subsequent winter spent in Hungary, which found the entire elite of the Hungarian realm in Matthias' company.<sup>177</sup> Among others these included the barons, such as voivode of Transylvania Nicholas Újlaki, the ban of Slavonia Jan Vitovec, the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia Stephen Frankopan together with his brother Martin, but also the prelates and the leading intellectuals, Corvinus' two closest advisors, the archbishop of Kalocsa Stephen

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<sup>176</sup> Catherine's court in Rome will be treated in more detail in *Part I*.

<sup>177</sup> For the list of the Hungarian magnates and prelates at the siege of Jajce, see Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 363. That most of these spent the subsequent winter with the royal court is suggested by the comments of the Italian humanist Galeotto Marzio, to which we will soon turn, but can also be concluded from the royal charters during this period, for which see András Kubinyi, 'Adatok a Mátyás-kori királyi kancellária és az 1464. évi kancelláriai reform történetéhez' [Sources on the royal chancery and on the history of the 1464 chancery reform], *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio Philosophica* 9/1 (2004): 25–58, at pp. 54–55.

Várdai (ca. 1425–1471) and John Vitéz bishop of Oradea (ca. 1408–1472), together with the humanist Janus Pannonius bishop of Pécs (ca. 1434–1472).<sup>178</sup>

Nicholas' contact to the Hungarian elite date, as was shown, to 1462 and the winter he spent at Vitéz's palace at Oradea. However, the succession of diplomatic missions that were entrusted to him in the course of 1463 and the growing status he enjoyed as a result were the reason that the bishop saw this period spent in the royal retinue as a perfect opportunity to advance his position. To this end, within this short period of a few months Nicholas prepared three copies of his works in order to present them as gifts. First it is probably before the walls of Jajce that he presented Stephen Várdai archbishop of Kalocsa with *Navicula Petri*,<sup>179</sup> a short treatise written in the form of an epistle dedicated to the question of physical evil.<sup>180</sup> Lamenting 'these most turbulent times,'<sup>181</sup> Nicholas implicitly set his work against the backdrop of the precarious political situation brought about by the fall of the Bosnian kingdom, and by his work sought to exhort his addressee to accept physical evils as part of

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<sup>178</sup> For John Vitéz and the Hungarian intellectual circle in the first years of Corvinus' rule, see Klára Pajorin, 'The First Humanists at Matthias Corvinus' Court, the Early Inspirers of Flaunting Wealth and Power,' in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, ed. Péter Farbaky, et alii (Budapest: Budapest History Museum 2008), 139–145, though the entire exhibition catalogue is extremely useful in this respect. See also Klára Pajorin, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini ed i primi umanisti ungheresi,' in *Rapporti e scambi tra Umanesimo italiano ed Umanesimo europeo*, ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Nuovi orizzonti, 2001), 649–656; Klára Pajorin, 'La cultura di János Vitéz,' *Camoenae Hungaricae* 2 (2005): 13–22; and Klára Pajorin, 'I primordi della letteratura antiturca in Ungheria e Pio II,' in *Pio II umanista europeo*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Cesati, 2007), 815–827; Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius: Poet and Politician* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1981), 111–164. For the library of John Vitéz, see Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984); and the recent exhibition catalogue Ferenc Földesi, *A Star in the Raven's Shadow: János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary* (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 2008).

<sup>179</sup> Miroslav Kurelac dated the composition *Navicula Petri* to the period between 1460 and 1464 (Kurelac, 'Nikola Modruški,' 139), but the informations provided by the dedication letter allow for a more precise dating. First of all, since in the letter Nicholas is referred to as the bishop of Modruš and not Senj, March 11 1461 represents the *terminus post quem*. Yet, even more important is Nicholas' comment that the work 'does not come from a quiet study or a peaceful library but from the back of a galloping horse, on which,' he says, 'I was forced to sit for many months on account of state affairs of the utmost importance' (App. 3, lett. 3: *non enim ex quietis ueniunt camerula aut ex otiosa bibliotheca sed ex festinantis equi dorso, quo me iam multis ut nosti mensibus grauissimae rei publicae curae insidere coegerunt*). This is undoubtedly a reference to his missions to Dubrovnik in July and Venice in October of 1463, since these are his only attested missions in the service of the king. This leads to the conclusion that he presented Várdai with the work upon his return, that is to say in the fall of 1463.

<sup>180</sup> In the introduction Nicholas establishes the standard difference between the 'evil of sin' and the 'evils distributed according to God's decision,' that is to say between the moral evil committed by free moral agents and the physical evil wrought by God, and then limits himself to treat only the latter; see Modruški, 'Petrova lađica,' par. 5: *Non dicam de malo quod peccatum est, de quo grandis nobis sermo restat, sed de illis malis nunc loquor ut sunt poenae, carceres, exilia, tormenta, mortes, diuersa dolorum mala et cetera id genus, quae cuncta auctore Augustino Dei iudicio dispensantur, sed multis sunt ad probationem multis ad damnationem*.

<sup>181</sup> Modruški, 'Petrova lađica,' par. 2: *Siquidem in his docetur ratio qua in turbulentissima hac omnium tempestate, quam in Petri nauicula nauigantes iugiter patimur, naufragii discrimina effugere ualeamus*.

God's plan.<sup>182</sup> At the same time, however, the bishop chose to make ample use of his more ambitious work as well, *De mortalium felicitate*, which he had already presented to Pius II in 1462. Now, seemingly in fulfillment of his original promise, Nicholas presented John Vitéz with the dedication copy of the work, possibly now ÖNB MS lat. 2431.<sup>183</sup> The selection of the two dedicatees of the works was all but random. Stephen Várdai archbishop of Kalocsa and John Vitéz bishop of Oradea were chief advisors to Matthias Corvinus, the two most influential prelates of the Hungarian realm, who played an important role in its politics, and were precisely in the winter of 1464 appointed as chancellors of the kingdom.<sup>184</sup> Yet, the third manuscript Nicholas prepared during this short period of time was the most interesting one: a second copy of *De mortalium felicitate*, now the first fascicule of BC MS 276, produced after the copy presented to Vitéz.<sup>185</sup> Since this is an autograph manuscript copied on parchment

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<sup>182</sup> In the intellectual circles of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe, the problem of evil was closely related to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, whereby the physical evils wrought by 'the Turks' were perceived as God's punishment for the moral corruption of the Christian world. For instance the idea is fairly prominent in the *Commentarii de defectu fidei in oriente* of the Milanese humanist Andrea Biglia (1394?–1435), or especially in the works of Dalmatian humanists, such as Marko Marulić and Trankvil Andronik. For Biglia, see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 183; for Marulić and Andronik, see Marko Marulić, *Latinska manja djela* [Minor Latin works], vol. 2 (Split: Književni krug, 2011), 235–237.

<sup>183</sup> The composition of *De mortalium felicitate* was dated by Fernando Lepori to the period between 1459 and 1462, and the dedication of the work to John Vitéz to the period between March 1461 and August 1464 (Lepori, ed., 'De mortalium foelicitate,' 229–230). However, as with *Peter's Barge* (see n. 179), the dedication letter allows for a more precise dating, since Nicholas excused himself to Vitéz for not sending his work earlier by indicating that he was 'prevented by the state affairs of the utmost importance' (App. 3, lett. 2: *gravissimis rei publicae curis impeditus*), using nearly the same phrase as in the other work. This leads to the conclusion that Nicholas presented John Vitéz with the dedication copy of the work around the same time as he presented Várdai with *Navicula Petri*. Finally, since in the letter Nicholas also mentions that nearly two years have passed since he sent the work to pope Pius II (App. 3, lett. 2: *uisum est hanc nostram disceptationem prius ad sedem apostolicam deferendam, ut ipsius grauissimo sanctissimoque iudicio uel ruat uel consistat. Quod utique abhinc fere biennium et fecimus*), the composition and the first publication of the work can be dated to 1462, probably the spring of that year, since he spent most of the summer in the captivity of the Kurjaković counts (see n. 147). Finally, it is undoubtedly the winter of that particular year, i.e. 1462 and not earlier, that Nicholas spent at Vitéz's palace in Oradea in the circle of other learned men of the kingdom, the discussions among which, he claims in the letter, spurred him to compose the work (App. 3, lett. 2: *At nobis contra uisum est, praecipue ab illa foelicissima et a me semper memoranda hyeme, quam apud te Varadini cum plurimis uiris doctissimis in bibliotheca illa tua dignissima inter innumera clarissimorum uirorum uolumina saepius residentes iocundissimam amoenissimamque transegimus*). Most likely it is his move to the more important see of Modruš in March of 1461, to the position of Stephen Frankopan's bishop, as it were, that brought him into contact with the most influential men in the kingdom. Yet the key evidence for dating these discussions to 1462 represents the diatribe of Galeotto Marzio, who obviously held a personal grudge against Nicholas (see further in the text and especially n. 188). Since Galeotto arrived at Hungary for the first time at the end of 1461 before temporarily leaving in 1463, the winter of 1462 represents the only point that the two could have met in person, in Vitéz's palace.

<sup>184</sup> Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 313.

<sup>185</sup> Lepori, ed., 'De mortalium foelicitate,' 242.

with *bas-de-page* of the incipit folio sporting the double cross of Hungary,<sup>186</sup> there can be no doubt that – even if it is not accompanied by what Paul Oskar Kristeller called a letter of transmission – we are dealing here with the complimentary copy of his main work which Nicholas decided to present to the king himself.<sup>187</sup> The fact after leaving Hungary Nicholas seems to have, as will be seen below, completely cut his ties to the Hungarian elite, and that this manuscript in the course of the century found its way to a Roman library as happened with personal copies of the bishop’s own works, would seem to suggest that he prepared this manuscript for Corvinus during the winter he spent at the court but never presented it. Three books bearing his own works, all prepared within a short period of time, with one at least sporting the addressee’s coat of arms,<sup>188</sup> clearly reveal that Nicholas wanted to secure advancement at, or at least through influence of, the Hungarian court. This is corroborated by the dedication letters to Várdai and Vitéz, in both of which he conspicuously made sure to mention not only the ‘state affairs of the utmost importance’ that he had been entrusted with in the course of the past months, but his education in the prestigious Scuola di Rialto, whether explicitly, as in *De mortalium felicitate*, or implicitly, as in *Navicula Petri*.<sup>189</sup> The works may have been theological treatises but they also have to be seen in the light of their author’s self-fashioning, who made every effort to present himself to the king and his closest advisors as a bishop with top-notch education and experienced in high-level diplomacy.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to speak of any concrete ambitions he might have had at this point, as, aside from the dedication letters to Várdai and Vitéz, no private letter of his has been identified as of yet that would offer us a better insight into this extremely active period of his

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<sup>186</sup> BC MS 276 has the double cross in white on a blue base. Though the regular Hungarian coat of arms included the white/silver double cross on a red base, this was still not completely standardized at the time. For instance Corvinus’ copy of Ludovico Carbo’s *De divi Mathiae regis laudibus rebusque gestis dialogus*, now MTAK MS K.397, sports the double cross in red on a blue background. For a detailed description of BC MS 276, see App. 7, no. 6.

<sup>187</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, ‘Some Original Letters and Autograph Manuscripts of Marsilio Ficino,’ in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, vol. 3 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e di letteratura, 1993), 109–134, at p. 118, where Kristeller distinguishes between dedications and letter-prefaces integral to the work itself and those instances where the author presented someone with a ‘complimentary copy’ adding to it an accompanying ‘letter of transmission,’ which does not belong to the work but rather to this particular copy of it.

<sup>188</sup> *Navicula Petri* exists only in one later-date copy part of a humanist miscellany, AHAZU MS II.B.3, but taking into consideration Nicholas’ practice of adorning the dedication copies of his works with the dedicatees’ coat of arms, it is probable that the dedication copy of this work was also adorned with Várdai coat of arms. For the description of AHAZU MS II.B.3, see App. 7, no. 17.

<sup>189</sup> App. 3, lett. 3: *munera tibi ex Italis mercibus quas olim in exiguo ingenioli mei penu recondideram paraui* (Tr.: I have prepared for you a gift made from Italian goods, which I have stored long ago in the humble treasury of my mind).



career before he left for Rome by the summer of 1464. Interesting information, however, is provided by Galeotto Marzio (*ca.* 1424–1494/7), an Italian humanist who came to Hungary at the end of 1461 on the invitation from his fellow pupil from Guarino Guarini’s humanist school, Janus Pannonius, and who in all likelihood spent the same winter of 1462 at Vitéz’s palace as Nicholas.<sup>190</sup> In his moralistic compendium of stories from Matthias’ court, *De egregie, sapienter et iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae* (*On the Excellent, Wise and Facetious Sayings and Deeds of King Matthias*), composed twenty-two years later and dedicated to Matthias’ son John Corvinus (1473–1504), Galeotto characterized Modruš, the papal legate, as a sweet-talking sycophant, who one winter – undoubtedly the winter of 1464, during which Galeotto himself was in Italy – Nicholas swayed all the members of the Hungarian elite, barons and prelates alike.<sup>191</sup> Nicholas did not desist there, Galeotto continued, for in an effort to win the affection of Corvinus himself, he then secretly started accusing many of these same barons and prelates – even those that had received the bishop in their favor and showered him with gifts – of plotting against the king. In a dramatic finish to the story, Corvinus, seeing through Nicholas’ machinations all along, in the end forced the bishop to face the ones he was accusing. Stupefied by this unexpected turn of events Nicholas remained silent and, being unable to back his accusations, was forever banished from the kingdom.

Miroslav Kurelac interpreted this episode as a conflict staged by the king in order to remove ‘such a powerful figure’ from his court, arguing that this can be concluded from the authoritarian style of Matthias’ reign after his coronation in March of 1464 and his confrontation with pope Sixtus IV regarding the appointment of Nicholas’ successor in the

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<sup>190</sup> For an overview of Galeotto Marzio’s life and works, see Gabriella Miggiano, ‘Marzio, Galeotto (Galeottus Narniensis),’ in *DBI*, vol. 71 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/galeotto-marzio\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/galeotto-marzio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013). See also the volume edited by Umberto Corradi, ed., *Galeotto Marzio e l’Umanesimo italiano ed europeo* (Narni: Centro di studi storici di Narni, 1983). The study of his oeuvre has been enriched by the recent dissertation of Enikő Békés, ‘Galeotto Marzio *De doctrina promiscua* című művének eszmetörténeti vizsgálata’ [Intellectual-historical analysis of Galeotto Marzio’s *De doctrina promiscua*] (University of Szeged, 2012), which includes a critical edition of the selected chapters of the work; see also Enikő Békés, ‘Medical Astrology in Galeotto Marzio’s Treatise Dedicated to Lorenzo Il Magnifico,’ in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, 211–219 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>191</sup> For the edition of this work, see Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934). See also Enikő Békés, ‘Galeotto Marzio and the Court of King Matthias Corvinus (*De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*),’ *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 29 (2009): 287–296, where the author analyzes the image of the jesting king in the work. For Galeotto’s passage describing Nicholas of Modruš’s stay at Corvinus’ court, see App. 1, doc. 73.

Modruš bishopric in 1480.<sup>192</sup> However, in spite of the fact that Kurelac tried to view the episode in a wider context, it seems difficult to imagine that Matthias would have so readily removed the papal legate on whose help he himself had relied the year before, and that he would have done so in the course of the large-scale preparations for the joint papal-Venetian-Hungarian attack on the Ottomans that was due to be launch in the summer. Moreover, it is also difficult to speak of Nicholas as ‘such a powerful figure’ at Corvinus’ court, on the same level as Vitéz and Várdai. Though Nicholas was the papal legate that was supposed to coordinate actions in Bosnia, as a member of the Hungarian elite he still enjoyed a position considerably less powerful than the two, to which the dedications of his works, and reference to Várdai as ‘one of his ‘dearest lords and fathers,’ vividly shed light on.<sup>193</sup> A more plausible part of Kurelac’s interpretation, supported by Borislav Grgin in his analysis of the episode, was the connection between Nicholas’ banishment from the kingdom and Corvinus’ centralization policy after his coronation in March of 1464, reflected in the king’s decision to transfer the banishment of Croatia and Dalmatia from Stephen Frankopan to the royal treasurer Imre Szapolyai, to whose administration he also added Slavonia and Bosnia.<sup>194</sup> Yet, though Kurelac and Grgin are probably right in identifying the political background, the dedications of Nicholas’ works suggest that the story is more complex. For Galeotto’s report – of how Nicholas managed to sway the members of the Hungarian elite, magnates and prelates alike – perfectly corresponds to the intensive networking that was meant to secure the favor of Corvinus’ two chief advisors and the king himself. In this respect, Galeotto’s lines that no lord, ‘neither great nor small, whether ecclesiastic or lay, remained free of bites of this vile viper’ (*nullus neque magnus neque parvus sive sacer sive profanus ... a morsibus huius pessimae viperae erat immunis*), who ‘turned his accusations even against those from whom he had received favor and gifts’ (*suas criminationes vertit etiam in eos ... a quibus honorem et munera acceperat*) may also be interpreted as more than merely a rhetorical amplification and could suggest that Nicholas did indeed get involved in intrigues in order to secure his position at the court, and that because of this he was banished.

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<sup>192</sup> Kurelac, ‘Nikola Modruški,’ 131–132.

<sup>193</sup> App. 3, lett. 3: *Cum autem ego te in carissimorum uel parentum uel dominorum numero habeam, ac ne omnino uacuis ad te reuertar manibus, munera tibi ex Italis mercibus quas olim in exiguo ingenioli mei penu recondideram parauī.*

<sup>194</sup> Grgin, ‘Biskup Nikola Modruški,’ 217–218; Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 90–92.

A number of evidence give credence to Galeotto's account that Nicholas' episode at the Hungarian court ended in a debacle. For even though Rome already reestablished itself as a locus where numerous prelates from all of Europe were increasingly flocking to, a rather low administrative position Nicholas assumed upon his arrival represented a serious career downfall. Next, it is indicative that after leaving for the Papal States, Nicholas never once returned to his bishopric and that, as it seems, completely cut off his ties to the entire Hungarian elite, from which he obviously had great expectations at the turn to 1464. Revealing are also the letters of cardinal Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini (1422–1479) – the closest collaborator to pope Pius II and at the time a supporter of Hungarian interests at the Curia – to Stephen Várdai, Janus Pannonius and John Vitéz, all composed on January 5 1465, which completely fail to mention Nicholas freshly arrived to Rome from the Hungarian court.<sup>195</sup> Even though it was precisely Ammannati who, as will be seen in *Part I*, served as one of Nicholas' patrons in Rome, this was clearly through no effort of the three. Finally, it is important to consider here the evidence from Nicholas' works. Seemingly, Nicholas' praise of Matthias' anti-Ottoman campaigns in his *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* suggest there was no bad blood. Yet, as was already suggested, the laudation of the king should be read as an inverted mirror to the Italians, the target of the bishop's polemic. In this respect, it is far more important to consider Nicholas' *On the Wars of the Goths*, a work that, as will be seen in *Part II* of the dissertation, presents a particularly shameful image of the Hungarians and is subversive of their rule over the South Slavic kingdoms. In sum, when it comes to Nicholas' episode at the Hungarian court, we have to take into consideration not only Corvinus' centralization efforts which, together with the administrative reforms on his realm's southern borders, directly went against the interests of the local magnates such as the Frankopans, but also the ignominious failure of Nicholas' personal ambitions to secure the king's favor. Though with the evidence at hand it is impossible to reach a decisive conclusion, what seems certain is that Nicholas was adamant to establish himself at the Hungarian court and that his move to the Papal States was more of a necessity than a choice.

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<sup>195</sup> Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444–1479)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1997), vol. 2, 598–607. For a short overview of his life, see Edith Pásztor, 'Ammannati (poi Ammannati Piccolomini), Jacopo,' in *DBI*, vol. 2 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-ammannati\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-ammannati_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013).

## PART I: THE FASHIONING OF A HUMANIST PRELATE

While Nicholas' diplomatic activities in 1463 and 1464 did receive much treatment from previous scholarship, the period of his curial career under Paul II (r. 1464–1471), which he spent as a official in the provinces, never sparked any interest whatsoever. While studies on Renaissance Rome only rarely introduced the bishop into discussion, even those scholars who focused on Nicholas merely noted his composition of *De consolatione*, the only work of his that was dated to this period. It is this period, however, that this dissertation takes into focus. It first presents the succession of administrative positions Nicholas held, followed by a discussions of the bishop's social networks. Yet, the central discussions of *Part I* revolves around the analysis of the bishop's library, which not only sheds light on his intellectual pursuits, but, as will be seen, presents us with a unique view into his engagement with the intellectual circles of Renaissance Rome. The results of these analyses are finally brought together and considered within the context of curial social dynamics, which allows us to reach a more nuanced view of Nicholas' own career as well as of pope Paul II's relationship to men of letters in general. Before proceeding with the analysis, however, it is first important to determine the bishop's social position upon his arrival to Rome in 1464, and present briefly the intellectual and social milieu in which he would have found himself.

To be sure, there can be no doubt that when Nicholas of Modruš stepped on the stage of Renaissance Rome he found himself at complete disadvantage. Most importantly, in spite of the fact that 1463 witnessed his stellar rise from dealing with local bishopric matters to acting as one of the key diplomatic figures in the organization of a grand-scale anti-Ottoman expedition, in the course of 1464 he lost all sources of protection. In winter he was banished from the court of Matthias Corvinus where he had painstakingly tried to build connections to the king's chief advisors and the king himself, while in the summer pope Pius II died in Ancona before embarking on a naval expedition that was supposed to join the Venetian and Hungarian army. Nicholas was not even able to count on the support of his former patron,

Stephen Frankopan, since the same turn of events at the Hungarian court saw the reversal of the count's own fortunes as well. In the administrative reorganizations Stephen ended up losing the banship of Croatia and Dalmatia and fell so out of favor that by 1465 it was widely rumored that the king would gather his army and lead it south in order to curb the count's influence.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, he was neither of aristocratic stock, nor did he have strong connections established along the family, communal, regional or national axes, as was the case with most of clerics and humanists who sought fortune at the Curia. Probably, the only social network on which the bishop was able to capitalize was that to the members of the Venetian patriciate, and though this was probably helpful in securing contacts among the Venetian prelates in the Curia, there were limits to what he could have expected from it.

Finally, neither were Nicholas' stocks as an intellectual of some extraordinary value in the new context. By the time he moved across the Adriatic, the rapid diffusion of humanism led to a full blown cultural revolution in the Curia. Succinctly, humanism might be defined as a self-conscious movement that propagated classicism as a new literary aesthetic manifested in an increased reliance on canonical works of classical and Christian antiquity as well as in imitation of its genres, styles and techniques. While during the due- and trecento it remained a concern of the handful of literati devoted to the discovery of long forgotten Latin works and shaping of the humanist canon,<sup>197</sup> in the course of the fifteenth century humanism slowly established itself as the defining factor of elite education,<sup>198</sup> and political propaganda across

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<sup>196</sup> The Milanese ambassador to Venice, Gerardo de Colli, reported to his lord on November 1 1465 that Matthias was gathering army, with which he will move against the Ottomans according to some or against Stephen Frankopan according to others. Antonio Bonfini, Hungarian court historian from the end of Matthias' reign, mentions the same rumor that in 1465 the king moved to Croatia in order to curb the influence of the family. See more in Klaić, *Frankapani*, 251–252; and Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 90–94.

<sup>197</sup> The origins and diachronic development of humanism during the first two centuries have been a long concern of Ronald Witt, who produced two extensive studies on this topic, and to whose understanding of the phenomenon this dissertation largely ascribes as well; see Witt, *The Origins of Humanism*; Ronald Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>198</sup> The Florentine case has been carefully examined by Robert Black. While during the trecento the Florentine elites regularly sent their children into *abaco* schools, in the fifteenth century they gradually started entrusting them to the care of humanist teachers, with the purpose of further distancing themselves from the lower strata of the society; see Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250–1500*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Although much ink has been spilt in the debate concerning the originality and merits of humanist teachers as educators, it is certain that even if they heavily relied on the traditional methods of teaching the language, they did introduce a new canon of texts at the final level of rhetoric and stylistics, which represented the educational basis of their programmatic stress on ancient literature as an imitative model. For the two opposing views on the 'humanist revolution in the classrooms,' see Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) and Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

the Italian peninsula.<sup>199</sup> In a word, owing to its chameleonic character, amenable to republican and monarchical context alike, humanism became a leading medium in shaping the ideological foundations of the Italian ruling elites, permeating the intellectual discourse from Florence to Milan, Venice to Naples. It is therefore no wonder that in order to reclaim their waning authority in Christendom, the popes and the cardinals, although scholastically educated in theology or law, gradually started to accept humanist ideals and sponsor humanists and artists, who themselves in turn in search of jobs started to flock to Curia in greater numbers.<sup>200</sup>

Nicholas' *floruit* in Rome, therefore, corresponds to the time when the movement became established as the cultural ideal throughout the Italian peninsula, when within the movement itself the canon of literature became standardized. The bishop may have boasted an up-to-date education in Venice and Padua, yet this education was markedly theological, and the works he composed before Rome reveal his continuing interest in these topics until 1464. Classicizing though it was in terms of genre, *De mortalium felicitate* is a work that exhibits almost exclusive reliance on Aristotle and his commentators Averroës and Avicenna, all mediated through scholastic authorities, betraying Nicholas, as Fernando Lepori illustratively demonstrated, as an avowed Scotist, a typical product of Pergola's Scuola di Rialto and Paduan faculty of arts.<sup>201</sup> *Navicula Petri* is similarly traditional in character, whereby the bishop forms his argumentation by references to patristic literature and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, on whose authority he explicitly calls on. Though he uses historical *exempla* to account for the reasons God incurs evil upon mankind, these are regularly excerpted from the Bible. This all is not to say that the two works do not make any recourse to classical sources. There are indeed passing references to such authors as Diogenes Laërtius' *Lives and Opinions*

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<sup>199</sup> It is enough to consider the roles of humanist chancellors such as Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), Leonardo Bruni (*ca.* 1370–1444) and Poggio Bracciolini in Florence (1380–1459), Cicco (1410–1480) and Giovanni Simonetta (1420–1490) in Milan, and Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429–1503) in Naples.

<sup>200</sup> The standard study of the cultural world of Renaissance Rome is that by Charles L. Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1998). The main socio-political conditions that led to the diffusion of humanism into the Renaissance curia were treated by James Hankins, 'The Popes and Humanism,' in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton, 47–85 (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1993), while the main social features and ideological concerns of Roman humanism were analyzed by John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). Still useful in many respects is Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & co., 1894), devoted to the pontificates of Paul II and Sixtus IV.

<sup>201</sup> Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto,' 559–570.

of *Eminent Philosophers* in Ambrogio Traversari's translation, Juvenal, Persius, Vergil, or a couple of Cicero's philosophical works. However, we are dealing here with one or two short instances per author.<sup>202</sup> The following two examples are indicative of Nicholas' weak engagement with the world of antiquity before his arrival to Rome. In the dedicatory preface to *Navicula Petri*, the bishop evoked the black Moor from Juvenal's *Fifth Satire*. However, while Juvenal used it to ridicule an aspiring client of a Roman patrician, who at the patron's household does not get his drinks served by a beautiful and expensive Asian girl but by 'the bony hand of a black Moor,' Nicholas seems to have understood it as a praise, since by employing the topos of humility he excused himself to Várdai, the dedicatee, that this work he prepared in rush is not 'polished by Asiatic luxury,' 'nurtured by farmer's diligent care,' or presented by the 'bony hand of a Moor.'<sup>203</sup> Even more indicative is the passage where in order to make a point that the threat of Carthage pushed Romans to virtue, he erroneously attributed Publius Scipio Nasica Corculum's words that the city should be spared to Cato the Elder, who famously argued the opposite.<sup>204</sup> While the two instances vividly give credence to his claims that the work was, as it were, prepared on horseback in the summer and early autumn months of 1463 – when the bishop traveled from Buda to Dubrovnik, from Dubrovnik to Venice, and from Venice to join the king and his camp at the siege of Jajce –,<sup>205</sup> they also betray his rather weak knowledge of ancient history and literature, in spite of an obvious attempt to present the opposite.

Yet, even if Nicholas was scholastically-educated prelate who tried to establish himself as a theological author first and foremost, his name seems to have been hardly in currency at the Curia by the time he arrived there. Though judging by the AHAZU MS II.b.3, a miscellany

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<sup>202</sup> For the sources Nicholas used in his pre-Roman works, see the *apparatus fontium* in Lepori, ed., 'De mortalium foelicitate,' and in Modruški, 'Petrova lađica.' It is worth to mention that not even the dedicatory letters of Nicholas' pre-Roman works were peppered with figures of high style and classical allusions.

<sup>203</sup> App. 3, lett. 3: *Accipe igitur ab amantissimo animo hoc uel exiguum munus, non Mauri ossea compositum manu, non Asiatico luxu delenitum, non agricolae studiosa enutritum cura seu piscatorum arte paratum, sed sola Dei miseratione conditum* (Tr.: Therefore, accept from a most loving soul this insignificant gift, which is neither composed by the bony hand of a Moor, nor polished by Asiatic luxury, nor nurtured by farmer's diligent care or prepared by fisherman's art, but that is based solely on God's misery).

<sup>204</sup> Modruški, 'Petrova lađica,' cap. 11: *Romanus populus, quoadusque concertantem de uirtute Carthaginem habuit, totius honestatis ac sanctimoniae exemplis pollebat, at contra sapientissimam Catonis sententiam in perniciosam uictorum euersa cunctorum scelerum labe pollutus est* (Tr.: As long as the Roman people had Carthage to compete for virtue, it abounded in examples of impeccable honesty and honor, but as soon as the city was destroyed – to the downfall of the victors, contrary to wise words of Cato – it became marred with stain of all sorts of crimes).

<sup>205</sup> See the previous chapter, esp. n. 178.

copied in 1471 and preserving *inter alia* the sole surviving text of *Navicula Petri*,<sup>206</sup> his works seem to have had some circulation at the Hungarian court – despite the embarrassing circumstances surrounding his departure –, we lack any evidence for the Roman circulation of *De mortalium felicitate* a copy of which, now lost, had been sent to the pope in 1462.

In sum, a South Slavic prelate of commoner background, without an independent economic basis, with some connections to the Venetian patriciate but without a strong patron to back his cause, and, finally, an intellectual with a weak knowledge of antiquity and thoroughly theological background who seems to have enjoyed no reputation as an author in Rome even in this respect – for an aspiring curial prelate all this made for a very weak stock in social connections, economic basis, and even cultural capital to some extent, in spite of the prominent diplomatic career.

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<sup>206</sup> For the description of the manuscript, see App. 7, no. 15.



## ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Prelates, clerics and lay humanists who flocked to Rome in hope of a curial career tried to find employment either in the central administrative services or in the provinces, and it is the latter that was the case with Nicholas of Modruš. Covering various parts of Umbria, Sabina, Campagna, the Marches and Romagna, the Papal States did not encompass neither a coherent geographical nor political entity. Ruling over territories that were directly subject to papal authority, and gradually subjecting those that have enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, represented a long and laborious process for the Renaissance popes. It is precisely the governors sent from Rome that, along with the accompanying retinue of officials, acted as representatives of the papal authority and negotiated power with the local elites. In practice it is upon them and the papal *condottieri* and their troops that the success of papal policy of asserting power within the dominion depended.<sup>207</sup>

From the time he arrived at the Papal States until the end of Paul II's pontificate Nicholas occupied three posts (see Map 4). As already mentioned, in September 1464 he was appointed castellan of Viterbo, a town situated eighty kilometers north of Rome on the Via Cassia leading to Tuscany.<sup>208</sup> He would stay here for the next three and a half years, until February 1468, when he was appointed as the governor of Ascoli and Arquata in the south of the Marches.<sup>209</sup> In this position Nicholas stayed for nearly three years, until October 31 1470 when he was appointed as the governor of the coastal towns in the Marches, Fano and Senigallia and their surrounding territories, with Sassoferrato being added to his rule two and a half months later.<sup>210</sup> He held the governorship of Fano until the end of next year, when the election of the new pope opened up new opportunities in his career.

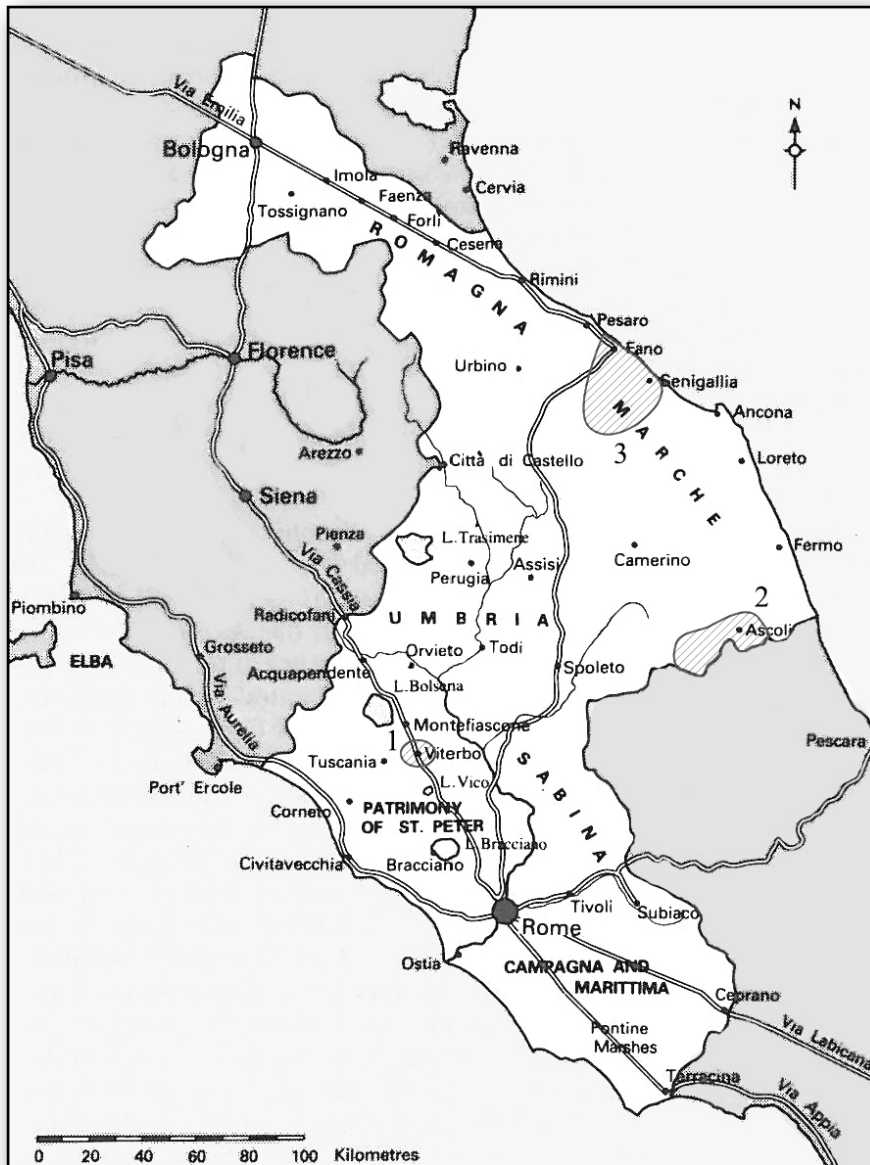
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<sup>207</sup> For the study of papal administration, see Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

<sup>208</sup> App. 1, docs. 17, 18, and 22.

<sup>209</sup> App. 1, doc. 23.

<sup>210</sup> App. 1, docs. 26, and 27. In addition, Nicholas served as the *interim* governor of Cesena during the *sede vacante* period following the death of Paul II (App. 1, doc. 29).



*Map 4: Nicholas' appointments in the Papal States under pope Paul II, in Viterbo (1), Ascoli (2) and Fano (3)*

As a bishop and an official employed in the Papal States, Nicholas was able to rely on three sources of income. First and foremost, he was entitled to a share of the revenues from his own bishopric. The income from bishoprics situated outside Rome, not to mention Italy, was certainly more difficult to control, and whether or not a curial prelate such as Nicholas enjoyed it rested mostly upon his own ability and active engagement.<sup>211</sup> However, taking into consideration the proximity of the Modruš bishopric and his uninterrupted connection to the Modruš clergy as testified by one preserved letter from 1476 or 1477,<sup>212</sup> it is difficult to imagine that he had any problems with securing this income. The sources he managed to

<sup>211</sup> Partner, *Pope's Men*, 73–74.

<sup>212</sup> App. 2, lett. 16.

secure from it, however, are subject to a debate. The value of the Modruš bishopric, at the moment Nicholas assumed his duty, seems to have amounted to 210 florins,<sup>213</sup> which can be compared to the bishoprics of south Italy or perhaps Dalmatian bishoprics of Šibenik, Skradin and Trogir amounting to around 300–450 florins. It was far from being on the level of the richest Dalmatian sees, that of Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, which amounted to 900–1200 florins and which were thus somewhere on the level of most of the north Italian ones.<sup>214</sup> However, it is important to consider here that after the fall of the Bosnian kingdom in 1463 Modruš became, along with the rest of Croatia, as well as Dalmatia and Slavonia, exposed to the raids of the Ottoman *akıncı* troops, which under the command of the governor of Ottoman Bosnia, İshakoğlu İsa Bey (Isa-Beg Isaković) soon started to appear on an annual basis. After three decades half of the peasant lands in the kingdom of Croatia would be deserted as testified by the registers of fief ownerships (*urbaria*),<sup>215</sup> while the population would increasingly emigrate in the direction of Venice and the Marches, reaching even more than fifteen percent of the population in some cities.<sup>216</sup> Nicholas' years in the Papal States therefore correspond precisely to the reversal of fortunes in the history of his bishopric, and even if it is impossible to ascertain to what extent, if at all, he relied on the episcopal revenues as a source of income, there can be little doubt that it was an increasingly diminishing one.

Another potential source of income at his disposal were the benefices. An ecclesiastical benefice allowed its owner to collect a prebend, i.e. a portion of revenues, from an ecclesiastical service. The curial system of awarding benefices might be described as a 'highly competitive stock market,' where the way to success was connected with an individual's knowledge of chancery rules and canon law, his shrewdness and business sense in practice, and above all upon the favor of a cardinal or some other great man, or the pope

<sup>213</sup> See n. 143.

<sup>214</sup> However, among the Italians, very rich exceptions were found, such as the Patriarchate of Aquileia valued at 12 000 florins and Patriarchate of Ravenna valued at 4 000 florins, guaranteeing resident prelates extremely high income. For the value of Dalmatian bishoprics, see Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 373. For the Italian ones, see Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 10–11.

<sup>215</sup> Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 175–176, and 407–415; Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 171–172.

<sup>216</sup> From the vast oeuvre of Lovorka Čoralić who for years now conducts research on the South Slavic community in early modern Venice, see in particular Lovorka Čoralić, *U gradu svetoga Marka: Povijest hrvatske zajednice u Mlecima* [In the city of St Mark: History of the Croatian community in Venice] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001). The most important work on the South Slavic communities in the Marches is Ferdo Gestrin, *Slovanske migracije v Italijo* [Slavic migrations to Italy] (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1998), passim; for the fifteenth and sixteenth century in particular, see Ferdo Gestrin, 'Migracije iz Dalmacije u Marke u XV i XVI stoljeću' [Migrations from Dalmatia to the Marches in the fifteenth and sixteenth century], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 10/1 (1977): 395–404.

himself.<sup>217</sup> Since most senior curial officials tried to secure benefices, Nicholas himself in the later period of his career as well, the fact that during Paul's pontificate he did not enjoy any is, just as his appointment to the post of a castellan, indicative of his fledgeling status at the Curia upon his arrival.

It is therefore Nicholas' salary as a curial official that during this period seems to have represented by far the most substantial and important source of income. While unfortunately we do not have concrete numbers for his salary as a castellan of Viterbo, it must have been considerably lower than that which he would later enjoy as a governor of Ascoli and Fano, each of which we know amounted to 600 florins per annum.<sup>218</sup> Although toward the second half of Paul's pontificate Nicholas would eventually reach positions more respectable and better paid than those of the most officials at the Roman court – where in the mid-fifteenth century secretaries e. g. had salaries in the range of 250–300 florins,<sup>219</sup> or where the librarian of the Apostolic library, Bartolomeo Platina, had a salary of 120 florins<sup>220</sup> – he would still remain only an official of the second tier. To illustrate the discrepancy between curial prelates such as Nicholas and those of the first rank, i. e. the cardinals, it is enough to mention that the minimum income of a cardinal was established at 4 000 florins per year.<sup>221</sup> That is to say, a cardinal had at least six to seven times greater economic possibilities than the majority of the those curial prelates that came closest to them in rank. More often than not this margin was far larger. At the peak of cardinal Oliviero Carafa's power, at the turn of the sixteenth century, his annual income amounted to an astonishing 12 000 florins, which was twenty times as much as what Nicholas was earning as a provincial governor.<sup>222</sup>

In the absence of a more thorough research in the archives of local centers where Nicholas performed his offices, any attempt to contextualize the particulars of his career in the

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<sup>217</sup> For more on the functioning of the benefice system, see Partner, *Pope's Men*, 61–64.

<sup>218</sup> App. 1, docs. 23 and 26.

<sup>219</sup> Partner, *Pope's Men*, 54.

<sup>220</sup> Paolo Cherubini, et alii, 'Il costo del libro,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, vol. 2, ed. Massimo Miglio, 323–553 (Vatican City: Scuola di Paleografia, Diplomatica et Archivistica, 1983), at p. 333.

<sup>221</sup> Carol Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 88; see also David Chambers, 'The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals,' in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3, ed. William Bowsky, 289–313 (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 294.

<sup>222</sup> Diana Norman, 'Cardinal of Naples and Cardinal in Rome: The Patronage of Oliviero Carafa,' in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art 1450–1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson, 77–91 (University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), at p. 77.

provinces has to remain only cursory. While we unfortunately know almost nothing of the particularities of his official duties in Viterbo or his relationships with the local elites in the provinces under his governing, the fact that he was not recalled from any of his offices, as was for example his peer Niccolò Perotti archbishop of Siponto, suggests that he performed his office at least satisfactorily.<sup>223</sup> Given that the most important positions in papal provincial administration were those of the vice-legate and governor, it is clear that, though Nicholas' castellanship at Viterbo may have been a position of some importance at the local level, it was still a minor one in general, and hence indicative of his weak social position at the time when he arrived at the Curia.<sup>224</sup> Only in 1468 did Nicholas' career witness an advancement with his appointment to the senior positions in the provincial administration, the governorships of Ascoli and Fano. Finally, all this is not to say that Nicholas did not see much of Rome during this period of career. As will be seen from that pieces of evidence that will be brought into discussion, Nicholas occasionally sojourned in the city, and we do have a reference to his Roman home. Since he does not appear as a *familiaris* living in the household of a cardinal or the pope during this time, it is more probable that it was a house he rented during his sojourns rather than a one he would have owned.

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<sup>223</sup> Partner, *Pope's Men*, 69.

<sup>224</sup> Another senior position in the provincial administration was that of the treasurer, though this one was regularly entrusted to someone from the financial offices; see Partner, *Pope's Men*, 31–32.

## FORMING SOCIAL NETWORKS

### *Among the High Ranks of the Curia*

Though during Paul II's pontificate Nicholas of Modruš carried administrative positions in three different provinces, and though his curial career undoubtedly brought him into contact with a number of figures of various backgrounds, one can distinguish two discernible, yet porous and loosely defined, groups of prelates with which he frequently interacted.

The *Prologue* adduced a number examples in order to illustrate the workings of Nicholas' Venetian network in the course of his career and were perhaps important in starting his career at the Curia. The most important testimony to this are the dedications of his two works *De consolatione* and *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum*, which it is now time to inspect in greater detail. *De consolatione* is the first writing of Nicholas he composed in the Papal States, which he finished, the colophon of the dedication copy Vat. lat. 5139 informs us, in the second year of Paul II's pontificate, that is to say in the period between August 31 1465 and August 30 1466.<sup>225</sup> The work was dedicated to Marco Barbo bishop of Vicenza and the opening lines of dedicatory preface read:

*Most reverend father, as I was diligently pursuing the work started in your name – a work in which I have decided to explain particular agitations of the soul for the moral and corporeal well-being of each person – the part where I reflected on the method of consoling, accidentally fell into the hands of some friends of mine, who urged me not to unwillingly (even if with wise intentions) fall into that error which is best expressed by the popular saying: 'The dog, giving birth in a hurry, has blind puppies.' This fruit of my labor is strange for another reason as well; namely, that I have produced one part and not the whole body. Still, I made sure to send it, of whatever quality it may be (since I had to do in this way), to Your Reverence, to whom I had dedicated the whole. I did this so that you would see*

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<sup>225</sup> BAV, Vat. lat. 5139, fol. 123v: *IN ARCE VITERBIENSI SECUNDO PAVLI EDITVM SCRIPTVMQVE VESTRO NOMINE REVERENDE PATER ET DOMINE*. For the description of the manuscript, see App. 7, no. 8.

*what is to be hoped for from the work in its entirety (if I will be able to finish the rest as planned).*<sup>226</sup>

The dating of the work and the background to its composition make it clear that immediately upon assuming his function in Viterbo Nicholas started on a grand project dedicated to Marco Barbo. Much like had been the case with Várdai and Vitéz in Hungary at the turn of 1464, the choice of the dedicatee of his work was a strategic one. At the time Barbo may have still been a bishop and so of the same ecclesiastical rank as Modruš, but he was the pope's cousin and his closest confidant, *lo ochio destro del papa*, 'the right eye of the pope,' as Borso d'Este's ambassador at the Curia would call him.<sup>227</sup> Barbo was named as a candidate for the cardinal's hat already at the beginning of 1465, immediately prior to the dedication of the work, while his elevation to the office would ensue in September of 1467, a year or two after the dedication of *De consolatione*.<sup>228</sup> In addition, the dedicatory preface of the work reveals that, *De consolatione*, as a treatise dedicated to sorrow and the methods of consoling, represented only the first chapter, as it were, to the original project that was conceived to treat all the agitations of the soul. The task may have proved too laborious, but it is equally likely that Nicholas' decision to rush the publication of a single part of the proposed work, thematically coherent though it may have been, was motivated by his desire to secure a administrative position more important than that of castellan as soon as possible.

In the introduction to *Part I* it was noted that *De consolatione* was regarded as the only work Nicholas composed under Paul II. However, other works of his can be dated to this period, first of which is the untitled treatise that in the following centuries came to be known as *On the Titles and Authors of the Psalms (De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum)*. This short

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<sup>226</sup> App. 3, lett. 4: *Cum urgerem diligentius opus tuo nomine coeptum quo singulas animi perturbationes pro cuiusque uirtute ac conditione explicare statueram, Reuerendissime Pater; ea pars, qua rationem consolationis perstrinxi, forte incidit in manus quorundam amicorum meorum, qui me perpulerunt ut prudens, licet inuitus, in illud uitii prolaberer quod in uulgari est prouerbio: Canicula festinans parere catulos parit caecos. Hic uero noster partus etiam ex alia ratione monstruosus est, utpote quo membrum unum, non integrum corpus enixi sumus. Illud tamen quaecumque (quando mihi ita faciendum fuit) ad Vestram Reuerendissimam Dignitatem, cui integrum deuoueram, transmittere curauim ut ex hoc membro cognosceres quid sit de toto corpore (si tamen cetera ad hanc rationem effingere ualebimus) spei reliquum.*

<sup>227</sup> Annamaria Torroncelli, 'Note per la biblioteca di Marco Barbo,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 343–352, at p. 344, n. 6.

<sup>228</sup> Marco Barbo was one of the eight cardinals appointed by Paul II in September of 1467; see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, 119–123. For his life and career in general, see G. Gauldo, 'Barbo, Marco,' in *DBI*, vol. 6 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-barbo\\_\(Dizionario\\_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-barbo_(Dizionario_Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013).

work on the subject of the psalms written in form of an epistle and dedicated to Angelo Fasolo bishop of Feltre (1426–1490), represents another example of Nicholas’ efforts to secure the favor of the Venetian faction. Before shedding light on the dedicatee and Nicholas’ relation to him, it is first important to address the dating of the work. The dedication copy is not preserved, but there exist two manuscript copies of a later date, produced in pair by the same scribe: a complimentary copy that Nicholas presented to Federico of Montefeltro duke of Urbino, now Urb. lat. 586; and one for Nicholas’ own, now Vat. lat. 995. These copies, as well as Nicholas’ reference to his well-stocked library in the dedication letter, led Giovanni Mercati to argue that the work was composed at some point in the last six years of his life.<sup>229</sup> However, the fact that a complimentary copy was sent to Montefeltro after he became the duke of Urbino in August of 1474 – to which we will return in the *Epilogue* – does not necessarily mean that Nicholas composed the work then, and indeed an earlier dating is more likely. Angelo Fasolo, the dedicatee of the work, enjoyed the peak of his curial career as the president of the Apostolic Chamber during the pontificate of Paul II (acting briefly, from April 1470 until April 1471, as the provisional general treasurer as well), before leaving in 1472 to substitute for Marco Barbo in governing the patriarchate of Aquileia.<sup>230</sup> Though one should not discount the possibility that the work was dedicated to him after his return to the Curia in November of 1476, taking into consideration that Nicholas’ library was, as will be seen in the course of *Part I*, already well stocked by 1470, and that at that time Fasolo enjoyed the peak of his curial career, it is most probably in the time of Nicholas’ governorship in Ascoli or Fano, that the work was dedicated. As was the case with Barbo, the decision to dedicate a work to Fasolo was hardly surprising. The positions of the president of the Apostolic Chamber and the general treasurer were powerful ones within the papal bureaucracy, and were exclusively entrusted to those enjoying personal confidence of the pope.<sup>231</sup> Accordingly, Fasolo owed them to his close ties to Marco Barbo, as well as Paul II himself whose *familiaris* he had been already before the latter’s elevation to the papacy. Nicholas’ own contacts with Fasolo was not only connected to the administrative matters of the Papal States. From 1457 until 1459 Fasolo was the bishop of Nicholas’ home town of Kotor, residing there for a year during which he was actively engaged in reforming the administration of his

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<sup>229</sup> Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 238–240.

<sup>230</sup> For Angelo Fasolo, see Paolo Cherubini, ‘Fasolo (Faseolo, Faseoli), Angelo,’ in *DBI*, vol. 45 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-fasolo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-fasolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013).

<sup>231</sup> Partner, *Pope’s Men*, 66.



bishopric. Though Nicholas was during this time already in the Frankopan dominions, the two undoubtedly shared common interests that included not only Biblical matters suggested by the topic of the work, especially since, like Nicholas, Fasolo was also diplomatically involved in the Balkans during the Ottoman advances in the early 1460s.<sup>232</sup>

Yet, the Venetians were not the only group of curial prelates in whose company we find Nicholas. On the basis of references of contemporaries as well as manuscript and epistolary evidence, we can firmly situate the bishop within the vibrant intellectual circle of Greek émigrés and Italian humanists and theologians pivoted around cardinal Bessarion. Unlike the academies of Baroque Rome, the so-called ‘Bessarion’s academy’ was an unofficial circle, with the core group – according to Niccolò Perotti humanist archbishop of Siponto, one of its members writing his commentary to Statius’ *Silvae* some time in the period between 1470 and 1472 – consisting of at least fourteen core members (besides Perotti), ten senior and four junior ones. Among others Perotti lists Theodore Gaza and Andronico Callisto, Greek émigré scholars, Giovanni Gatti, the Dominican friar and Bessarion’s secretary that would soon become the bishop of Cefalù, but also lay humanists such as Pomponio Leto, the former head of the suppressed Roman Academy, Domizio Calderini, and Giovanni Battista Almadiano of Viterbo.<sup>233</sup> Yet while Perotti’s list of may imply that Bessarion’s academy was a closed circle, various studies have so far traced numerous other intellectuals who occasionally participated in the discussions of the circle as well, such as cardinals Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini and Francesco della Rovere, as well as other aspiring curialists, such as Bartolomeo Platina,

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<sup>232</sup> For Fasolo’s activities in Kotor, see Katarina Mitrović [Катарина Митровић], ‘Епископ Анђело Фазоло и презбитер Трифун Скити – о сукобу грађанина и аристократе у Которској епископији’ [Bishop Angelo Fasolo and priest Tryphon de Sciti – About conflict between a bourgeois and an aristocrat in Kotor bishopric], *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 3 (2009): 43–56; see also Katarina Mitrović, *Mletački episkopi Kotora* [The Venetian bishops of Kotor] (Beograd: Utopija, 2007), 173–199.

<sup>233</sup> Recently John Monfasani study of Bessarion’s library led him to revisit cardinal’s connections to a number of humanists and scholastics; see John Monfasani, *‘Bessarion Scholasticus’: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion’s Library* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 7–18 and 32–46. Bessarion’s circle has been treated also by Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsman*, vol. 2 (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967), 325–335. For a short overview of Bessarion’s scholarly activity in Italy, see Nigel Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 57–67. For the information brought by Perotti and identification of the members he listed, see Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1925), 74–84 and 156–158. For Gaza, Calderini and Callisto, see respectively Concetta Bianca, ‘Gaza, Teodoro,’ in *DBI*, vol. 52 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-gaza\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-gaza_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013); Alessandro Perosa, ‘Calderini (Calderinus, Caldarinus, de Caldarinis), Domizio (Domitius, Domicius, Dominicus),’ in *DBI*, vol. 16 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/calderini-domizio-domitius-domicius-dominicus\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/calderini-domizio-domitius-domicius-dominicus_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013); and Rollo, ‘Interventi di Andronico Callisto.’

Giovanni Antonio Campano, and Jacopo Gherardi.<sup>234</sup> One revealing piece of evidence concerning the discussions of the academy comes from Domizio Calderini, a younger member of the circle, who in 1473 in his commentary on Martial's epigrams, dedicated to Gurello Carafa, nephew to the influential Neapolitan cardinal Oliviero Carafa, added an *Apologia* where he recounted the bitter discussions that took place within the academy:

*He (sc. Perotti), who partly started envying me recently but partly holds a long-standing grudge, found no end to his criticisms and attacks. As long as he was doing this in between four walls, at your place and at the homes of Theodore (sc. Gaza) and Nicholas bishop of Modruš, in the presence of decent and learned men, I endured the injustice calmly, or at least pretended to do so. I greatly hoped that the day will come when he will take into consideration not only his own worth and dignity but also my abiding respect for him. For even though it is only to him that I was never able to prove my faithfulness and good will and respect I had for him, I still took much joy in my duty (sc. to endure calmly the criticisms), the fruits of which were mostly those that I understood that in this way I am acting according to the advices of very wise men and above all to the will of the bishop of Nicaea (sc. Bessarion), whose familia I belonged to.*<sup>235</sup>

A source of heated contention between Calderini and Perotti were Martial's epigrams, since the latter was at the same time also working with Pomponio Leto on his own commentary on the Roman satirist. Leaving aside the precise philological points of contention, what Calderini's account shows is that these unofficial gatherings included members other than those listed by Perotti and those mentioned earlier. One should here not only count the dedicatee of Calderini's work, Gurello Carafa, but Nicholas of Modruš as well, who therefore, even if not forming part of the group's core, still participated in its life to some extent, in the same manner as did Ammannati, della Rovere, Platina, Campano, Gherardi, and others. While Calderini's and Perotti's accounts present us with the Roman life of the academy in the period of 1470–1472, Nicholas' connection to the circle becomes even more clear once we consider the preceding years. At the very beginning of the bishop's curial career, not even three months after he was appointed as castellan of Viterbo in 1464, Niccolò Perotti was appointed as the

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<sup>234</sup> Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978), 24–25.

<sup>235</sup> App. 1, doc. 38: *Nam qui partim nuper coeperat inuidere partim odio habet iandiu, nullum detrahendi et insectandi finem facit; quod quandiu intra parietes ab eo actum est apud te, Theodorum, Nicolaum praesulem Modrusiensium, uiros plane bonos et doctos, aequissimo animo iniuriam tuli aut certe dissimulaui. Sperabam enim magnopere fore aliquando ut cum suae aestimationis ac dignitatis rationem haberet tum ueteris obseruantiae meae. Nam etsi fidem in eum, beniuolentiam, pietatem nunquam ipsi uni quod uideam probare potui, tamen officio meo plurimum delectabar, cuius fructum uel ex eo capiebam maximum quod sapientissimorum uirorum consiliis Nicenique in primis uoluntati, in cuius eram familia, me satisfacere intelligebam.*

town's governor and would serve in this capacity until the beginning of 1469.<sup>236</sup> Even more importantly, Bessarion himself would with his retinue stay in the town for medical reasons during the greater part of 1466, and would occasionally visit it later as well.<sup>237</sup> Finally, two core members of the academy listed by Perotti, Valerio, son of Bessarion's physician Giacomo Simonelli, and Giovanni Battista Almadiano, were from Viterbo and hence seem to have entered the circle about that time as well. All of this clearly suggest that it is not only Rome in 1470–1472 but Viterbo as well in 1466–1468 that witnessed an activity of Bessarion's circle, and Nicholas' engagement with it.

There are indeed a number of reference to Nicholas' close connections to this circle. For instance his later-date humanist client, Francesco Maturanzio, would in 1474 solicit his patron's recommendation to the Niccolò Perotti.<sup>238</sup> Moreover, Maturanzio would ask Nicholas' recommendation to another intellectual closely connected to the academy, cardinal Iacopo Piccolomini-Ammannati, commonly known as 'cardinal of Pavia,'<sup>239</sup> revealing the contacts the bishop enjoyed with him as well. Though Nicholas' connection to Ammannati, the closest collaborator of pope Pius II, perhaps could date back as far as the Congress of Mantua, we can definitely trace the cardinal's whereabouts to Viterbo as well, where he stayed for a few days in November of 1464.<sup>240</sup> Most importantly it was precisely on his recommendation, *ad instantiam Reverendissimi Domini Papiensis*, that the following summer, on August 25 1465, Nicholas was reappointed to his position as the castellan of Viterbo.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> For the period of Perotti's governing in Viterbo, see Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, 55–86; and the recent treatment of the episode by Alessandro Pontecorvi, 'Niccolò Perotti governatore del Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia,' *Renæssanceforum* 7 (2011): 73–84.

<sup>237</sup> Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, 57.

<sup>238</sup> App. 2, lett. 13 (datable to the autumn of 1474): *Archiepiscopus Sipontinus istuc profectus est; ei ut me non uulgariter commendes uehementer te rogo* (Tr.: The archbishop of Siponto went there and I beg of you to recommend me to him in no ordinary manner); App. 2, lett. 14 (datable to the autumn of 1474): *Superioribus diebus breues litteras ad te dedi quibus rogauit ut Sipontino Archiepiscopo urbis praesidi meae quam diligentissime negotia mea commendares* (Tr.: A few days ago I sent a short letter to you in which I asked you to recommend my work as earnestly as possible to the archbishop of Siponto the governor of my city); App. 1, doc. 46 (letter datable to the autumn of 1474): *Ulyssi Fanestri*. (...) *Praesidem Modrusiensem ut Sipontino non uulgariter me commendaret rogabis* (Tr.: To Ulisse of Fano. (...) Ask the bishop of Modruš to recommend me to the archbishop of Siponto in no ordinary manner).

<sup>239</sup> App. 2, lett. 5 (datable to July or August 1473): *Cardinali Papiensi, si non molestum est, me commenda. Reuoca illi in memoriam me illum esse, qui tria ei, nunc secundus annus agitur, epigrammata Perusiae obtuli, cum stranguria laboraret* (Tr.: If it is not too inconvenient, recommend me to the cardinal of Pavia. Remind him that I am the one that presented him with epigrams two years ago in Perugia, when he was suffering from strangury).

<sup>240</sup> For Ammannati's itinerary from 1464 till 1479, see Paolo Cherubini, 'Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini: Libri, biblioteca e umanisti,' *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 2, ed. Miglio, 175–256, at pp. 243–256.

<sup>241</sup> App. 1, doc. 18.

Finally, there was Francesco della Rovere, who enjoyed a stellar career rise becoming Bessarion's personal confessor in 1459, general of the Franciscan Order in 1464, cardinal in 1467, and finally assuming the papal throne as Sixtus IV in 1471. The high confidence Nicholas would enjoy with the della Rovere pope from the very beginning of his papacy testifies to the close contacts between the two in the preceding years, which could also date earlier, all the way to the period of 1445–1451 when della Rovere taught philosophy at the University of Padua together with Gaetano da Thiene, precisely when Nicholas seems to have studied there.<sup>242</sup> The episode in Viterbo and the continuing vibrancy of Nicholas' connections to the various members of Bessarion's circle testifies that Calderini's account was not an isolated event, but that it traces back to the beginnings of his career in the papal administration.

It is the manuscript evidence that provide us with an even more clear picture of Nicholas' engagement with these two groups of prelates. If we turn to Nicholas' manuscript of Geber's, i.e. Jabir ibn Aflah's, *On Astronomy* in the translation of Gerard of Cremona, now Vat. lat. 2059, the colophon informs us that Nicholas bought it in 1467 from Domenico Dominici bishop of Brescia. Dominici was another Venetian who enjoyed close contacts with Paul II's court especially in the beginning of the pontificate, when he was named vicar of Rome. Though he would later be mostly employed in the papal diplomacy in Bohemia and the Habsburg court, he would still make regular sojourns to Rome.<sup>243</sup> Hugo Dordraci, on the other hand, a scribe who, as we will see, produced three manuscripts for Nicholas, passed into his household from that of Iacopo Zeno bishop of Padua, another aspiring Venetian whose curial career depended on his countrymen and who on this account dedicated to Paul II his *De vitis summorum pontificum (On the Lives of the Popes)*.<sup>244</sup> It is the manuscript evidence that again, as is the case with Nicholas' connection to the Venetian faction, provides further insight on his involvement with Bessarion's circle. As will be seen soon, the bishop made efforts to master the Greek language, and he did so under the tutelage of none other than Andronico Callisto, a member of the academy living in Bessarion's own household. Moreover, Callisto produced at least two Greek manuscripts of Aristotle's works for Nicholas' library, added Greek passages

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<sup>242</sup> Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 16–17.

<sup>243</sup> For Dominici's life and career, see Heribert Smolinsky, 'Dominici, Domenico (Domenico de' Domenichi,' in *DBI*, vol. 40 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-dominici\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-dominici_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013)

<sup>244</sup> Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 190–191.

to his copy of Aulus Gellius, and finally gave the bishop his own manuscript of Theodore Gaza's grammar. There was indeed plenty of opportunity for tutoring in 1466 and later, when Bessarion with his *familia*, Callisto no doubt included, sojourned in Viterbo. Finally, in this context one should consider Nicholas' manuscript of Bessarion's *Against the Slanderer of Plato* (*In calumniatorem Platonis*), titled in the inventory of Nicholas' books that were donated to the Augustinians as *Defensio Platonis*, and presently unidentified.<sup>245</sup> Bessarion was composing this work in 1465 and 1466, and kept revising it until he had it printed in 1469, so the fact that Nicholas owned it in manuscript and not in print, on whom as it will be seen he started to rely on immediately upon its introduction to Rome, could suggest he was part of the inner circle that was privy to this work in draft before it was widely circulated.<sup>246</sup>

In conclusion, while Nicholas' connection to the Venetian prelates is hardly surprising given his educational background and the fact that the Venetian prelates have long been the traditional patrons of Dalmatian clerics at the Curia,<sup>247</sup> his strong connection to the members of the Bessarion's circle is a cause for some speculation. Was Ammannati, as Pius' former closest collaborator, Nicholas' initial protector who secured not only his reappointment to Viterbo, but also his first appointment in 1464? Or is Nicholas' appointment to the castellan of Viterbo merely a happenstance that led to his connection to Perotti, and later to other members of Bessarion's circle? With the evidence at our disposal it is impossible to reach a conclusion on this issue. We can, however, firmly situate Nicholas' engagement within these two informal circles of prelates bonded by a common intellectual *habitus* throughout the first period of his curial career.

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<sup>245</sup> App. 8a, item 133.

<sup>246</sup> For the particulars of the revisions and corrections to Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*, see John Monfasani, 'Niccolò Perotti and Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis*,' *Renæssanceforum* 7 (2011): 181–216. As James Hankins concluded, as a work of apologetics it responded 'to many objections that had been raised to Plato by Western critics since the twelfth century,' while as a work of exposition it presented Platonism as an attractive alternative to the culturally narrow and 'impious' Aristotelianism of the Italian universities and conventual schools, see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1991), vol. 1, 217–263, quotations at pp. 261–262.

<sup>247</sup> Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 52.

### *Illyrian Community of Rome*

In the course of his career, Nicholas himself would identify himself in different ways. The two documents from the very beginning of his ecclesiastical career that reveal his family name at the same time present us with barely an echo of his fading identification with his commoner background. Even the professed communal allegiance, *de Catharo, iz Kotora*, appearing side by side with the family name,<sup>248</sup> completely disappears by the time he arrives to Italy, ceding place to *Episcopus Modrussiensis* as the prime marker of identity, one that made him a part of the elite within the world of Christendom. Yet, in addition, as Nicholas' career took him to an international plane, one can trace the emergence of a regional identity. In 1462, in his *De mortalium felicitate* he introduced his own character into the dialogue as coming to Venice to study from the 'farthest corner of Dalmatia' (*ab ultimis Dalmatiae finibus*),<sup>249</sup> and indeed in 1473, in a private letter addressed to Nicholas, his humanist client, Francesco Maturanzio, would refer to the bellicose nature of 'your Dalmatians.'<sup>250</sup> However in addition, in the cosmopolitan world of Renaissance Rome, Nicholas started to identify himself nationally, that is to say by professing allegiance to his (South) Slavic, or rather as increasingly imagined within the humanist circles 'Illyrian,' *natio* and soon promote this, as will be seen in the following chapter, as an integral aspect of his self.

Indeed, national communities, i.e. communities that were bond by patriotic allegiance to a *natio*, were functioning throughout Rome. Even though through quattrocento Roman society was becoming more and more Italian – as did the College of cardinals for that matter – it still retained that cosmopolitan character to which the Italian humanist Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger referred in 1438 in his dialogue *De curiae commodis* (*On the Benefits of the Curia*):<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> App. 1, docs. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8.

<sup>249</sup> Lepori, ed., 'De mortalium foelicitate,' 255: *Tum Caesariensis, ut me et sapientia et aetate longe antebat: haud, inquit, o Paule, ludorum spectandorum causa hic ab ultimis Dalmatiae finibus vel ego Romam relinquens Venecias concessimus* (Tr.: Then Caesariense, my superior in both wisdom and age, said: 'Paul, nor did he from the farthest corner of Dalmatia and nor did I leaving Rome come here to Venice in order to attend the carnival').

<sup>250</sup> App. 2, lett. 5: *Dalmatae tui (...) qui semper habiti sunt bellicosi* (Tr.: Your Dalmatians, who were always considered bellicose).

<sup>251</sup> D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 7; Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 32–33. For the increasingly Italian character of the College of cardinals, see Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 81–82.

*What might we say about our own, that is, about those who have already been living in the Curia? There are French, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, English, and Illyrians, who are already familiar to us both because of the common use of the Latin language and because of longstanding commercial intercourse.*<sup>252</sup>

The Illyrian community in Rome, to which Lapo referred to here as well, though much smaller than, say, German or Spanish, functioned in the similar manner as others: it consisted largely of male clergymen most of which were centered around the pilgrims' hospice. Although the community's early history as well as that of the hospice – which was in the Illyrian case founded by pope Nicholas V in 1453 and dedicated to St Jerome<sup>253</sup> – is poorly documented, owing to the invaluable prosopographical research of Jadranka Neralić one can trace its functioning and Nicholas' place in it.<sup>254</sup>

The evidence suggest that ever since the beginning of his curial career Nicholas was strongly connected to the Illyrian community. Indeed, acting as nodes of these networks were not only national hospices but also cardinals and other curial prelates, who already from the eleventh century stocked their households with relatives and countrymen. These men, called the *familiares*, either lay or cleric, were, as John D'Amico succinctly put it, 'employed to assist the lord in his religious, ceremonial, cultural and personal duties,' who in turn had a duty of feeding, sheltering and paying their salaries.<sup>255</sup> Accordingly, even though Nicholas' economic basis was not comparable to that of cardinals, especially in the beginnings of his

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<sup>252</sup> Christopher Celenza, ed. and trans., *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger's De curiae commodis* (Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 172–173: *Quid dicemus de nostris, id est, de iis qui in curia Romana iam antea versantur, Gallis, Germanis, Pannoniis, Scotis, Britanis, Illyriis, qui iam et communione Latinae linguae et diuturno commertio nobis familiares sunt facti.*

<sup>253</sup> For the earliest history of the hospice of St Jerome which would be in 1544 turned into *Congregatio S. Hieronymi Illyricorum seu Sclavorum de Urbe*, see Juraj Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod sv. Jeronima u Rimu* [Croatian college of St Jerome in Rome] (Rome: Gregoriana, 1953), 13–19; Ivan Črnčić, 'Imena Slojvenin i Ilir u našem gostinju u Rimu poslije 1453. godine' [The names 'Slav' and 'Illyrian' in our hospice in Rome after 1453], *Rad JAZU* 78 (1886): 1–70; Ivan Črnčić, 'Prilozi k razpravi: Imena Slojvenin i Ilir u našem gostinju u Rimu poslije 1453. godine' [Contributions for the discussion: The names 'Slav' and 'Illyrian' in our hospice in Rome after 1453], *Starine JAZU* 18 (1886): 1–164; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 'Ilirski zavod i crkva sv. Jerolima u Rimu' [Illyrian college and the church of St Jerome in Rome], *Arkiv za povestnicu jugoslavensku* 1 (1851): 105–120. As Črnčić's analysis of the documents related to the hospice clearly reveals, the appropriation of Illyrist terminology at the expense of the Slavic one was a gradual process.

<sup>254</sup> Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*.

<sup>255</sup> For the functioning of the *familiae* of Roman Renaissance prelates, see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia*, 39, and 45–56; Partner, *Pope's Men*, 5; but also Pierre Jugie, 'Les *familiae* cardinalices et leur organisation interne au temps de la papauté d'Avignon: Esquisse d'un bilan,' in *Aux origines de l'État moderne: Le fonctionnement administratif de la papauté d'Avignon*, 41–59 (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome, 1990).

curial career, the same pattern can be seen in his own household, which further increased after his advancement to gubernatorial positions, although probably never to more than a half a dozen *familiars*.<sup>256</sup> Aside from scribes, as will soon be seen, we can identify another member of the bishop's household by name, his own nephew Marko Paskvali. Marko was a cleric from Kotor, whose presence in Nicholas' household we can follow from the bishop's castellanship in Viterbo all the way until his own death in 1477. As his uncle and patron moved from Viterbo to Ascoli, so through the latter's increasing influence at the Curia Marko himself was on January 20 1470 also allowed to exchange a benefice in Viterbo for a benefice in Ascoli.<sup>257</sup> During the fall months of 1474 we find him traveling from Fano to Rome undoubtedly on bishop's business,<sup>258</sup> and in February of 1476 acting again on his behalf by paying the common services owed for the Nicholas' appointment to the bishopric of Skradin.<sup>259</sup> These few but precious instances, together with the information gathered from the bishop's manuscripts that as will be seen shed light on his scribes *familiars*, present us with an insight into the functioning of his household within which his nephew acted as the bishop's closest confidant, secretary and one would imagine his chaplain.

Keeping a nephew within his household was of course more connected to the family allegiance than a national one, but on the basis of how other national communities functioned one can presume that other South Slavic clerics found their place in Nicholas' home. This hypothesis gains even more weight once one consider his role within the Roman Illyrian community in general that emerges from documentary evidence. In 1466 we find Juraj Matejev, a cleric of the Šibenik diocese, appearing on the bishop's behalf before the Apostolic Chamber,<sup>260</sup> in the same manner as Ivan Sepia, a cleric of the Zadar diocese, would appear on his behalf in 1480.<sup>261</sup> Juraj Matejev became the archdeacon of Nin in Dalmatia after the office was resigned by Fantino della Valle, while in 1469 he received a benefice in the Šibenik bishopric which was confirmed in 1473 before the Apostolic court during his litigation with

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<sup>256</sup> In 1526, the pope's *familia* had some 700 members, while the cardinal ones numbered between 300 and 45 people; see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 47.

<sup>257</sup> Aside to the benefice in Ascoli he also held one in Kotor; see Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 167–168; App. 1, doc. 56.

<sup>258</sup> App. 1, doc. 47

<sup>259</sup> App. 1, doc. 53.

<sup>260</sup> App. 1, doc. 19.

<sup>261</sup> App. 1, doc. 66.



another Dalmatian cleric, Jakov Tolinić.<sup>262</sup> Fantino della Valle from the patrician de Ciprianis family of Trogir in turn, as doctor of both laws, had a successful career at the Curia as one of the auditors of the Sacred Palace under Paul II and Sixtus IV.<sup>263</sup> In July of 1473 he, together with Nicholas of Modruš himself, acted as executor of the mandated exchange of benefices between two Dalmatian clerics.<sup>264</sup> Moreover, on his death in 1474 he left 400 florins to the Hospice of St Jerome and his library to a Dominican monastery in Trogir. The executor of his testament was none other than the Neapolitan cardinal Oliviero Carafa, to whom in 1472 Nicholas of Modruš served as second in command during the anti-Ottoman expedition and who would prove to be one of the most important patrons of the Illyrian hospice in the years to come.<sup>265</sup> As *Part II* will show, Carafa's patronage of the hospice may have represented part of a stronger relationship that the Illyrian national community in Rome enjoyed with the Neapolitan court. Though the complete lack of epistolary evidence obfuscates the dynamism at work here, one can get a sense of how this community functioned from the letters of Francesco Maturanzio, who as already indicated on more than one occasion pleaded for the bishop's recommendation with some cardinal or archbishop.<sup>266</sup> These letters along with the example of Nicholas' direct influence in securing Marko Paskvali's benefice in 1470 shed light on his role as a broker in the lobbying processes functioning across the precisely delineated hierarchy of the Roman Curia. This is not to say that every single cleric from across the Adriatic that came to seek his fortune at the Curia relied on the recommendation of Nicholas of Modruš. Yet, what emerges from this sporadic documentary evidence is a cluster of interrelationships that exhibits the functioning of the Illyrian national community at the Curia – a community within which Nicholas of Modruš emerges as one of the leading figures.

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<sup>262</sup> Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 186, 240, 344–345, 352.

<sup>263</sup> Paolo Cherubini, 'Della Valle, Fantino,' in *DBI*, vol. 37 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fantino-della-valle\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fantino-della-valle_(Dizionario-Biografico))); last accessed March 6 2013).

<sup>264</sup> App. 1, doc. 41.

<sup>265</sup> Črnčić, 'Prilozi k razpravi,' 38.

<sup>266</sup> Next to the previously quoted ones where Maturanzio pleaded for Nicholas' recommendations to Ammannati and Perotti (see n. 238, and 239), see also App. 3, lett. 3: *Praeceptore utor in primis erudito Metrophane Rhodio Archiepiscopo; hoc ei oneris Magnus Magister meis adductus precibus adiecit. Nihil in me erudiendo studii, nihil diligentiae relinquit, quod si ei me per litteras uel tu uel Cardinalis quispiam tua causa commendauerit, multo est libentius factururus.* (Tr.: I am studying under Metrophanes archbishop of Rhodes. The Grand Master (sc. of the Knights Hospitaller) gave him this task on account of my pleas. He puts no effort, no zeal into teaching me, and if you or some cardinal on your account will recommend me with a letter, he will do it more gladly.)

This, finally, brings us to the third and final work the bishop composed during this period, the moral philosophical treatise in nine books, *On Humility (De humilitate)*, preserved in a single autograph copy, now the second fascicule of Corsin 127.<sup>267</sup> The work was previously undated but now, owing to the manuscript evidence as will be seen in the analysis of Nicholas' library, can be dated to 1470. Unfortunately, it is a severely truncated copy with most of the work lost, including the dedication, which makes it seemingly difficult to reach a firm decision regarding the identity of the dedicatee. What we know is that the addressee was a female – the bishop addresses her as ‘my dearest sister in Lord’ (*carissima mihi in Domino soror*)<sup>268</sup> – and, considering a remark on her vows (*tuoque sancto instituto*), a nun (see App. 9, pl. 2).<sup>269</sup> These two references led Giovanni Mercati to suggest that she could be identified as the bishop's cousin, Francesca of Dubrovnik, a Third Order Franciscan who was the one that arranged for Nicholas' funerary inscription, which in fact remains the only mention of her at all.<sup>270</sup> Indeed, the topic of the work itself agrees with Mercati's identification of the dedicatee as a Third Order Franciscan, since humility represents the foundational Franciscan virtue. However, though Mercati's identification has been repeated ever since in historiography with no reservations, it has to be rejected in favor of another candidate. For next to Nicholas, and Fantino della Valle to a lesser degree, the Illyrian community at the Curia boasted another important figure: the dowager queen of Bosnia, Catherine Vukčić Kosača, who became precisely a Third Order Franciscan at some point after her arrival at Rome following the fall

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<sup>267</sup> Though the manuscript lacks rubrics, at the margin of fol. 80r, the beginning of the final book (Incipit: *Peruenimus tandem ad optatam metam*), Nicholas added *Lib. 9<sup>us</sup>* (see App. 9, pl. 2) Out of these nine books altogether, only book eight has been preserved in its entirety, along with the end of book seven and the beginning of book nine. The book seven discusses nourishments of humility such as confession (fols. 61r–64v), eight the companion virtues of humility, i.e. shame, *pudor*, and obedience, *oboedientia*, (fols. 64v–79v), and finally book nine the fruits of humility (fols. 80r–84v).

<sup>268</sup> BANLC, Cod. Corsin. 127, fol. 80r: *Peruenimus tandem ad optatam metam et ad fructus tot petitos laboribus Dei pietate colligendos, in quibus congregandis recondendisque laeto te animo adesse oportet, carissima mihi in Domino soror.* (My dearest sister in Christ, finally we come to the desired end and to the fruits so much sought after, which should be gathered through suffering and piety towards God, and to the collecting and storing of which you should happily attend to.)

<sup>269</sup> BANLC, Cod. Corsin. 127, fol. 64v: *Sed quia immensum erat persequi omnia ex tanta multitudine quae nobis potiora uisa sunt tuoque sancto instituto digniora, hoc libro conclusimus tam tibi quam ceteris uolentibus reliqua iuxta hanc rationem aestimandi latam facilemque uiam relinquentes.* (Tr.: But since it was too much to treat everything from the multitude of topics that seemed to me great and worthy of your sacred vow, I have concluded this book by leaving an open and easy path to you and others that wish to follow in this train of thought.)

<sup>270</sup> Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 230, n. 3. Below the epitaph, which was presented in the *Introduction*, stood two additional lines: *FRANCISSA CONSOBRINO B. M. / TERTII ORD. S. F. RAGVSEA F.*; see App. 1, doc. 68.

of the Bosnian kingdom to the Ottomans.<sup>271</sup> As in the case of della Valle, her personal allegiance to the Illyrian *natio* can be seen from her testament by which she bequeathed to the hospice of St Jerome her missal, chalice and other liturgical utensils. From 1464 until her death in 1478 Catherine was resident in Rome in the rented house in the Pigna district, in the vicinity of the Church of St Mark where, with the support of Paul II and later Sixtus IV, most clearly visible in the form of an annual stipend of 1 440 ducats (some 1 600 florins), she maintained her small court in exile.<sup>272</sup>

There are a number of reasons to identify Catherine as the dedicatee of this work. First, Nicholas dedicated and presented each and every one of his works to an influential addressee who was in the position of advancing his career or bestowing prestige on, and consequently ensuring the circulation of, the work itself. In the context of John Vitéz, Stephen Várdai, Pius II, Matthias Corvinus, Marco Barbo and Angelo Fasolo, the titular queen of Bosnia, ‘the queen of the Illyrians’ as Nicholas would later style her in his *Defensio*, who herself was no stranger to dedications of humanist compositions,<sup>273</sup> represents a much more likely candidate than a cousin of lowly stature of whom there is otherwise no mention. At the same time, to my knowledge, next to Catherine there are no other Franciscan tertiaries of comparable social background resident during this period in Rome. Moreover in this work, while narrating the customs of the barbarous peoples, Nicholas conspicuously recalls his legation to the Kingdom of Bosnia and the invasion and cruelties of the Ottomans.<sup>274</sup> Finally, again the manuscript evidence is indicative, since *De humilitate* was after Nicholas’ death bound together with his history of the Gothic wars, a work that, as the following chapter will show, also served the ideological purposes of the Bosnian queen. All things considered Catherine represents not only the likely dedicatee, but in fact the only feasible one. Just as William Gray’s patronage of

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<sup>271</sup> Though it is not known when exactly did she take her vows, it is highly likely that *De humilitate* composed also in 1470 was dedicated to her by Nicholas precisely on this occasion. For her life, see Bazilije Pandžić, ‘Katarina Vukčić Kosača (1424–1478),’ in *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti bosanske kraljice Katarine* [Historical-theological symposium in the honor of the 500th anniversary of death of the Bosnian queen Catherine], ed. Josip Turčinović, 15–25 (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 1979); and Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1914), 110–120.

<sup>272</sup> Catherine’s testament was published by Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863), 509–511.

<sup>273</sup> She was the addressee – interestingly around 1470 as well – of one of the epigrams by the humanist poet Leonardo Montagna, preserved as part of his collection dedicated to Paul II; see BMC, Cod. S.XXIX.8, fol. 7r: *Ad Catherinam Reginam Bosne*.

<sup>274</sup> App. 1, doc. 25 (see n. 156).

the hospice of the English pilgrims,<sup>275</sup> Bessarion's role in the community of Greek émigré scholars, so Nicholas' role as the broker for the clerics from South Slavic lands and dedication of *De humilitate* to the Bosnian queen have to be seen as social practices that were symbolically supposed to reflect his allegiance to, and the care for the good of, the *natio Illyrica*.

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<sup>275</sup> David Rundle, 'Humfrey's Intellectual Heir? The Pretensions of William Gray,' in his forthcoming monograph, *England and the Identity of Italian Renaissance Humanism, c. 1400–c. 1460*. I would like to thank the author for kindly sending me the draft version of this chapter.

## INSIDE THE LIBRARY

Probably around 1470, during one of his visits to Rome on official business, Nicholas of Modruš, now the governor either of Fano or Ascoli, entered into a discussion on the topic of psalms with Angelo Fasolo. Upon his return to the province under his governing he decided to compose a treatise on the topic and dedicate it to the fellow bishop:

*When I was in Rome, you asked me to shed some light on the authors of each of the psalms and briefly go through their topics and subject matter. Since at the time I was preoccupied with the affairs of the Curia and detached from a multitude of books, I did not execute this as your wish and my duty had required. Therefore, as I have now found a bit more time and have been invested with the power of my library (in meae bibliothecae potestate constitutus), I have decided to answer – more comprehensively than I had done before – not only to my soul deservedly dedicated to your dignity but also to your most pious and praiseworthy request.<sup>276</sup>*

Elaborating on the impediments that had prevented him from finishing the treatise earlier, the bishop of Modruš identified two prerequisites to its composition which can be taken as reflecting his ideas on the authorial process in general: *otium*, leisure time, and *bibliotheca*, library. Of course, that *otium et bibliotheca* were a spatiotemporal determinant which made intellectual work possible was a commonplace of classical and Renaissance culture. Yet, the very phrasing that Nicholas used to couch his thought reveals the significance he attributed to it. Using the legal term *in meae bibliothecae potestate constitutus* the bishop set the scene evoking the acquisition of power, emphasizing the transformation of an individual's status in

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<sup>276</sup> App. 3, lett. 5: *Postulasti a me cum Romae essem proprios singulorum psalmodum aperirem auctores causasque ipsorum atque materias breuibus uerbis perstringerem. Quod quoniam tunc minus effeci quam et tuum desiderium et meum postulabat officium, ut pote multis Curiae sollicitudinibus occupatus librorumque copia exclusus, nunc et post paululum otii nactus et in meae bibliothecae potestate constitutus uolui cumulatius respondere et meo animo tuae dignationi merito deditissimo et tuo piissimo laudatissimoque uoto.*

terms of the knowledge becoming bestowed upon him on his entrance to a library.<sup>277</sup> And though this was the first occasion that Nicholas referred to his own, by this time obviously well stocked, library, it was not the first time that he evoked the ideal conditions offered by a *bibliotheca otiosa*. Indeed, he had turned to this commonplace before, both in his *Navicula Petri* and *De mortalium felicitate*, stressing either its role as a place of individual's contemplation or as a perfect setting for the dialogue between the literati.<sup>278</sup> What the following pages will show is that these dedicatory letters do not represent empty uses of commonplaces, but rather reflect the care with which Nicholas formed his own library.

To be sure, it is precisely the libraries of the Renaissance curial prelates that – together with the origins and official foundation of the Apostolic library under Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455) and Sixtus IV respectively – represent one of the most characteristic markers of the vibrant intellectual culture of Renaissance Rome. Numerous studies have shed much light on the formation, contents and usage of the libraries of a number of influential cardinals such as Domenico Capranica (1400–1458),<sup>279</sup> Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464),<sup>280</sup> Basilios Bessarion (1403–1472),<sup>281</sup> Jean Jouffroy (1412–1473),<sup>282</sup> Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini (1422–

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<sup>277</sup> Petrarch used the same legal phrase a century earlier in his work *On Solitary Life* (*De uita solitaria*) for the purpose of highlighting the spiritual transformation that engulfs an individual choosing solitude (*in solitudine constitutum*); see Armando Maggi, 'You Will Be My Solitude: Solitude as Prophecy (De uita solitaria),' in *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi, 179–195 (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), at p. 179.

<sup>278</sup> App. 3, lett. 3: *Nec tamen miraberis, si minus redimita comptaque erunt; non enim ex quietis ueniunt camerula aut ex otiosa bibliotheca sed ex festinantis equi dorso* (Tr.: But do not wonder if it (sc. the work) will not be ornate or polished, for it does not come from a quiet little room or a peaceful library, but from the back of galloping horse); and App. 3, lett. 2: *At nobis contra visum est, praecipue ab illa foelicissima et a me semper memoranda hyeme, quam apud te Varadini cum plurimis uiris doctissimis in bibliotheca illa tua dignissima inter innumera clarissimorum uirorum volumina saepius residentes iocundissimam amoenissimamque transegimus* (Tr.: However, it seemed to me that the opposite was the case, especially after that most blissful winter that I will always remember, which I have spent with much joy and delight at your place in Oradea together with many learned men, in that most distinguished library of yours, frequently sitting amongst the innumerable volumes authored by famous men).

<sup>279</sup> 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, 141–159 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); Antonio G. Luciani, 'Minoranze significative nella biblioteca del cardinale Domenico Capranica,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 167–182.

<sup>280</sup> Concetta Bianca, 'La biblioteca romana di Niccolò Cusano,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 2, ed. Miglio, 669–708.

<sup>281</sup> Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979); Concetta Bianca, 'La formazione della biblioteca latina del Bessarione,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 103–165; Marino Zorzi, 'Bessarione e i codici greci,' in *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano*, ed. Gino Benzoni, 93–121 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2002); Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus*.

<sup>282</sup> Angela Lanconelli, 'La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 275–294.

1479),<sup>283</sup> Guillaume d'Estoutville (1403–1483),<sup>284</sup> Ferry de Clugny (1430–1483),<sup>285</sup> Marco Barbo (1420–1491),<sup>286</sup> Domenico della Rovere (1442–1501),<sup>287</sup> while at the same time, many drew attention to those of aspiring curial prelates such as Pietro del Monte (ca. 1400–1457),<sup>288</sup> Domenico Dominici (1416–1478),<sup>289</sup> William Gray (d. 1478),<sup>290</sup> Niccolò Perotti (1429–1480),<sup>291</sup> or Iacopo Zeno (1418–1481).<sup>292</sup> Similarly, it is the library of Nicholas of Modruš, ascribing to the latter of the two subcategories, that today represents the best source for the bishop's own engagement with the intellectual life of Renaissance Rome and, accordingly, it is to the analysis of his library that we now finally turn.

### *A Diachronic Perspective: Formation of the Library*

As detailed in the introduction, presently altogether 240 items, partly manuscripts still in existence, partly books known from the inventory recording Sixtus IV's donation to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo, can be identified as having once belonged to Nicholas' library. The great number of dated and datable manuscripts along with the list of incunables in the inventory presents us with ample material for a diachronic analysis and offers insights into the very process of its formation.

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<sup>283</sup> Cherubini, 'Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini.'

<sup>284</sup> Anna Esposito Aliano, 'Testamento e inventari per la ricostruzione della biblioteca del cardinale Guglielmo d'Estouteville,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 309–342.

<sup>285</sup> José Ruyschaert, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Tournay Ferry de Clugny à la Vaticane,' in *Horae Tornacenses (1171–1971): Recueil d'études d'histoire publiées du Ville centenaire de la consécration de la cathédrale de Tournai*, ed. Léon E. Halkin, Henri Platelle and Nicolas N. Huyghebaert, 131–141 (Tournay: Archives de la Cathédrale, 1971).

<sup>286</sup> Torroncelli, 'Biblioteca di Marco Barbo,' 343–352.

<sup>287</sup> Gian Carlo Alessio, 'Per la bibliografia e la raccolta libraria di Domenico della Rovere,' *Italia medievale e umanistica* 27 (1984): 175–231.

<sup>288</sup> David Rundle, 'A Renaissance Bishop and His Books: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscript Collection of Pietro del Monte (c. 1400–1457),' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 245–272.

<sup>289</sup> Claudia Villa, 'Brixienasia,' *Italia medievale e umanistica* 20 (1977): 243–275.

<sup>290</sup> Rundle, 'The Pretensions of William Gray.'

<sup>291</sup> Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, 129–139; Adriana Marucchi, 'Codici di Niccolò Perotti nella Biblioteca Vaticana,' *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34A (1985): 99–125; Olga Marinelli Marcacci, 'Di alcuni codici appartenuti a Niccolò Perotti: Un inventario del 1481,' in *Chiesa e società dal secolo IV ai nostri giorni: Studi storici in onore del p. Marino da Milano*, vol. 2, 361–381 (Rome: Herder, 1979).

<sup>292</sup> Eugenia Govi, 'La biblioteca di Jacopo Zeno,' *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro* 10 (1951): 34–118.

First, the manuscripts. Next to those dated by the colophons, the identified manuscripts are datable by paper, scribes, or information gathered from Nicholas' works. Nine out of 44 manuscripts are dated by colophons, and all have been copied (and in one case bought) in the period between Nicholas' arrival to the Papal States, in 1464, and the end of 1471 when his governorship of Fano ended. Vat. lat. 1579 was copied by Giovanni Yvelor in 1465, Vat. lat. 2372 by Giovanni da Itri in 1466, Ang. lat. 551 and Neap. VII.G.100 by Hugo Dordraci in 1469, while the same scribe finished copying Ang. lat. 537 on October 4 1470. The same year Niccolò di Antonio da Montelparo copied Vat. lat. 1544, and George of Dachau Ang. lat. 561. Theodoric of Alemania mistakenly noted that he copied Barb. lat. 791 in '1462,' but since he indicated that he copied it for 'the bishop of Modruš, governor of Fano' 'in the time of pope Sixtus IV,' the manuscript was undoubtedly produced between August and December of 1471.<sup>293</sup> The colophon in Vat. lat. 2059 informs us that Nicholas bought the manuscript from Domenico Dominici in 1467.<sup>294</sup> Finally, we can include here Vat. lat. 432 as the tenth manuscript, in which we find an attached chirographum referring to Nicholas as the governor of Ascoli (1468–1470).

Additional information concerning the formation of the library is provided by the manuscripts copied on paper where particular groups can be identified. In this respect one group particularly stands out, the 'griffon group,' i. e. a group of manuscripts that were, in their entirety or in part, copied on paper bearing the watermark *griffon* (see App. 9, pl. 3). Four dated manuscripts – Barb. lat. 791 from 1471, Ang. lat. 551 from 1469, Ang. lat. 561 from 1470, and Neap. VII.G.100 from 1469 – were all copied on this paper, which was also used for the copying of Vat. lat. 8764, Angg. latt. 549 and 560, and for the parts of Angg. latt. 550 and 553 and Corsin. 127B. The four dated manuscripts situate the copying of the six undated manuscripts in the same time period, that is to say roughly between 1469 and 1471. In this respect, it is important to single out Vat. lat. 8764, preserving the second redaction of

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<sup>293</sup> BAV, Barb. lat. 791, fol. 162v: *Explicit reportatio super quattuor sententiarum magistri Francisci de Marchia. Scriptum per me Theodiricum de Almania ad instantiam reuerendissimi in Christo patris ac domini domini mey singuli Episcopi Modrusiensis Gubernatoris Phani sublimis(?) domini(?) m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxi<sup>o</sup> tempore sanctissimi in christo patris ac domini domini Sixti diuina prouidentia pape quarti. Amen. Deo gratias.* Since Sixtus IV assumed the papal throne on August 9 1471, while Nicholas left the post in Fano in December of this year, the scribe must have mistakenly put a *i* in the place of a *x*.

<sup>294</sup> Nicholas bought this manuscript from Domenico Dominici along with the Plato of Tivoli's translation of Ali ibn Ridwan's commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, which given the fact that it regularly accompanied the text of the work itself should probably with identified with the manuscript that ended up with the Augustinians listed in the inventory as *liber quatuor partium Ptolomei manu scriptus, tabulis albis* (see App. 8a, item 140).



Nicholas' *De consolatione*, and particularly Corsin. 127B, which contains the previously undated work of Nicholas, *De humilitate*, in autograph. Moreover, the dating of *De humilitate* is confirmed by the paper of the other quire, which bears the watermark *huchet* Briquet number 7834, produced in Rome in 1470, which in turn reveals that Ang. lat. 559, where we also find the *huchet* paper, was produced around 1470 as well. However, there are more such groups. Ang. lat. 553 next to *griffon* uses a paper with the watermark *mont* (similar Briquet 11709), which is also found in parts of Ang. lat. 556, which dates this manuscripts to the same period. Next to the *mont*-watermarked paper Ang. lat. 556 uses paper bearing the watermark *flèche*, as do parts of Ang. lat. 555, and since we are dealing here with the two parts of the fourth volume of Alexander of Hales' *Sum of Theology*, it can easily be concluded that the two were copied in pair in the same period, that is around 1470. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that Ang. lat. 537, containing the second part of Hales' *Summa*, was dated by colophon to the year 1470, suggesting that Nicholas ordered Hales' entire work to be copied at the same time, which means that the third part of Nicholas' copy of *Summa*, Ang. lat. 538, was also copied then. In sum, next to the ten dated manuscripts, the analysis of the paper places the acquisition of an additional ten to *grosso modo* the same period.

A palaeographic analysis further illuminates the process of formation, as next to the group of manuscripts copied on the same paper, we can identify groups of manuscripts copied by the same scribes. The most notable presence is that of Giovanni da Itri who copied at least six manuscripts for the bishop (Vatt. latt. 1532, 1752, 1756, 1762, 2372 and Ang. lat. 577), but dated only 2372 to 1466, while Nicholas was the castellan of Viterbo.<sup>295</sup> We can, however, date Vat. lat. 1532 more precisely, since the Greek passages were added subsequently by Andronico Callisto, a scribe who left Rome by 1471. This year presents the *terminus ante quem* not only for this manuscript but for Vatt. gr. 249 and 257 which were copied by Callisto as well, as it does for Vat. gr. 13 which the Greek émigré scholar seems to have given to Nicholas.<sup>296</sup> One can therefore presume that the remaining four manuscripts by da Itri (Vatt. latt. 1539, 1752, 1756 and 1762) were copied in the same period, especially once one considers the fact that da Itri was a soldier in the Viterbo fort.<sup>297</sup> Palaeographic analysis

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<sup>295</sup> For da Itri, see Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' and his profile in the prosopography of Roman scribes of the quattrocento in Elisabetta Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome: Viella, 2006), 115.

<sup>296</sup> For Callisto and Nicholas, see below.

<sup>297</sup> Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' 33–35.

allows us to conclude that additional eight manuscripts had entered Nicholas' library by the end of 1472.

Finally, the data arising from Nicholas' own works can also prove useful in analyzing the formation of his library. We know that Nicholas heavily relied on Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* in his *De consolatione*, the dedication copy of which, Vat. lat. 5139, was dated, as seen, to 1465/1466. At the same time, we can identify his copy of Cicero's work (Vat. lat. 1729) filled with his emendations of the text, which suggests that this manuscript was produced before the said works were composed, that is to say in the same pre-1472 period as the previous ones.

If we now discount Nicholas' six personal copies of his own works (Vatt. latt. 995, 6029, 8764 and Corsin. 127A, 127B and 127C) and divide his life and career into three markedly distinct phases – the period before coming to Rome (until September 1464), the first period in Rome under pope Paul II (September 1464–December 1471), and the period under Sixtus IV (beginning of 1472–1480) – it is striking that not a single manuscript can be identified that he had with himself prior to Rome and not a single one that was copied after 1471. Altogether 27 manuscripts out of the identified 38 were written in a short space of time following the bishop's arrival to the Papal States. For the remaining eleven it is clear that they were copied after 1464. However, although a more detailed comparative analysis of the hands of the scribes and illuminators – in the case of such a large number of manuscripts this would only become possible by means of using photographic reproductions – will almost certainly reveal new clusters of interconnected manuscripts among Nicholas' onetime possessions, it seems very likely on the basis of numerous codicological and palaeographical similarities that these eleven have also been copied in the relatively short timespan of 1464–1471, during which Nicholas obviously engaged in a massive spree.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> For instance, just as one can identify groups of manuscripts copied by the same scribes, one can identify groups decorated by the same illuminators. It seems that the three manuscripts copied by da Itri, Vatt. latt. 1532, 1762 and 2372, were decorated by one illuminator, Vatt. gr. 249 and 257 by another, while Augustine's *Against Faustus* (Vat. lat. 507) was decorated by a person that did not work on any other of the identified manuscripts.

**Table 3: Dating of Nicholas' identified manuscripts (not counting those of his own works)**

| PERIOD         | MANUSCRIPTS   | NR.       |
|----------------|---|-----------|
| 1) –1464       | –   | 0         |
| 2) 1464–1471   | Vatt. grr. 13, 249, 257; Vatt. latt. 432, 1532, 1544, 1579, 1729, 1752, 1756, 1762, 2059, 2372; Barb. lat. 791; Angg. latt. 537, 538, 549, 550, 551, 553, 555, 556, 559, 560, 561, 577; Neap. VII.G.100 | 27        |
| 3) 1472–1480   | –   | 0         |
| 2–3) 1464–1480 | Vatt. latt. 221, 353, 376, 507, 513, 1527, 1748, 1759, 1956, 1957; Ang. lat. 575  | 11        |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   |   | <b>38</b> |

If we only had the identified manuscripts at our disposal, it would seem as if by 1472 Nicholas fully formed his library and stopped acquiring books. Nicholas' career in the Papal States, however, coincided with the arrival of print to Rome and Italy, which had a significant impact on his book-collecting practices. In 1467 the two German printers, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, after a brief episode in the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, moved to Rome and formed a partnership that would see them print 48 books until 1473. Other Germans soon followed, turning Rome next to Venice into a major center of the early printing industry, which by the year 1500 saw altogether 1828 editions printed in local presses.<sup>299</sup> In this respect the inventory of Nicholas' books donated to the Augustinians, the list of incunables in particular, sheds a different light on the process of formation of the bishop's library. For, using the Incunable Short Title Catalogue of the British Library (<http://istc.bl.uk/search/index.html>), and limiting the search to the editions printed in Italy before Nicholas' death in May 1480, in some cases it is relatively easy to identify the precise editions of the incunables listed in the inventory.<sup>300</sup>

<sup>299</sup> Paola Casciano, et alii, 'Materiali e ipotesi per la stampa a Roma,' in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa*, vol. 1, ed. Bianca, et alii, 213–244, at p. 217. Italian cities represented a fertile ground because of their high level of literacy and culture, and favorable economic conditions they provided. For a general overview of print in Renaissance Italy, see Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); see also Luigi Balsamo, 'The Origins of Printing in Italy and England,' *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1975/1976): 48–63. For the Venetian printing culture, see the two excellent studies by Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

<sup>300</sup> The fact that according to the estimate of the editors the database records more than 90% of all fifteenth-century printing makes it, though not perfect, still a highly reliable research tool; see 'About the Catalogue' section of the ISTC at <http://istc.bl.uk/search/about.html> (last accessed: March 6 2013).

If we now again consider the process of the library's formation according to periods that proved illuminating in the analysis of Nicholas' manuscript books, the titles of 86 out of 106 incunables can be identified as being published in *either* the first *or* the second Roman period of his career, while twenty titles were being repeatedly published all the way from 1467 until 1480 and across the two periods. To clarify, it is impossible to know for certain whether Nicholas' printed copy of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares* was the one printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome in 1467 or any of the 27 subsequent editions of the work that were published in Italy until 1480,<sup>301</sup> just as we cannot ascertain whether his copy of the *Speculum vitae humanae* by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo is the one printed by the two printers in 1468 or a subsequent edition of 1473 printed by Johannes Philippus de Lignamine in Rome as well.<sup>302</sup> However, in case of 86 items listed in the inventory we are in a more fortunate situation. For instance, the bishop's copy of Apuleius' works can only be identified with the Sweynheim and Pannartz edition that came out on February 28 1469.<sup>303</sup> One here finds the *Sermones morales XXV* of John Chrysostom translated by Christoforo Persona published in Rome by Georgius Lauer around 1470,<sup>304</sup> but also Chrysostom's *Homiliae super Iohannem* translated by Francesco Griffolini and published by the same printer on Oct 29 1470.<sup>305</sup> In 1470 he seems to have acquired also the copies of Cicero's *Letters* and of the *Sermons* of pope Leo.<sup>306</sup> His copy of the *Punica* by Silius Italicus can only be identified with that of Sweynheim and Pannartz which came out in 1471,<sup>307</sup> while one also finds the copy of Cyprian's *Epistles* published in the same year both by Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome and Wendelin of Speyer in Venice.<sup>308</sup> Out of 86 incunable editions, seven can be identified that Nicholas seems to have acquired before moving on from his post in Fano, i.e. immediately with the arrival of printing to Rome and concurrently with the process of the manuscript formation of the library.

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<sup>301</sup> App. 8a, item 150.

<sup>302</sup> App. 8a, item 124.

<sup>303</sup> App. 8a, item 169.

<sup>304</sup> App. 8a, item 84.

<sup>305</sup> App. 8a, item 59.

<sup>306</sup> App. 8a, items 68, 144.

<sup>307</sup> App. 8a, item 200.

<sup>308</sup> App. 8a, item 83.

Out of the other 79 titles, interesting are those that can be identified as published in Venice in 1472 by Wendelin of Speyer, such as Plautus' *Comedies*, the collected poems of Tibullus, Propertius, Catullus and Statius, and George of Trebizond's *Rhetoric*,<sup>309</sup> which could have been acquired during Nicholas' mission to Venice in the spring of 1472. The Roman Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of Nicholas of Lyra can be dated to 1472, which the bishop probably acquired during his stay in Rome in 1473.<sup>310</sup> There is the 1474 edition of Pseudo-Seneca's *De moribus* from the Roman printing press of Johannes Gensberg,<sup>311</sup> but also the Paduan editions of Moerbeke's translations of Aristotle's *On the Heavens* and *Meteorology*, John the Canon's *Quaestiones on Aristotle's Physics*, and Albert the Great's *De mineralibus* that appeared in 1473, 1474, 1475 and 1476 respectively.<sup>312</sup> One also finds the Venetian 1477 edition of Antoninus of Florence's *Summa theologica* from the presses of John of Cologne and John Manthen,<sup>313</sup> as well as Duns Scotus's *Quaestiones on Peter Lombard's Sentences* from the same printers appearing in four volumes from July 1477 till January 1478.<sup>314</sup> Finally one can identify the two editions by the Milanese printers Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler from 1479, of Paulus Florentinus' *Breviarium* and *Quadragesimale*.<sup>315</sup> To be sure, Nicholas continued buying books of classical authors after 1472 as well. For instance we can identify the 1474 Roman edition of Homer's *Iliad* in Valla's translation,<sup>316</sup> the 1475 edition of Josephus Flavius' *The Jewish War*, the Venetian editions of Juvenal and Diomedes Grammaticus, published in 1475 and 1476 respectively,<sup>317</sup> as well as the 1479 Venetian edition of Platina's *Lives of the Popes* and the Milanese edition of Giovanni Crastone's *Latin-Greek Lexicon* that came out in 1480.<sup>318</sup> Again though it is impossible to tell whether each of these copies were bought fresh off the market, there can be no doubt that the process of the library's formation continued to be a gradual one and lasted until the end of Nicholas' life.

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<sup>309</sup> App. 8a, items 155, 203, 208.

<sup>310</sup> App. 8a, items 35–38.

<sup>311</sup> App. 8a, item 117. Johannes Gensberg was the person who printed Nicholas' funeral oration for Pietro Riario in 1474, which will be discussed in the *Epilogue*.

<sup>312</sup> App. 8a, items 94, 107, 134, 135.

<sup>313</sup> App. 8a, items 4–5.

<sup>314</sup> App. 8a, items 8, 10, 12–13.

<sup>315</sup> App. 8a, items 1 and 43.

<sup>316</sup> App. 8a, item 201.

<sup>317</sup> App. 8a, items 191 and 196; though there is another edition of Juvenal printed in 1479 in Pinerolo it is more likely that we are dealing here with the Venetian one.

<sup>318</sup> App. 8a, items 182 and 194.

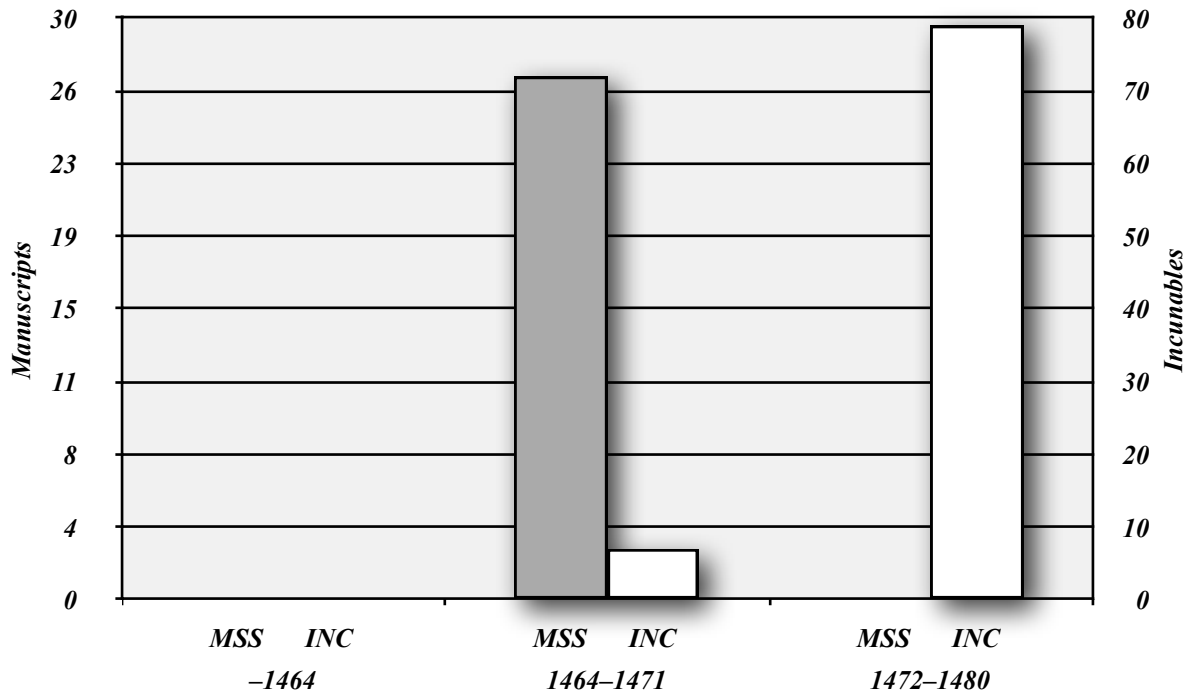
Clocking in at more than 240 books at the time of his death in 1480, Nicholas' library seems to have been typical in size, though not on the level of the largest libraries of Renaissance Rome, such as that of Marco Barbo which according to a contemporary's testimony boasted some 500 volumes.<sup>319</sup> However, while given the partial inventory at our disposal it is difficult to reach definite conclusion concerning its size, we can say much on its formation. What immediately becomes clear from the analysis so far is that Nicholas seems to have brought to Rome none of the books he undoubtedly had had with himself during his residency in Modruš. While these remained there to be of use to the local clergy and the Frankopans, Nicholas' 'Roman' library is thoroughly a creation of his time as a curial official. The chronology of the library's formation can therefore be divided into two distinct phases (see Table 4): A) a (predominantly) 'manuscript phase,' from the beginning of his curial career in September of 1464 until the end of 1471, corresponding roughly to the pontificate of Paul II; and B) the 'print phase,' from 1472 until his death in 1480. If we focus only on the manuscripts as reflecting the first period of the formation of the library, the number of 27 precisely dated manuscripts that entered Nicholas' library during this first period of his career, in comparison with no manuscripts copied before 1464 and after 1472 leads to the conclusion that almost the entire manuscript section of the library – once counting, as demonstrated in the introduction, a minimum of 133 manuscripts – was copied in this seven-year period as well. Such a number of manuscripts produced within a period of roughly six to seven years highlights the energy and capital Nicholas invested into the project of forming a functional library immediately upon his arrival to Rome. Finally the inventory of the books donated to the Augustinians shows that in spite of the fact that he all but stopped commissioning manuscripts by the end of 1471, the bishop continued to enlarge his library until the very end of his life by relying on the fast expanding printing market.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Only a few of Barbo's books can be identified today, one of which is Vat. lat. 5139, the dedicatory copy of Nicholas' *De consolatione*. For the size of Barbo's library, see Torroncelli, 'Biblioteca di Marco Barbo,' 343–344. It is difficult to compare Nicholas' library, or that of any other Roman prelate, to the most famous of the cardinal libraries, that of cardinal Bessarion, which was exceptional in its size, counting 1160 books; see Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus*, 1–7.

<sup>320</sup> The motivations for such a change will be considered in the *Epilogue* of the dissertation.

**Table 4: Formation of the library according to the periodically dated manuscripts and incunables**



### ***A Synchronic Perspective: Contents of the Library***

The 240 identified books in Nicholas’ library can be divided into two major sections: a) the *scholastica* including scholastic theological treatises but also scientific ones, such as philosophical and logical works, as well as medieval translations of Aristotle’s writings and of his Arabic commentators; b) the *humanistica* covering classical and patristic Latin works, as well as humanist authorial works and translations of Greek classics and patristics, and original Greek manuscripts. Alongside these one can consider a final heterogenous group comprising of c) all other works containing various genres such as the Bible and biblical tools, liturgical, confessional and legal texts, astronomical and astrological works, and others. Such a division is, after all, largely reflected in the inventory of the donated books, which first lists mostly ‘scholastic books’ until item 137, whereafter commences the ‘humanist section.’ In light of the conclusions from the diachronic analysis, the attention here will be mostly on the manuscript section, which, as was shown, largely reflects the state of the library at the end of 1471.

By the end of 1471, therefore, the *scholastica* covered a substantial, if not the most substantial, part of Nicholas' library. Altogether 90 books can be identified as belonging to it, out of which 63 were manuscripts (all 27 incunables were bought after 1471, and thus fall out of the present analysis).<sup>321</sup> Turning first to the basic texts, there can be no doubt that Nicholas owned a complete set of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, in spite of the fact that we have a reference to only one volume of this standard theological textbook.<sup>322</sup> Taking into consideration his education in Venice and Padua in philosophy and theology from a Scotist perspective, it is no wonder that the works of Duns Scotus occupy a prominent place in the collection. One finds four manuscript volumes containing his *Quodlibet* and commentary on the *Sentences*<sup>323</sup> – the latter indicatively representing one of only two of Nicholas' scholastic manuscripts that were copied on parchment. There is a notable presence of two other Franciscan heavyweights, the set of volumes containing *The Sum of Theology* by Alexander of Hales,<sup>324</sup> and Bonaventure,<sup>325</sup> while one also encounters theological commentaries on the *Sentences* by a number of Franciscan Scotists, such as Francis of Marchia,<sup>326</sup> Francis of Meyronnes,<sup>327</sup> Gerald of Odo,<sup>328</sup> and Hugh of Newcastle,<sup>329</sup> as well as those of the closely related Augustinians: Gerard of Siena,<sup>330</sup> Alfonso de Vargas y Toledo,<sup>331</sup> and Thomas of Strasbourg.<sup>332</sup> What is interesting, however, is that the collection included also the theological works of Thomas Aquinas,<sup>333</sup> and Dominican Thomists, such as Harvey Nedellec,<sup>334</sup> and Giovanni Capreolo.<sup>335</sup> While commentaries on the *Sentences* composed by Scotist authors far outnumber those of the Thomist ones, the presence of the latter does reflect Nicholas' efforts to get acquainted with the most important theological debates. In terms of contents it is

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<sup>321</sup> One possible exception is Nicholas' copy of Aquinas' *Quaestiones de duodecim quodlibet*, which could be either the 1470 Roman edition or the Venetian one from 1476; see App. 8a, item 30.

<sup>322</sup> App. 8a, item 49.

<sup>323</sup> App. 8a, items 9, 11, 14, 15 (BA, Ang. lat. 559; see App. 8b, no. 36).

<sup>324</sup> App. 8a, items 19–22 (BA, Angg. latt. 537, 538, 555, 556; see App. 8b, no. 28, 29, 34, 35).

<sup>325</sup> App. 8a, item 53.

<sup>326</sup> App. 8a, item 48 (BAV, Barb. lat. 791; see App. 8b, no. 27).

<sup>327</sup> App. 8a, items 61, 63, 64.

<sup>328</sup> App. 8a, item 47.

<sup>329</sup> App. 8a, item 79 (BNN, Neap. VII.G.100; see App. 8b, no. 41).

<sup>330</sup> App. 8a, item 45 (BA, Ang. lat. 551; see App. 8b, no. 32).

<sup>331</sup> App. 8a, item 51 (BA, Ang. lat. 577; see App. 8b, no. 40).

<sup>332</sup> App. 8a, items 32, 33.

<sup>333</sup> App. 8a, items 23, 27, 28, 29, 34.

<sup>334</sup> App. 8a, item 98 (BA, Ang. lat. 550; see App. 8b, no. 31).

<sup>335</sup> App. 8a, item 50 (BA, Ang. lat. 575; see App. 8b, no. 39).



important to note that, next to theological treatises, Nicholas' *scholastica* included the scientific literature, among which dominate the commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and works on physics, such as those of Gaetano da Thiene<sup>336</sup> – who just as Francesco della Rovere may have been one of Nicholas' teachers in Padua – Albert of Saxony,<sup>337</sup> Blaise of Parma,<sup>338</sup> John Buridan,<sup>339</sup> Marsilius of Inghen,<sup>340</sup> and Boethius of Dacia.<sup>341</sup>

Yet, if one considers Nicholas' educational background and pre-Roman works, the most significant foray into new intellectual territories represented the large section of the *humanistica* comprising exactly 100 known items. The 47 in manuscript format together with seven incunables listed in the previous subchapter reflect the state of the library by the end of 1471. One finds the works of poets Vergil<sup>342</sup> and Horace,<sup>343</sup> the reference works of Pliny the Elder<sup>344</sup> and Aulus Gellius,<sup>345</sup> treatises by Columella,<sup>346</sup> Celsus,<sup>347</sup> and Vegetius,<sup>348</sup> the manuscripts of all of which, save for Horace, have been preserved in the Vaticana until today. In the inventory of the books donated to the Augustinians one can find references to the manuscripts of Terence's comedies and Seneca's tragedies,<sup>349</sup> Tacitus,<sup>350</sup> and works of grammarians such as Varro's *On Latin Language* and Nonius Marcellus' *De compendiosa doctrina*,<sup>351</sup> as well as to the *editiones principes* of Apuleius and Silius Italicus' *Punica*.<sup>352</sup> In this wide-ranging scope of authors, however, the works of Cicero dominate in number. If we consider the previous conclusion that almost the entire manuscript collection was formed by the end of 1471, then at least ten manuscripts and two printed editions would have entered the

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<sup>336</sup> App. 8a, item 89 (BA, Ang. lat. 553; see App. 8b, no. 33).

<sup>337</sup> App. 8a, item 96.

<sup>338</sup> App. 8a, items 95, 97.

<sup>339</sup> App. 8a, items 93, 103.

<sup>340</sup> App. 8a, item 110 (BA, Ang. lat. 560; see App. 8b, no. 37).

<sup>341</sup> App. 8a, item 119.

<sup>342</sup> App. 8b, no. 14 (see BAV, Vat. lat. 1579).

<sup>343</sup> App. 1, doc. 70, 72, informing of Nicholas' copy of Horace's *Odes*.

<sup>344</sup> App. 8b, nos. 21, 22 (BAV, Vatt. latt. 1956, 1957).

<sup>345</sup> App. 8b, no. 12 (BAV, Vat. lat. 1532).

<sup>346</sup> App. 8b, no. 11.

<sup>347</sup> App. 8b, no. 24.

<sup>348</sup> App. 8b, no. 19.

<sup>349</sup> App. 8a, items 204, 206.

<sup>350</sup> App. 8a, item 185.

<sup>351</sup> App. 8a, items 192, 195.

<sup>352</sup> App. 8a, items 169, 200.

library in this first period of Nicholas' curial career.<sup>353</sup> Not only are Cicero's philosophical works here, but also three important collections of speeches – *Against Catiline*, *Verrines* and *Philippics* – which testify to Nicholas' growing interests in rhetoric, and complement the two manuscripts of Quintilian on rhetorical theory.<sup>354</sup> This is not to say that Nicholas sought to stock his library only with works of classical antiquity. Patristic authors appear as well, most notably the manuscripts of Jerome, Augustine (as well as some pseudo-Augustine ones), Lactantius,<sup>355</sup> as well as the *editiones principes* of the *Sermons* of pope Leo,<sup>356</sup> and Cyprian's *Epistles*.<sup>357</sup> Finally, one should also consider here the two volumes of the famous *Milleloquium Sancti Augustini* by Bartolomeo da Urbino, a compendium of some 15 000 sayings by Augustine.<sup>358</sup> Though essentially a work of medieval scholarship, it undoubtedly served the bishop as a standard reference tool.

While he sought to stock his library with the works of the humanist canon, Nicholas seems to have showed little interest in the humanist authorial works. The exceptions are, however, Antonio Loschi's commentaries to Cicero's speeches that complemented the large collection of his works,<sup>359</sup> an unidentified humanist work dedicated to Alfonso V of Aragon,<sup>360</sup> the already discussed Bessarion's *Against the Slanderer of Plato*.<sup>361</sup> and what may have been Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*.<sup>362</sup> The two other pieces are manuscripts of Leonardo Bruni's *Memoirs*,<sup>363</sup> and Giacomo Bracelli's *On the Spanish War* narrating the war between Genoa and Alfonso of Aragon,<sup>364</sup> which both reveal Nicholas' interest into Italian contemporary history. Much more frequent are humanist translations of Greek classics and

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<sup>353</sup> App. 8b, nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (BAV, Vatt. latt. 1729, 1748, 1752, 1756, 1759); App. 8a, items 130, 144, 145, 148, 151, 152, 154.

<sup>354</sup> App. 8b, no. 20 (BAV, Vat. lat. 1762); App. 8a, item 143.

<sup>355</sup> App. 8b, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

<sup>356</sup> App. 8a, item 68.

<sup>357</sup> App. 8a, item 83.

<sup>358</sup> App. 8a, items 72, 75. For this work, see Eric Leland Saak, 'The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages,' in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus, 367–404 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), at pp. 381–382.

<sup>359</sup> App. 8a, item 153.

<sup>360</sup> App. 8a, item 186.

<sup>361</sup> App. 8a, item 133.

<sup>362</sup> App. 8a, item 158.

<sup>363</sup> App. 8a, item 161.

<sup>364</sup> App. 8a, item 180. For Giacomo Bracelli and his work, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 75–76.

patristics such as Bruni's translation of Plato's *Phaedo*,<sup>365</sup> Lapo Birago's of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*,<sup>366</sup> Ambrogio Traversari's of Diogenes Laërtius,<sup>367</sup> Christofor Persona's of a collection of Chrysostom's *Homilies*,<sup>368</sup> and Francesco Griffolini of Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of John*.<sup>369</sup> Finally, though he sought to procure humanist translations of Greek classics and patristics, Nicholas owned some in the original as well: the two manuscripts of Aristotle's works, one containing his books on physics,<sup>370</sup> the other his *Metaphysics*,<sup>371</sup> in addition to which we also find Gaza's Greek grammar.<sup>372</sup> The acquisition of all three of these manuscripts date to the period of the bishop's participation in Bessarion's circle, and testify to his engagement with the Greek language, a question that will be treated in more detail further in the text.

However, one can today identify works in his collection that reflect other interests of the bishop and that found other practical uses. For instance, one finds here two Bibles, as well as standard Biblical commentaries: that of Paul of Burgos and particularly that of Nicholas of Lyra, which Nicholas acquired in the later part of his career in print but, as with other works, seems to have owned in manuscript as well.<sup>373</sup> We also find works that would have served the bishop in his pastoral duties such as liturgical works and collections of sermons,<sup>374</sup> or an unidentified confessional treatise,<sup>375</sup> but also a couple of books on canon law which certainly had practical use in dealing with the intricacies behind the functioning of the Curia.<sup>376</sup> There is also a notable presence of astronomical and astrological works. The bishop owned a copy of Geber's (Jabir ibn Aflah's) *Astronomy*,<sup>377</sup> Plato of Tivoli's translation of Haly's (Ali ibn Ridwan's) commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*,<sup>378</sup> Blaise of Parma's *On Astrology*,<sup>379</sup> and

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<sup>365</sup> App. 8a, item 177.

<sup>366</sup> App. 8a, item 159.

<sup>367</sup> App. 8a, item 187.

<sup>368</sup> App. 8a, item 84.

<sup>369</sup> App. 8a, item 59.

<sup>370</sup> App. 8b, no. 2 (BAV, Vat. gr. 249).

<sup>371</sup> App. 8b, no. 3 (BAV, Vat. gr. 257).

<sup>372</sup> App. 8b, no. 1 (BAV, Vat. gr. 13).

<sup>373</sup> App. 8a, items 6, 7, 35, 36, 37, 38, 69.

<sup>374</sup> App. 8a, items 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 55, 73, 88.

<sup>375</sup> App. 8a, item 76.

<sup>376</sup> App. 8a, items 1, 2, 3.

<sup>377</sup> App. 8b, no. 23 (BAV, Vat. lat. 2059).

<sup>378</sup> App. 8a, item 140.

<sup>379</sup> App. 8a, item 139.

finally a manuscript that may have contained the poems of the Aratean corpus.<sup>380</sup> Interesting are the manuscripts of Dante and Petrarch which not only reveal Nicholas' desire to become acquainted with the canonical literature of the Italian vernacular from the very beginning of his curial career, but could suggest an effort to improve his skills *in vulgari eloquentia*.<sup>381</sup> Alongside a few other works of various genres,<sup>382</sup> and Ptolemy's *mappa mundi*,<sup>383</sup> one should finally note here the manuscripts of his own works, six copies of which have been traced to the shelves of his personal library.<sup>384</sup> One might imagine, however, that it included the bishop's entire oeuvre. While it is therefore useful to look at the collection from the prism of scholasticism/humanism division – a division which after all is reflected as will soon be seen in the visual appearance of the library – in order to reflect the bishop's intellectual interests, one should not discount a number of other themes and genres that do not fit into any of the two provisional categories.

In sum, taking into consideration the partial inventory at our disposal, it is difficult to reach definite conclusions regarding the particulars of Nicholas' book-collecting interests. What is certain is that the *scholastica* and *humanistica* represented by far the two largest and clearly discernible sections of the library, reflecting his philosophical-theological interests on the one hand, and a more engaging interest in the classical and Christian antiquity on the other. The *scholastica* constituted, though certainly not comparable to Bessarion's, still a well-stocked collection that sought to cover different schools of thought. Though the works of the Franciscan theologians Duns Scotus and Alexander of Hales, and their intellectual successors, held sway, one still notes a significant presence of the works of Thomas Aquinas, in addition to some Dominican Thomists. On the other hand, the large presence of the *humanistica* clearly shows that Nicholas' library was no special interest library reflecting only his academic background, as was for instance cardinal Rodrigo Borgia's library that boasted some

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<sup>380</sup> App. 8a, item 142.

<sup>381</sup> App. 8a, items 205, and 209. In addition, Nicholas owned a printed copy of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* as well (App. 8a, item 202).

<sup>382</sup> These for instance include an unidentified collection of allegorical works (App. 8a, item 131), what is perhaps the *Historia Romana* by a 10th-century Lombard historian Landolfus Sagax (App. 8a, item 58), a short medieval dialogue *Quaestiones inter Christum et diabolum* (App. 8a, item 67), and the popular work of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, *Speculum vitae humanae* (App. 8a, item 124).

<sup>383</sup> App. 8a, item 141.

<sup>384</sup> BAV, Vatt. latt. 995, 6029, 8764; and BANLC, Corin. 127A, 127B, 127C (see App. 8b, nos. 10, 25, 26, 42; and App. 8a, item 57).

200 codices, exclusively of legal texts,<sup>385</sup> or that of cardinal d'Estouteville, famed among contemporaries for its juridical character.<sup>386</sup> Indeed, the collection of classical works exhibits a wide range of authors and topics, which, taking into consideration the conclusions from the diachronic analysis of the library, suggests that from the very beginning of his curial career Nicholas sought to organize a *complete* collection of canonical works of both classical and Christian Latin antiquity. For even if we lack information that he acquired a copy of, say, Ovid's writings or Sallust in this period, it seems more likely that this is due to the partial insight we have into the library rather than it is because he did not own them. After all, as *Part II* will show, though we cannot identify Nicholas' manuscript copy of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* he certainly made use of this work in 1471/1472 when he worked on *De bellis Gothorum*. However, while Nicholas made an attempt to furnish his library with canonical works of antiquity, he does not seem to have followed much of humanist works in general, a feature that also follows the pattern of libraries of other Renaissance prelates, such as Bessarion's.<sup>387</sup> An interesting venue of research would be to explore to which textual families Nicholas' manuscript belong. For instance, if one considers the two Greek manuscripts of Aristotle as a testimony to Nicholas' connection to Bessarion's circle, it is possible that the humanist archbishop of Siponto and Nicholas' fellow administrator in Viterbo, Niccolò Perotti, was the one who supplied the bishop of Modruš with the needed exemplars of classical Latin texts in the first years of his curial career.<sup>388</sup>

By the end of 1471 the library therefore acquired a distinctive shape as a collection in which scholastic philosophical-theological works and works ascribed to the humanist canon equally dominated. While Nicholas would from 1472 onwards turn from manuscript to print,

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<sup>385</sup> Bianca, et alii, 'Biblioteche cardinalizie,' 81.

<sup>386</sup> Esposito Aliano, 'La biblioteca di Guglielmo d'Estouteville,' 337.

<sup>387</sup> For the discussion of Bessarion's collection of humanist writings, see Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus*, 7–18.

<sup>388</sup> To this end one could compare Nicholas' manuscripts of Vergil and Quintilian, both copied in Viterbo, the former by Giovanni Yvelor the latter by Giovanni da Itri, with the copies of the two works that were identified as owned by Perotti. Marucchi, 'Codici di Niccolò Perotti,' 104–105, and 108–110.

the library would, content-wise, expand along the treaded path.<sup>389</sup> The bishop of Modruš continued to procure not only the printed works of Duns Scotus<sup>390</sup> and other Franciscans such as Bonaventure,<sup>391</sup> Francis of Meyronnes,<sup>392</sup> Richard of Middleton,<sup>393</sup> but also maintained an interest in the theology of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>394</sup> The same holds true for the humanist section of the library, which was enriched by at least 46 books in print procured after 1472. Even his interests in Greek literature continued. Not only that he acquired Giovanni Crastone's Latin-Greek lexicon,<sup>395</sup> but as can be gathered from the poetry of his humanist client, Francesco Maturanzio, who on the occasion of his visit to the bishop in 1474, brought a number of Greek manuscripts from Rhodes which they consulted together.<sup>396</sup> In the end, perhaps the most interesting feature of Nicholas' developing interests in the 1470s is the large collection of classical historians. While he may have bought his printed copies of Caesar and Livy as early as 1469,<sup>397</sup> not to mention Sallust, after 1472 he would buy copies of Herodotus, Tacitus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Curtius, Strabo, Polybius, Justinus, Eutropius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Occasionally he also bought copies of texts he already owned in manuscript. This is clear from the inventory itself, where for instance books of Scotus' *Quaestiones on Sentences* are listed in both print and manuscript (App. 8a, items 8–11, 13–14), as is the case with Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (App. 8a, items 23, 24). He owned a manuscript copy of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, now Vat. lat. 1762, but also a printed one (App. 8a, item 147). The same is with Valla's translation of Herodotus which he acquired in print after 1474 (App. 8a, item 167) but which he used in *De humilitate*, composed in 1470, and *De bellis Gothorum*, in 1472/1473, leaving no doubt that he owned a manuscript copy of the work as well. Finally, the inventory lists two copies of Justinus' *Epitome* (App. 8a, items 164, 175), which are more likely to have been copies of two different editions than of the same one.

<sup>390</sup> App. 8a, items 10, 12, 13, 16.

<sup>391</sup> App. 8a, item 54.

<sup>392</sup> App. 8a, item 62.

<sup>393</sup> App. 8a, item 85.

<sup>394</sup> App. 8a, items 24, 25, 26, 30, 31.

<sup>395</sup> App. 8a, item 194.

<sup>396</sup> This can be inferred from Maturanzio's poems addressed to Nicholas; App. 6, car. 26: *Sospes ab Eois uenio tibi redditus oris / Magne uir ingenio, magne uir eloquio. / (...) / Sunt comites nobis Grai ueteresque libelli, / Quos longum Rhodia per mare ab urbe fero* (Tr.: Safe and sound from the eastern shores I return to you, / A man excelling in both mind and literary talent. / (...) / Our companions are the old books of the Greeks, / Which I bring from the city of Rhodes across the deep sea). Some of the books Maturanzio brought from Greece, and discussed with Nicholas, are today preserved in the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia; see Philippe Hoffmann, 'La collection de manuscrits grecs de Francesco Maturanzio, érudit pérujin (ca. 1443–1518),' *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes* 95 (1983): 89–147. See also Philippe Hoffmann, 'Reliures crétoises et vénitiennes provenant de la bibliothèque de Francesco Maturanzio et conservées à Pérouse,' *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes* 94 (1982): 729–757.

<sup>397</sup> App. 8a, items 184, 188, 189.

<sup>398</sup> App. 8a, items 157, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173, 175, 179.

### *A Codicological Perspective: The Library as a Physical Space*

In addition to shedding light on the chronology of the library's formation and its contents, the identified manuscripts together with the inventory offer much information about its appearance and organization as well as on the very process of how the books were acquired. The following pages therefore consider the library as a physical space and consider how Nicholas engaged with it.

If we turn back to the inventory it becomes clear that while the earliest incunable editions in his collections were indeed those published by the Roman printers, multiple ones from the 1470s can be identified that were printed outside Rome, in Venice, Milan or Padua. Though it is possible that the bishop used his time as a papal ambassador to Venice in 1472 to acquire his editions of Nicolas Jenson and Wendelin of Speyer, this does not mean that he would later travel in person to Venice or any other of these cities specifically to procure books or even that he would send someone from his household to do so. By 1470s the Italian publishers were already setting up shops and maintaining agents in various centers across the peninsula, all in order to distribute their editions and see returns on their investments.<sup>399</sup> In 1470s for instance the Venetian printers John of Cologne and Nicolas Jenson, first individually and later as partners, had shops and agents in Brescia, Pavia, across Tuscany and Umbria, expanding their business into France even. Within the cities, it was common for printers and booksellers to concentrate in certain areas, and accordingly in Rome it was in the Parione district and Piazza Campo dei Fiori, where bookstalls exhibited usually unbound copies of editions, either those fresh from the press or those still available in stock. It is undoubtedly here that Nicholas, during his sojourns in Rome from provinces on official business, acquired the largest part of incunables, though the 1478-to-1480 editions in his library could also have easily been acquired in Perugia, the largest city in Umbria, where he was based at the time.<sup>400</sup>

Yet, unlike his experience with the printing market during the later part of his career, we cannot be sure to what extent, if at all, the bishop relied on the professional booksellers in the Parione district while forming the manuscript section of his library during the first period of his curial career. Though our inability to identify at least one such example in his library could

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<sup>399</sup> For the expansion of the Italian printing market during the 1470s, see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 25–38.

<sup>400</sup> For Nicholas' appointments in 1474–1480, see the *Epilogue*.

suggest that only a small portion of his manuscript section had such a provenance, it is equally possible that these manuscripts were not furnished with any sorts of colophons that would shed light on this process.<sup>401</sup> On the other hand, it is clear that Nicholas did not copy books in his own hand, as Pietro del Monte for instance.<sup>402</sup> Out of the 44 identified manuscripts, there are only two autograph cases and these are both copies of his own works, today the first two fascicules of Corsin. 127 preserving his Gothic history and *On Humility* respectively. Nicholas did however acquire used books from other book collectors, and three of such manuscripts can be identified, along with a reference to a fourth one. Next to Vat. lat. 2059 which he bought from Domenico Dominici in pair with the now lost copy of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, and Vat. gr. 13 which he received from Andronico Callisto, we find Ang. lat. 575, the unidentified family coat of arms in which clearly suggests a previous owner.

Still, all these seem to have been only minor strands in the process of the library's formation in this period, and again the *griffon* group of manuscripts sheds much light on the process of how the largest portion was formed in the first period of his career. Indeed, owing to the information provided by the manuscript colophons, as well as codicological and palaeographic analyses, it becomes clear that this large group of ten manuscripts was copied in Nicholas' home. The key lies with Neap. VII.G.100, where the scribe Hugo Dordraci explicitly states that he copied the manuscript 'in the city of Ascoli, in the home of the most reverend lord bishop of Modruš,' in April of 1469.<sup>403</sup> Dordraci was in fact a typical scribe *familiaris* who made a career of copying manuscripts living in the households of Roman prelates. Earlier he had been in the service of Johannes Hinderbach bishop of Trent (1418–1486) and Iacopo Zeno bishop of Padua, from where – having finished copying Domenico da San Gimignano's *Commentaria in librum Sextum* on April 29 1468 – he moved to the

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<sup>401</sup> One possible exception is Ang. lat. 563, the identification of which, as was shown in the *Introduction*, falls into the category of probable. In this particular case, the colophon informs us that the manuscripts was copied in Bologna in 1465 (fol. 39v: *1465 Bononie*). As the largest university center of Italy, Bologna represented also the largest market for theological and legal works used as text books, and if this manuscript was indeed one of Nicholas' it is more probable that he acquired it from a bookseller or another intermediary rather than he himself went there in person. For Ang. lat. 564, see Narducci, *Catalogus*, 245.

<sup>402</sup> Rundle, 'Manuscript Collection of Pietro del Monte,' 257; see also David Rundle, 'The Two Libraries: Humanists' Ideals and Ecclesiastics' Practice in the Book-Collecting of Paul II and his Contemporaries,' in *Humanisme et Eglise en Italie et en France méridionale*, ed. Patrick Gilli, 167–185 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

<sup>403</sup> BNN, Neap. VII.G.100, fol. 186v: *Scriptum est in ciuitate Asculi in domo Reuerendissimi domini episcopi Modrusiensis per me Hugonem Leck de Hollandia Traiectensis dyocesis anno domini m<sup>o</sup>.cccc<sup>o</sup>.lxi<sup>o</sup> xxviii<sup>a</sup> die mensis Aprilis.*



household of Modruš who was then freshly appointed governor of Ascoli.<sup>404</sup> In Modruš's household Dordraci copied not only Neap. VII.G.100 but also at least two other manuscripts, Angg. latt. 537 and 551. Moreover, the particular inclination of this scribe to provide detailed colophons allows us to track the change of his and, consequently, Nicholas' own locations. We therefore know that Dordraci copied Neap. VII.G.100 and Ang. lat. 551 (both part of the *griffon* group) in 1469 in Ascoli but that he finished Ang. lat. 1470 on October 4 1470 in Rome, which reveals that the bishop himself sojourned in the capital for a period before moving on to assume his governorship in Fano on October 31. Yet, another manuscript of the *griffon* group leaves little doubt that it was written in the home of Modruš. In Barb. lat. 791, the scribe Theodiric of Alemania records that he copied the manuscript 'at the request of my only lord bishop of Modruš,' some time, as was shown, between August and December of 1471. The fact that among the *griffon* manuscripts one also finds the autograph of Nicholas' *De humilitate* (Corsin. 127B), and a personal copy of his *De consolatione* (Vat. lat. 8764), as well as the fact that the manuscripts were copied in two different towns leads to a conclusion that the we are dealing here with the paper that Nicholas stocked his home with for the planned forming of his library, which he then took with himself as he moved from Ascoli through Rome to Fano. Next to Dordraci and Theodiric, in this group we also find George of Dachau, who copied Ang. lat. 561 in 1470, as well as Stephen Sabinus, who copied Vat. lat. 8764. Finally, next to these four scribes that have documented their work in colophons, even a cursory look at this group reveals the marked presence of another, unnamed, scribe whose inclined and particularly uniform gothic script can easily be identified in Ang. lat. 560 and parts of Angg. latt. 549, 550 and 553.<sup>405</sup> One can conclude, therefore, that all these scribes that worked on the manuscripts of the *griffon* group served Nicholas as his *familiares*, that is to say that while they were working on the manuscripts they enjoyed the hospitality of the bishop's home and, possibly, received a salary.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> For Dordraci, see Eef Overgaauw, 'Les copistes vus par eux-mêmes: L'exemple des copistes néerlandais en Italie,' in *Le statut du scribe au Moyen Age*, ed. Marie-Clotilde Hubert, et alii, 325–332 (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2000); and Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma*, 110.

<sup>405</sup> In Ang. lat. 549 he copied fols. 83r–128r, in Ang. lat. 550 fols. 160r–206r, and in Ang. lat. 553 fols. 81r–117r; see App. 8b, nos. 30, 31, 32, 37.

<sup>406</sup> For scribes *familiares*, see Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma*, 37–41; and Albert Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), vol. 1, 15–16. Next to the scribes listed above one should perhaps include here Niccolò di Antonio da Montelparo as well, who in 1470 copied Vat. lat. 1544 for Modruš.

The evidence suggests the bishop's activities were no different already during his time as the castellan of Viterbo, although, given the more modest economic resources at his disposal at the time, undoubtedly on a lower scale. This is confirmed by the colophon of the scribe of the dedication copy of *De consolatione*, Vat. lat. 5139, the phrasing of which not only suggests that he was the bishop's *familiaris* who lived with him in the fort of Viterbo.<sup>407</sup> Although other scribes have worked for the bishop during his castellanship in Viterbo, such as Giovanni Yvelor who copied Nicholas' Vergil (Vat. lat. 1579) or Giovanni da Itri, who produced at least six manuscripts at his request, it is difficult to say whether they also formed part of Nicholas' household or they produced the manuscripts for the bishop within the confines of their own residences. What can be concluded is that immediately following his arrival to the Papal States, Nicholas started employing scribes in his household for the organized formation of his library. Even though the beginnings in Viterbo were undoubtedly set at a more modest scale – his ambitions after all had to be accorded with the economic possibilities at hand – Nicholas' governorships in Ascoli and Fano do witness an emergence of a scriptorium that seems to have relied on the work of more than one scribe at a time.

The attachment of a scriptorium to Nicholas' library leads to other questions concerning its visual appearance and spatial organization, and it will be useful here to focus mostly on the manuscript section largely reflecting, it was argued, the state of the library before 1472. The 38 identified manuscripts can be divided as belonging to two distinctive manuscript traditions, the scholastic and the humanist one, which might be used as representative of other manuscripts listed in the inventory.

The manuscripts of scholastic philosophical and theological works – 15 of which can be identified today out of 63 altogether that were listed in the inventory – were all produced according to the same standard, typical of the scholastic manuscript culture of fifteenth-century Italy. With the exception of Ang. lat. 575 which was bought from a previous owner, they were all commissioned specifically for his own library, and are all folio-sized paper manuscripts, copied in gothic script in two columns. However, while five of these manuscripts

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<sup>407</sup> BAV, Vat. lat. 5139, fol. 123v: *IN ARCE VITERBIENSI SECUNDO PAVLI EDITVM SCRIPTVMQVE VESTRO NOMINE REVERENDE PATER ET DOMINE.*

have been left undecorated, nine of them have illuminated incipit pages, with the *bas-de-page* regularly sporting a wreath of leaves within which stands Modruš's coat of arms, and with various decorative elements filling out the margins and the space between columns. The beginnings of texts are frequently marked by inhabited initials, within which occasionally stand the authors with faces pointing either towards the sky or the text, as is the case in Angg. latt. 537, 549, 551 or 577. Usually they come in regular folio sizes of *ca.* 340x230mm, but among them stand out two manuscripts of Alexander of Hales' *Sum of Theology* (Angg. latt. 537 and 538), which with the dimensions of *ca.* 430x290mm give some credence to the words of Roger Bacon who disparagingly described the work as weighing more than a horse.<sup>408</sup>

Out of the 'humanist section' of Nicholas' library – encompassing the works of classical and patristic authors, as well as humanist authorial works and translations of Greek classics and patristics – numbering altogether 47 known manuscripts, only the 19 now in the Vaticana have been identified. These all can be classified as display copies, regularly in folio size, copied in humanistic or semi-humanistic script in long line, and decorated according to humanistic standards of the Florentine style. While the white vines fill the left and upper margin, the coat of arms of Modruš is usually situated in the bottom margin of the *incipit* page, frequently placed within a wreath of leaves held by two putti. Some of the manuscripts are adorned with miniatures that contributed to the value of the book, such as Nicholas' copy of Vergil's works (Vat. lat. 1579), which contains scenes at the incipit pages of the *Bucolics* (fol. 1r: Meliboeus, with Tityrus *recubans sub tegmine fagi*), *Georgics* (fol. 16r: a peasant plowing the land), and *Aeneid* (fol. 56r: Aeneas and Dido in front of the walls of Carthage). As a subgroup to these manuscripts produced according to the humanist standards, one should here mention the two Greek ones of Aristotle, which were also copied on parchment and even more lavishly decorated. Next to Modruš's coat of arms and humanistic decorative elements they contain Byzantine features as well, such as the gilt headpieces which can be found in Vat. gr. 257, and for which space was left in Vat. gr. 249. Though the latter manuscript particularly stands out with three gilt inhabited initials marking the beginnings of each of the books of *On the Soul* (fols. 200v, 203v, 218v), both are in general heavily gilt, and seem to have been the

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<sup>408</sup> A. G. Dickens, *Late Monasticism and the Reformation* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 18, citing Roger Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, vol. 1, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), 326: *Ex suo ingressu fratres et alii exaltaverunt in coelum, et ei dederunt auctoritatem totius studii, et adscripserunt ei magnam Summam illam, quae est plusquam pondus unius equi, quam ipse non fecit sed alii.*

pride of the collection, revealing the status that the works of the Stagirite enjoyed in the eyes of their owner.

All in all, we come to the final count of 30 display copies out of 38 identified manuscripts. It is a question how representative is this number of the altogether 133 manuscript books that we know of and almost all of which were, as was shown, produced in the first years of his curial career.<sup>409</sup> Whatever the case may be, the number of display copies was certainly a high one, but not unusual in the context of libraries of other curial prelates. While there were exceptions – such as the library of Guillaume d’Estouteville who did not put much stock in decorating books altogether (or in reading them for that matter it seems)<sup>410</sup> – the libraries of the Roman prelates were rarely build for an audience of one. Still, more research is needed on the quality of these books, and the illuminators who worked on Nicholas’ manuscripts. As far as the scribes employed in Nicholas’ household – such Giovanni da Itri or Niccolò di Antonio da Montelparo – are concerned, they seem to have been mostly recruited in the provinces where the bishop served as an official. Nevertheless, the significant percentage of display copies in Nicholas’ collection clearly reveals his efforts to form a library that would not only furnish him with the needed texts but that would also physically make an impression on his peers and contribute to his social standing. In a word these were books for an audience of more than one, books that had a role in the social space. It was not only the newly commissioned manuscript that could be used for display and contribute to their owner’s prestige. The case in point is Vat. lat. 2059, the oldest manuscript in Nicholas’ collection which he bought from Domenico Dominici, and where the series of colophons present an illustrious line of previous owners: Dominici, Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), a passionate collector of Greek manuscripts (or, as Francesco Filelfo might say, ‘a greedy book seller’), and *M. Venturinus de Feltre*, who should probably be identified with the famous humanist teacher Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446).<sup>411</sup> Given, therefore, its association with famous

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<sup>409</sup> To the total count of Nicholas’ display copies, one can add Vat. lat. 995, the copy of Nicholas’ own *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum*, the sole example of Nicholas’ own work that was adorned with his coat of arms, and the sole example of a display copy that can be dated to the post-1472 period.

<sup>410</sup> Esposito Aliano, ‘La biblioteca di Guglielmo d’Estouteville,’ 337.

<sup>411</sup> It is known that Aurispa and da Feltre exchanged other manuscripts – e.g. one manuscript containing Plato’s works – so Vat. lat. 2059 would represent another instance of the communication between the two humanists. Nogara’s catalogue does not indicate that the owner was da Feltre, nor does Claudia Villa in her study of Dominici’s library; see Villa, ‘Brixiensia,’ 274; Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, 436. For the connections between Aurispa and da Feltre, see William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators, Essays and Versions: An Introduction to the History of Classical Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 68–69.

names in the history of the humanist movement, we may rightly wonder whether it enjoyed a special status in the eyes of its owner, who only in this particular book of his collection conspicuously chose to note the transaction from Dominici, just below the colophon where the latter noted his own transaction from Aurispa (see App. 9, pl. 4).<sup>412</sup>

The final aspect of the book to be considered here is the binding, which adds further understanding of the visual appearance but can also tell us much concerning the spatial organization of the library. The very presence and quality of the boards contributed to the value of the book, and hence to the prestige of their owner, no different than did the decorated folios, and indeed the booksellers valued the bound books in their stock almost twice as much as they valued the unbound ones.<sup>413</sup> Even though today only a small percentage of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts still preserve the original binding, luckily in Nicholas' case we do have three examples. It seems that the bare wooden boards that today protect Ang. lat. 538 are the same ones that covered the manuscript when it, *nudis tabulis* the inventory reports, entered the Augustinian library. On the other hand, it seems that though the spine of Vat. lat. 1759, preserving Cicero's philosophical works, bears the coats of arms of pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) and cardinal librarian Luigi Lambruschini (1834–1853), the boards can be dated to the pre-Vatican period. Unlike those of Ang. lat. 538, these are covered with leather and do not bear the papal coat of arms, but simple decorative motifs, such as the Roman imperial eagles placed in the corners, and are very similar to the third manuscript which seems to be protected by the original boards, the Vat. gr. 13, the copy of Gaza's Greek grammar. However, rather than representing isolated cases, comparing these three examples to the inventory of the books donated to the Augustinians we do get a sense of how the entire library looked like. For the inventory provides us with the information concerning the binding of 199 out of – not counting Ptolemy's *mappamundi*<sup>414</sup> – 209 books in the inventory. Out of these 199 books, 93 are listed as protected by simple uncovered boards (*nudis tabulis*), while the rest are listed with boards in color, that is to say covered by colored material presumably leather, and hence more decorative, 68 of which are listed in red (*rubeis tabulis*), 26 in black (*tabulis nigris*), 6 in white (*albis tabulis*) and 6 in green color (*uiridibus tabulis*). The selection which books

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<sup>412</sup> It is indicative to compare this case with Ang. lat. 575, a manuscript which he also acquired from a previous owner, but where he did not record the transaction.

<sup>413</sup> Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, 189–190.

<sup>414</sup> App. 8a, item 141.

received the more decorative leather covered boards was far from random. What immediately becomes clear from the inventory is that simple uncovered boards were mostly used for books of the ‘scholastic section’ of the library, while the decorative leather binding, mostly in red and black, was usually reserved for the *humanistica*. Again, the binding, just as the use of parchment and more lavish decorations, clearly reveals that it is the latter that were meant for prime display.

Yet, apart from contributing to the value of the book, the binding often had a practical function as well, and what is particularly interesting in case of Nicholas’ books is that the front covers, at least in case of the two leather-bound ones, are also adorned by lunettes, carved out spaces, 25x70mm in dimensions, within which presumably a *titulus*, i.e. a label indicating the contents of the book, once stood. Since unfortunately we lack the original spines of the books, we do not know whether the labels on the boards were accompanied by similar ones on the spines, which would have facilitated easy orientation in the library, as was the case for instance in the library of the Estensi of Ferrara.<sup>415</sup> But Ang. lat. 538, as well as other Angelican manuscripts, suggest it was somewhat a different case with Nicholas’ library. As was seen in the introduction, nearly all of the scholastic manuscripts have a title in Roman capitals written on their fore edges. In Ang. lat. 538, the only scholastic manuscript that preserves the original binding, the title of the work is written on the board as well, which seems to suggest that all of the scholastic manuscripts had a title written out on their boards. Though there is a chance that these were added by the librarian of Santa Maria del Popolo, the fact that no other manuscript that entered the library in the same period as Nicholas’ – such as Baroncelli’s for instance<sup>416</sup> – seems to bear such titles on the fore edges suggests that they could very well represent the remnants of Nicholas’ own labeling system. If this is indeed so then they would represent the less decorative version of the lunettes present in the Vatican, more conspicuous, copies. Though it is impossible to tell whether the spines of the bishop’s books bore labels as well, the titles on the fore edges suggest that it is in fact they that faced the outside of the bishop’s bookshelves as aids to a quick orientation. This is finally also suggested by Vat. lat. 1956, the first volume of Nicholas’ Pliny the Elder, which counting no less than 392 folios represents one of the largest manuscripts in his collection. Although the

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<sup>415</sup> Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, 29–32.

<sup>416</sup> See *Introduction*.

fore edges of all of Nicholas' classical manuscripts are gilt and gauffered, Vat. lat. 1956 is additionally adorned with the painted coats of arms of Modruš, with two appearing on both the upper and lower edges, and one, larger, on the fore edges. Not only that these had a practical function in facilitating the identification of this standard reference work on the bookshelves, they also, at the same time, contributed to the owner's prestige.

Therefore, even though Nicholas moved on official duty every two to three years, he did have ideas concerning the appearance and spatial organization of his library. To be sure, these ideas may not have been as elaborated as those of Angelo Camillo Decembrio as evinced by his dialogue *De politia litteraria (On Literary Polish)*,<sup>417</sup> or those of the *de facto* ruler of Florence, Piero de' Medici (1416–1469) for instance, who had his books bound according to a color scheme which in turn governed the spatial organization of his library.<sup>418</sup> Yet the inventory and the identified manuscripts not only present us with a window into formation of his library but also shed light on its organization and appearance as a locus for the convivial discussions of the circles of the literati, who as guests to Modruš's home were the ones to whom those display copies were supposed to reveal the good tastes of their owner.

### ***In the Manuscript Margins***

It is now time to move a step deeper into the library, to pull the volumes from their shelves, as it were, and take a glance at the margins of the books. While they present us with a more refined insight into his intellectual pursuits, they also reveal his bookish practices and the ways by which he gathered and regulated access to knowledge. Three groups of marginal notes can be identified: 1) philological emendations of the texts; 2) paratextual additions; and 3) marginal notes *sensu stricto*.

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<sup>417</sup> Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, 19–35. For the edition of this work, see Angelo Camillo Decembrio, *De politia litteraria*, ed. Norbert Witten (Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2002).

<sup>418</sup> The blue covers were reserved for the theological works, yellow for grammar, purple for poetry, red for history and white for philosophy; see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), 249.

Part of Nicholas' interventions in manuscripts are of a philological nature, appearing exclusively in classical and patristic texts, and revealing great care he took of their quality. In a significant number of manuscripts, Nicholas corrects, regularly in brown ink, scribal errors. He occasionally even notes the *variae lectiones*, which suggests that his desire to have a faithful copy of a text motivated him to acquire more than one copy of a work.<sup>419</sup> We find his hand correcting the texts of Lactantius (Vat. lat. 221), Augustine's *The City of God* (Vat. lat. 432), and the beginnings of Cicero's speeches *In Verrem* (Vat. lat. 1752) and his dialogue *De natura deorum* (Vat. lat. 1759).<sup>420</sup> This is, however, even more evident in the manuscripts he used when composing his own works. For instance he painstakingly corrected the entire text of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (Vat. lat. 1729), a work which formed the basis of his *De consolatione*, but also the preface to Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (Vat. lat. 1956), as well as book 2 dedicated to the description of the world and book 7 to the physiognomy and customs of various peoples, which he might have had before him while working on his *De humilitate*.<sup>421</sup> The composition of philosophical treatises on a given subject, such as Nicholas' on consolation and humility, were methodologically based on the collation of *exempla*, which were according to humanistic standards supposed to be excerpted from the works of ancient authorities. Nicholas' emendations of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, therefore, reveal the great attention with which the bishop sought to transmit the most faithful text when quoting, but also the rigorous philological standards of the intellectual arena of Renaissance Rome.

The second group of Nicholas' interventions in his books consists of paratextual additions that were supposed to facilitate orientation when reading the text. One occasionally finds Nicholas' hand writing out the titles of works in Roman capitals, and the titles of smaller textual units, such as those of chapters and letters, in minuscule letters. He used Roman capitals in red ink to write out the titles of Lactantius' works in Vat. lat. 221, of Macrobius' *Commentary to Scipio's Dream* (Vat. lat. 1544) and of Cicero's dialogue *De natura deorum* (Vat. lat. 1759), but he used red minuscule letters for the titles of some of Jerome's letters in Vat. lat. 353,<sup>422</sup> and for the sections of Alexander of Hales' *Summa* (Angg. latt. 537, 555,

<sup>419</sup> Here one should also mention more complex diagrams that Nicholas drew in Calcidius' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Vat. lat. 1544), the spaces for which was left by the scribe of the manuscript, Niccolò da Montelparo and which the bishop therefore seems to have copied subsequently from another exemplar; see App. 8b, no. 13.

<sup>420</sup> App. 8b, nos. 4, 7, 17, 19.

<sup>421</sup> App. 8b, nos. 15, 21.

<sup>422</sup> App. 8b, nos. 4, 5, 13, 19.



556).<sup>423</sup> Occasionally Nicholas also adds a running header in red ink to his books, but most often gives up after a few folios – though he did fill out the manuscripts of Lactantius and Alexander of Hales in their entirety. Another type of paratexts frequently found in his books are the table of contents, which usually accompanied topologically organized treatises, i.e. treatises organized according to places of argument, allowing the readers to quickly orientate themselves in the text and retrieve the needed data.<sup>424</sup> The bishop of Modruš seems to have relied heavily on these, since he appended various indexes and tables of contents, accompanied by foliation, to most of his scholastic manuscripts, as suggested by the examples in Angg. latt. 537, 538, 549, 550, 553, 555, 556, 559, 561, 575 and 577.<sup>425</sup> One also finds the bishop writing out the foliation and table of contents in his copy of Augustine's *The City of God* (Vat. lat. 432),<sup>426</sup> while in copies of other classical treatises that were organized in a similar fashion (such as Vatt. latt. 1532, 1956, 1957 and 2372, containing the copies of Aulus Gellius, Pliny the Elder and Cornelius Celsus respectively) tables of contents or alphabetical indexes formed part of the original text, and were copied by the scribes that copied the main work.<sup>427</sup>

Yet, the margins of the book represent the space where the reader's *memoria* leaves its imprint, witnessing his interaction with the text,<sup>428</sup> which finally brings us to the third group of Nicholas' interventions in his books, the marginalia *sensu stricto*. The bishop's marginal notes, regularly written in red ink, can be divided into verbal and non-verbal, both of which often performed the same function. For, just as vertical *nota* lines and manicules, placing the word *Nota* (in full or, in abbreviation, ·Nō·) merely drew attention to an important passage of the text, without defining the reason behind its importance. Nicholas' verbal notes, however, also frequently summarize the *prolixitas* of the text, and are sometimes even organized as tree diagrams, which reveal a higher degree of engagement with the text. In this respect Nicholas' copies of Lactantius, Calcidius and Alexander of Hales represent real troves of marginal notes deserving a more in-depth study. Furnished with a commentary from beginning to end, these

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<sup>423</sup> App. 8b, nos. 28, 34, 35.

<sup>424</sup> For reference works and the development of their paratexts see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 117–172.

<sup>425</sup> App. 8b, nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40.

<sup>426</sup> App. 8b, no. 7.

<sup>427</sup> App. 8b, no. 12, 21, 22, 24.

<sup>428</sup> See the chapter 'Memory and the Book' in Marry Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 275–337.

manuscripts – next to manicules, vertical nota lines, quotation marks and various verbal marginal notes – contain tree diagrams made of four or five levels, and even human faces serving as nota marks to important passages.<sup>429</sup> One can also mention his copy of Cicero's *De natura deorum* (Vat. lat. 1759), the beginning of which Nicholas commented by carefully analyzing the argumentation of the dialogue's interlocutors. For instance he wrote on the margins one of the conclusions *God did not create the world* (*Deus non fecit mundum*), followed by markers pointing at the arguments for it *First reason* (*prima ratio*) and *Second reason* (*secunda ratio*), situated next to the corresponding passages.<sup>430</sup> Nicholas' marginalia can be found in his copies of Jerome's letters (Vat. lat. 353), Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* (Vat. lat. 432) and Quintilian (Vat. lat. 1762), but again, as is the case with *De natura deorum*, we are dealing here with comments to only parts of the text.<sup>431</sup>

In order to illustrate these three groups of Nicholas' interventions it would be useful to consider fol. 192v of Vat. lat. 221 (see App. 9, pl. 5). The first level is represented by *Nociturum esse dixit bonum uirum si fuerit lacessitus*, written in brown ink and situated at the outer margin. It is a longer insertion into the text, signaled by the sign  $\wedge$  (occasionally also found with a circle or a dot on top of it,  $\wedge$ ), while shorter ones appear interlinearly, as is the case with *libris* in the sixth line of the text, between *officialibus* and *Aut*. The letter *L.* written in red ink at the center of the upper margin of the *verso* page (abbreviating *LIBER*) with a corresponding book number at the opposite *recto* page (in this case *VI* on fol. 193r) represents a running header, facilitating quick orientation in the manuscript. On the outer margin one finds the third group of interventions, i. e. marginal notes written out in red ink, which summarize the contents of the text (*Cicero / Bonus uir quis / Arguit Ciceronis sententiam*), with a simple tree diagram particularly standing out (*Improbilas / Impacientia > parente[s] sunt omnium rixarum*). These are followed by a vertical nota line, which at the bottom transforms into a bearded human head, the tongue of which sticks out at the note *Nocere est contra hominis naturam*. Given the fact that Nicholas very rarely uses heads when flagging

<sup>429</sup> In the same manner as one's handwriting, non-verbal marginalia can also represent a highly individualized sign system. Just as the manicule of Niccolò Niccoli with the index finger branching out to cover the marked passage, that of Nicholas of Modruš is also idiosyncratic, with the index finger made of a single stroke, to which a simple fist continues closed of by a single vertical line representing a cuffless sleeve. For Niccoli's hand see Albinia C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, 1973), 44–61.

<sup>430</sup> BAV, Vat. lat. 1759, fol. 3r (see App. 8b, no. 19).

<sup>431</sup> App. 8b, nos. 5, 7, 20.

the text,<sup>432</sup> it is difficult to imagine that they held a precisely defined place within the hierarchy of his notes. Still, far from being doodles made by an absentminded reader, the heads reveal signs of deep reflection upon the contents of the text. For even though a head, representing the seat of the *memoria*, was a common type of a marginal note in the Middle Ages,<sup>433</sup> its use in this example is connected to the note it is pointing at, which signified that the marked passage discusses human nature. Finally, among Nicholas' marginal notes one also finds a Greek monogram, written next to the word *Pacientia* and comprised of the letters ρ and ω, at the end of which continues an α. It is a standard Greek nota sign, signifying τὰ ὠραῖα, the nominative plural of the adjective ὠραῖος, which in the Middle Ages acquired the meaning 'beautiful,' and which here therefore marks a stylistically exemplary passage concerning patience.

The τὰ ὠραῖα monogram raises the question of Nicholas' knowledge of Greek, since it is precisely owing to his interventions in his books that the question whether or not he learned the language can finally be answered with more certainty. The question was first raised by Giovanni Mercati, who argued that Modruš probably did know Greek, because even if he did not use Greek quotations in his works or letters, he not only had in his possession at least two Greek codices (Vatt. gr. 249 and 257), but also his client Maturanzio frequently quoted Greek passages in his letters to the bishop.<sup>434</sup> Discussing this issue, however, Mercati insisted that Nicholas was not the author of the translations of Isocrates' speeches to Nikokles and Demonikos, preserved in Corsin. 127C. As he reasoned, they formed a separate fascicule from the rest of the codex, the hand that copied the text is not that of Nicholas, and no evidence regarding the identity of their author can be found in the preface.<sup>435</sup> However, new evidence on this matter was recently brought forth by Antonio Rollo in his study on the manuscripts of Andronico Callisto, one of the many Greek émigré scholars in Italy.<sup>436</sup> Callisto, as was already suggested, was a *familiaris* in the household of cardinal Bessarion and, Rollo argues, was the one who instructed Modruš in Greek. Rollo based his conclusion on the evidence

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<sup>432</sup> Aside from here, the face also appear in BA, Ang. lat. 538, fol. 101r for instance.

<sup>433</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 324.

<sup>434</sup> Maturanzio introduces quotes from Thucydides, Aeschylus, Theocritus, Euripides; see App. 2, lett. 3, 8, 10, 11.

<sup>435</sup> Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 231–232. The titles of the speeches, as well as the names of the author and the dedicatee are lacking, as space was left for them to be added subsequently in red ink.

<sup>436</sup> Rollo, 'Interventi di Andronico Callisto,' 367–377.

found in four manuscripts that testify to the connection between the two. Next to Vat. lat. 1532, the manuscript of Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* copied by Giovanni da Itri for Nicholas of Modruš, which contains subsequently added Greek passages in the hand of Callisto, the Byzantine also copied Nicholas' two manuscripts of Aristotle, Vatt. gr. 249 and 257. However, the most interesting testimony to the interaction of the two is a fourth manuscript, Vat. gr. 13, containing the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza and copied by George Hermonymos (with a single folio in the hand Demetrios Trivolis). Drawing on the research of John Monfasani, who had previously identified the hand of Callisto correcting the text and filling the lacunae,<sup>437</sup> Rollo pointed out to fols. 184r–185r, containing a Latin mnemonic poem for studying Greek declensions (Incipit: *Quinque alias normas hæc quinta facit patientes*), which, he correctly concluded, were written by Nicholas of Modruš (see App. 9, pl. 6). Particularly important are the Greek words that can be found in the poem as they present us with the Greek hand of Modruš, on the basis of which his Greek marginalia were identified in the other parts of the grammar. Finally, Rollo concluded that, unlike most of the other identified manuscripts which were produced specifically for Nicholas, it seems most likely that this manuscript was in the possession of Callisto, who passed it on to Modruš when he was instructing him.

Before proceeding, however, it is important to turn again to the translations of Isocrates found in Corsin. 127C. While Mercati was skeptical about attributing these to Nicholas, Lucia Gualdo Rosa argued in her study on the reception of Isocrates that Nicholas indeed was their author on the basis of the dedicatory's specific humanistic-Christian concerns.<sup>438</sup> Yet, even stronger evidence can be drawn upon to support this conclusion. Although Mercati was correct in stating that it was a hand different from the rest of the codex that had copied the text of the translations, he failed to notice Modruš's marginal and interlinear emendations of the text. (See for instance the additions on fol. 85r *grandiora* and *gratiora* in the lines 13 and 14 respectively. App. 9, pl. 7.) Therefore, the manuscript context of these translations, Nicholas' emendations to the text, his efforts to learn the language, the fact that in Renaissance Italy the speeches of Isocrates were among the first texts to be read after acquiring a basic knowledge

<sup>437</sup> John Monfasani, 'Testi inediti di Bessarione e Teodoro Gaza,' in *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi and Enrico Maltese, 231–256 (Naples: D'Auria, 1992), 233, n. 13.

<sup>438</sup> Lucia Gualdo Rosa, *La fede nella 'paideia': Aspetti della fortuna europea di Isocrate nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1984), 43–47, with the text of the dedication at pp. 192–194 (see App. 3, lett. 6).

of the language,<sup>439</sup> and finally Gualdo Rosa's conclusions regarding the text of the dedication itself, all seen together present a strong case that we are indeed dealing with Nicholas' translations.<sup>440</sup> The possible identity of the dedicatee, however, will be discussed in *Part II*, while for now it is important to note that Nicholas of Modruš not only attempted to master the Greek language, but made an effort to present himself as proficient in it.<sup>441</sup>

In conclusion, in spite of the fact that they stocked their libraries with numerous well-decorated codices, some cardinals rarely read their books. The case in point is cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, on the the margins of whose manuscripts no notes written in his own hand have yet been identified.<sup>442</sup> The disparity between the penchant for fashionable ostentatious books and indifference for their contents could be taken to the extreme, as in case of Pietro Barbo. As Jean Jouffroy – himself an avid reader whose codices are filled with numerous marginal notes in his hand<sup>443</sup> – disparagingly noted of him on the margins of one of his own books: 'The books should be collected to be read, not to be guarded and decorated – cardinal of St Mark.'<sup>444</sup> Therefore what the margins of Nicholas' manuscripts show is that although he took much effort to furnish his library with ostentatious copies (or at least as

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<sup>439</sup> Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 135.

<sup>440</sup> As part of the project 'Edizione Nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale' (ENTG), Monica Del Rio and Silvia Fiaschi identified the dedication and translation of the speech to Nikokles in Corsin. 127 as that of Carlo Marsuppini's dedicated at Roberto Malatesta (see [http://www-3.unipv.it/entg/scheda\\_clas.php?cod=10945](http://www-3.unipv.it/entg/scheda_clas.php?cod=10945); last accessed March 6 2013). However, as can be clearly seen from the juxtaposition of the two, we are here dealing with two different texts. For Marsuppini's translation, see Tommaso Kaeppli, 'Le traduzioni umanistiche di Isocrate e una lettera dedicatoria di Carlo Marsuppini a Galeotto Roberto Malatesta (1430),' *Studi Romagnoli* 2 (1951): 57–65, which includes the text of the the dedication letter.

<sup>441</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the level of Modruš's Greek, regardless of the translations of Isocrates. Consider his copy of Aulus Gellius, Vat. lat. 1532. After Callisto had added the Greek passages to the manuscript, in the margins of fol. 75v Nicholas provided a translation of a longer piece excerpted from Plato's *Gorgias*. While at first one might think that, considering the fact that Nicholas studied Greek with Callisto, we are dealing here with his own working translation of the passage, in reality the bishop excerpted the passage from an earlier translation of the work done by Leonardo Bruni. Even more importantly, though the history of the Gothic wars would represent his *opus magnum*, it seems that he did not turn to Procopius in the original which was in circulation at the Curia, but relied exclusively on the text incorporated into Bruni's and Flavio Biondo's histories. After all, the translations of Isocrates' speeches to Nikokles and Demonikos were already available in Latin translation, and Nicholas' work, therefore, may have represented more of a reworking of the previous ones than a completely independent effort. In the end probably the most indicative is the silence of his client Maturanzio in the poems composed in 1472 and 1474. Though the Perugian humanist was careful to praise every possible aspect of Nicholas' *ethos* in his dedicatory collection of poems, at no place did he mention the latter's proficiency in Greek language, and indeed, all things considered, it is possible that this was because Nicholas' knowledge of the language did not extend beyond the basic or, at best, intermediate level.

<sup>442</sup> Esposito Aliano, 'La biblioteca di Guglielmo d'Estouteville,' 337.

<sup>443</sup> Lanconelli, 'La biblioteca di Jean Jouffroy,' 291–292.

<sup>444</sup> Rundle, 'Book-Collecting of Paul II,' 178: *Comparandos libros ut legas, non ut servas et ornes. Cardinalis Sancti Marci*.

ostentatious as he could afford), he certainly could not have been accused of the same *crimen* as Barbo. Without counting the six manuscripts of his own works (Vatt. latt. 995, 6029, 8764, and Corsin. 127A, 127B and 127C), Nicholas' hand can be identified in 24 out of 38 of his manuscripts, with six manuscripts carefully annotated in their entirety: Nicholas' copies of Lactantius (Vat. lat. 221), Calcidius' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (part of Vat. lat. 1544), Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (Vat. lat. 1729) and three out of four volumes of Alexander of Hales' *Sum of Theology* (Angg. latt. 538, 555, 556). Therefore, just as the display copies clearly testify to their convivial purpose, so do the margins present us with a window into Nicholas' private *studiolo* 'that invests him with the power of knowledge,' thus giving full credence to that double nature of the library which he evoked while dedicating his works to Angelo Fasolo, Stephen Várdai and John Vitéz.

## CONCLUSIONS: ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF THE GAME

While Roman intellectual circles can be considered as safe areas for expression in a world that increasingly sought to delineate the boundaries of orthodoxy,<sup>445</sup> it is enough to recall Calderini's references to the fierce debates in Bessarion's academy to gain a sense of their agonistic internal dynamics. These were places where knowledge of fine points of ancient literature and history could often make or break the reputation one enjoyed within the group. Christopher Celenza, while advocating the use of Bourdieu's relational perspective in studying such dynamics of the intellectual culture of Renaissance Rome, fittingly recalled the words of Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger, an aspiring humanist who illustratively presented the Roman Curia as a 'field of play to those who want splendor and the propagation of their name.'<sup>446</sup> It is with such competitive character of Roman circles in mind we have to turn to Nicholas of Modruš, and consider the energetic formation of his library, his authorial works, networking strategy, and, after all, administrative positions he held under Paul II.

By the end of 1471, Nicholas' library, as was shown, comprised a vast majority of 133 known manuscripts together with seven incunables, into the acquisition of which the bishop undoubtedly invested the major part of the income at his disposal.<sup>447</sup> It was no special-interest library, like those of some of his contemporaries. While his collection of scholastic works reflected a continuing, if slightly evolving, interest from his student days, the formation of a well stocked humanist collection was a marked innovation in his intellectual pursuits. Indeed,

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<sup>445</sup> For Roman academies, see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 89–112.

<sup>446</sup> Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 115–133. For the quotation, see Celenza, ed. and trans., *Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger*, 158–159.

<sup>447</sup> Though for instance a contemporary estimated the value of Marco Barbo's library of some 500 volumes at 8 000 ducats (Torrioncelli, 'Biblioteca di Marco Barbo,' 343), it is impossible to reach a precise estimate of the value of Nicholas' collection for two reasons. First, as stressed repeatedly, we only possess an insight into a part of the library. Second, though Cherubini, et alii, 'Il costo del libro,' tried on the basis of sporadic pieces of evidence to calculate the cost of the book in Renaissance Rome, it is clear that the costs varied. This is particular relevant when it comes to Nicholas' books, since at least a part of them was produced in the provincial towns of the Papal States, where the cost of the materials and scribal work would have certainly been different than in Rome.

the presence of a wide range of authors of classical and Christian antiquity on the bishop's shelves – first and foremost Cicero's philosophical works and speeches, but also Quintilian, Aulus Gellius and Pliny the Elder, Vergil, Silius Italicus, Lactantius, Augustine's works and Jerome's letters – leave no doubt that from the very beginning of his career Nicholas sought assemble a complete collection of works that ascribed to the humanist canon. Moreover, as the presence of marginal notes in a number of his manuscripts testifies, he made sure to use these works. Take his copy of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* for instance, where he carefully flagged the beginning of the third book with the names of all the rhetoricians appearing in the text and then continued by noting the division of rhetoric;<sup>448</sup> or his notes in the manuscript of Lactantius, a Church father who following a modest *fortuna* in the scholastic philosophical schools rose to prominence only in the humanist circles where he was lauded as the 'Christian Cicero,'<sup>449</sup> which show the bishop of Modruš was not interested in his works solely for the arguments. On fol. 16v Nicholas noted in red ink that the passage in the text explains 'how Jupiter divided the kingdom with his brothers' (*Iupiter quomodo regnum cum fratribus partitus est*), on fol. 17r that 'Olympus is inhabited by Jupiter' (*Olympus est ab Ioue habitatus*), on fol. 19v 'why is Vesta a virgin' (*Vesta quare uirgo*), while adding numerous names noting the appearance of various mythological characters in the text, such as the list of Sibyls on fols. 9r–9v.<sup>450</sup> A number of such marginal notes that Nicholas penned down drawing attention to the particulars of ancient mythology can be best compared to those of student manuscripts used in humanist schools, in which context one should also consider the mnemonic hexameters in Vat. gr. 13 testifying to the bishop's efforts to master the Greek language.<sup>451</sup> All these not only confirm Nicholas' weak knowledge of classical antiquity at the beginning of his curial career, but reflect a clear and conscious desire to improve this

<sup>448</sup> BAV, Vat. lat. 1762, fols. 43r–44v: *Seleucus / Empedocles rhetorum primus / Corax / Thisias / Gorgias / Thrasimachus calcedonius / Prerodicus Chius / Abderites / Protagonis / Euachius / Hippias heleus / Alcidamas / Elates / Antiphon primus orationem scripsit / Policrates / Theodorus bizantius / Isocrates / Gręci oratores ac rhetores* (on the lower border) // *Aristoteles / Theodectes / Theophrastus / Hermagoras / Atheneus / Apollonius molon / Areus / Cecilius Alicarnaseus / Dionisius / Appollodorus pergameneus / Theodorus gadareus / Atticus / C. ualgius / Heragoras / M. Cato Latinarum primus / M. tullius / Cornificius / Stertinius / Gallio / Celsus / Lenax / Verginius / Plinius / Rutilius // Artis origo / ωπός Contra Ciceronem / Sermoni que sunt necessaria / Dispositio / Memoria / Pronuntiatio // Thrasimachus / Iudicium an sit pars / Ordo an sit pars / Dion Inuentio quotuplex / Theodori / Eęconomica / De memoria / opera oratoris que sint / Atheneus.*

<sup>449</sup> David Rutherford, 'Antonio da Rho on Patristic Authority: The Status of Lactantius,' in *Auctoritas Patrum II: New Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, ed. Leif Grane, et alii, 171–186 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), at pp. 172–174.

<sup>450</sup> BAV, Vat. lat. 221; see App. 8b, no. 4.

<sup>451</sup> For marginal notes in the manuscripts of pupils studying under humanistic teachers, see Black, *Humanism and Education*, 275–330.



knowledge, and hence his credentials in intellectual circles where classicism was firmly established as a cultural ideal.

What Calderini's account also shows is that, though Bessarion's palace at SS. Apostoli in Rome is today often mentioned as the focal point of the group, the venue of meetings was subject to change, with Theodore Gaza, Gurello Carafa, but most importantly Nicholas himself acting as hosts as well. The opportunity to play this role in such semi-ritualized meetings, where one needed to command enough prestige in order to be chosen to guide the discussions and provide a hospitable environment, was above all indicative of the growing status Nicholas came to enjoy within the group by 1470, which may have even been the case during his post in Viterbo. In his home, whether in Viterbo or in Rome on occasions of his sojourns from the provinces in a house he, as we saw, would have probably rented, Nicholas engaged in discussions with lay humanists, theologians and other prelates with taste for intellectual matters, whether those of Bessarion's circle or those pivoted around the Venetian faction in power. It was there, among the display copies of his library adorned with his coat of arms, and among his *familiaries* functioning as a court ready to serve at its lord's bidding and contributing to his prestige, that the high points of Nicholas' game took place.<sup>452</sup>

In parallel to performances in small gatherings of prelates and humanists, the opportunity to display one's *habitus* in these milieux were the authorial writings. Though *De consolatione*, clocking in at some eighty thousand words, represented the work that was supposed to present the bishop of Modruš to the Roman intellectual arena, it was shown that this was not the only work he composed during this period, but that *De humilitate* and *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum* have to be considered here as well. Significantly, all three represented a shift from his pre-Roman oeuvre, a shift which *De consolatione*, a work treating the question of sorrow and explaining methods of consoling those suffering from it, explicitly heralded:

*Therefore I have attempted in this work to explain the method of consoling, not according to the precise standards of philosophy – for we are not now disputing about the nature of the world or about those subtler and finer points that should*

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<sup>452</sup> While the meetings with Perotti and Bessarion's circle in Viterbo could have taken place in his library, it seems probable that on his sojourns to Rome Nicholas, accompanied by his retinue, would have taken only a selection of books with himself. Therefore, during his travels to Rome in between successive appointments, such as that in October of 1470 (see pp. 105–106), his library was more likely to have been carried by cart from Ascoli to Fano than taken with him first to Rome and thence to Fano.

*be discussed away from the crowd, in retreat with the wise – but in a broader and cruder fashion which can also be actively used before the common people.*<sup>453</sup>

After a slight digression listing numerous classical and patristic authors that had previously treated the topic of consoling, Nicholas continued:

*Truly, all these authors performed the office of consolation most worthily and most wisely. But how would others also be able to follow? A very few persons (sc. scholastic theologians) wished to teach it, and though, because of the admirable sharpness of their intellects, they did so abundantly enough, their teaching was in my judgement too concise and spare for those not trained in philosophy. And I certainly do not think these people to have been remiss in this because they were guilty of ignorance – for what did these divine intellects not know, from which something of the highest light shines at us, as providence willed it – but rather due to a certain negligence or carelessness and contempt for the easiness of the subject itself.*<sup>454</sup>

The bishop's explicit rejection of a discussion of 'subtler and finer points' in favor of one that follows in a 'broader and crude fashion,' of discussions 'away from the crowd in retreat with the wise' in favor of one 'that can be actively used even before the people,' reflects a conscious shift from his scholastic background and pre-Roman oeuvre. It is enough to consider the anti-rhetorical climate in the Scuola di Rialto of his teacher Pergola, who, as we saw in the *Prologue*, attacked the rhetoricians on the grounds that 'they only care to appear learned amongst the ignorant, and do not know that it is far better to earn praise from a single wise man than appear as the wisest amongst the cheers of the masses.'<sup>455</sup> Therefore while, as George McClure pointed out, what Nicholas presents in his prologue to Marco Barbo is not a repudiation of the scholastic tradition,<sup>456</sup> the work can be read as a manifesto of his departure from it in favor of humanistic pursuits. The shift in Nicholas' intellectual interests is even

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<sup>453</sup> App. 3, lett. 4: *Conatus sum igitur hoc in opere consolandi rationem explicare, non quidem secundum exactam philosophiae legem – nunc enim non de rerum natura disputamus aut de illis tenuioribus magisque minutis rebus, de quibus a turba secreti cum sapientibus disserendum esset – sed secundum pinguiorem crassioremque rationem, quae etiam in populo non ignava possit uersari.* Translation has been reproduced from McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation*, 122, with a few changes.

<sup>454</sup> App. 3, lett. 4: *Verum hi omnes officio consolandi perfuncti sunt et quidem dignissime sapientissimeque. Ceterum quo pacto idem munus et alii sequi possent? Pauci admodum praecipere uoluerunt; et hi quidem pro admirabili ingenii eorum acumine fortasse satis copiose, sed pro illorum desiderio, qui nondum in philosophia admodum exercitatos habent sensus, meo iudicio et pressius et parcius. Neque id eos peccati ignorantiae admisisse certo scio – quid enim diuina illa ingenia ignorarunt, a quibus nobis altissimi ita ferente prouidentia quicquid luminis est, illuxit – quin potius negligentia aut incuria quadam et ipsius rei per facilitatem contemptu.* Translation has been reproduced from McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation*, 123, with a few changes.

<sup>455</sup> See the *Prologue*, esp. n. 106.

<sup>456</sup> McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation*, 124.

more visible when one considers the sources and general purpose of his works. Though the topic and hence the sources behind his *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum* are more traditional,<sup>457</sup> his discussion of sorrow and consolation employed next to scriptural and patristic works a whole range of classical ones: Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, Cicero's letters to Brutus and to friends, as well as his *Tusculan Disputations*, Horace's *Epistles* and *Odes*, Juvenal's *Satires*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Remedia Amoris*, and *Tristia*, Persius' *Satires*, Seneca's *Epistles*, Terence's *Andria*, Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, and others.<sup>458</sup> The second redaction of the work, from ca. 1470, added references to Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, *Jewish Antiquities* by Josephus Flavius, and a few more passages from Vergil, Horace, and Cicero's letters to friends.<sup>459</sup> *De humilitate* presents a similar case. Though in the preserved text it is the biblical *exempla* that seem to take the fore – which is not surprising given its topic – in the eighth book of the work Nicholas also makes use of Ambrogio Traversari's translation of Diogenes Laërtius and Lorenzo Valla's translation of Herodotus, while adding a quotation from Terence's *Adelphoi*, all in order to show a variety of opinions on shame in ancient philosophical schools and variety of culturally-contingent but from the Christian standpoint morally perverted *mores* amongst certain ancient *nationes*. Considering the pre-Roman works where Nicholas relied mostly on scholastic authorities and scholastically-filtered Aristotle and fathers of the Church, making seldom use of classical authors, the early Roman ones, *De consolatione* and *De humilitate* in particular, reveal a distinctive shift in his intellectual interests. To be sure, the process was a gradual one, as for instance both works still betray Nicholas' academic background in reliance on scholastic *divisiones* as the basic organizing principle. However, indicative of his growing appropriation of humanist standards are the revisions in the second redaction of *De consolatione* (1470), where the bishop also introduced the classical division according to *libri* not present in the first redaction (1465/1466). The *libri* can be found in *De humilitate* as well, composed around the same time as the second redaction of *De consolatione*. In a word, all three works represented a literary product of Nicholas' self-fashioning strategy that he exhibited through performance in the intellectual circles. In Stephen Greenblatt's terms, in favor of submitting to

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<sup>457</sup> In composing it, as indicated by Giovanni Mercati, Nicholas seems to have relied on the works of Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus and Nicholas of Lyra; see Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 239.

<sup>458</sup> Modrussiensis, 'De consolatione,' 224–230.

<sup>459</sup> Modrussiensis, 'De consolatione,' 59.

the humanist canon of literature and ethical and rhetorical topics the bishop's scholastic academic background and his own earlier works were increasingly becoming the Other.

However, unlike his performances in such small gatherings of prelates, the bishop's authorial works were all conspicuously meant to reach a wider public. As was pointed out by Neven Jovanović, though Marco Barbo stands as the nominal dedicatee, what *De consolatione* essentially represents is a rhetorical manual addressed to all those performing the consolatory office, clerics and laymen alike.<sup>460</sup> It is a similar case with *On Humility*, a moral philosophical treatise in nine books composed in 1470 and dedicated, as we saw, to Bosnian queen Catherine. A reference 'to you and others that wish to follow in this train of thought,' by which Nicholas opens the ninth book of the work, leaves no doubt that here as well he had a wider audience in mind, that is to say all those wishing to enter the Third Order of St Francis. Even *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum*, a short companion to the psalms as it were, traditional though it may have been in terms of subject matter and sources, was composed to be of use to 'all priests, and particularly bishops,' 'from whom the law of the Lord requires that it is necessary to have knowledge of all the sacred scriptures, and still even more necessary knowledge of the psalms.'<sup>461</sup> By explicit addresses to a broader audience, all three of Nicholas' early Roman works, therefore, targeted wide dissemination, which was supposed to be facilitated by the names of the dedicatees that commanded ample prestige in the city. It was a clear strategic move by a *homo novus* who hoped to increase his stature.

The prime motivation behind strategically dedicating his works to figures of influence at the Curia, however, were the *immediate* benefits he would have stood to gain from such acts.<sup>462</sup> Ammannati for instance may have been instrumental in the bishop's appointment and reappointment to the post of castellan of Viterbo in 1464 and 1465, but only the favor of the ruling circle guaranteed higher offices. It is therefore Nicholas' strategy to dedicate his works to Barbo and Fasolo, and his growing connections to the Venetian circle that secured his appointment to the gubernatorial positions in Ascoli and Fano. Essentially, it was the same strategy he had chosen already at the Corvinus' court. There, in order to secure the favor of

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<sup>460</sup> Jovanović, 'Čitanje Modruškog Marulićem,' 154–155.

<sup>461</sup> App. 3, 6: *Et re uera quamuis cunctis sacerdotibus (praecipue tamen qui pontificali fulgent honore), de quorum ore Malachiae testimonio lex Domini requiritur omnium sacrarum scripturarum necessaria sit cognitio, psalmodum tamen plusquam necessaria.*

<sup>462</sup> For the authors and use of dedications, see Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 198–216.

the king, the bishop of Modruš dedicated *De mortalium felicitate* and *Navicula Petri* to his most important advisors and intimates, whereas this time the dedicatees were Barbo and Fasolo, arguably the most important prelate who had the ear of the pope, and another close intimate of the circle in power. It is on account of this strategy that in the bull of appointment to the post in Ascoli in 1468 the pope praised him as a bishop ‘strong on words and works,’ ‘experienced in important matters, proven by great worth on arduous occasions, by trustworthiness and experience in getting things done and exceptional wisdom and integrity.’<sup>463</sup> Though Paul II probably here referred to Nicholas’ experience as a papal legate in 1463, the fact that it took three and a half years for the bishop to be moved up the hierarchy makes it clear that this was owed above all to the way he played the game, as it were. If we observe the Roman Curia through a Bourdieusian lens, we can situate Nicholas within the subfield of aspiring curial prelates of lower rank seeking advancement by recourse to different strategies. To be sure all were expected to adhere to certain social norms. Yet while some as Angelo Fasolo, Pedro Ferriz, Giovanni Michiel, Giovanni Battista Zeno, and Marco Barbo after all, mostly owed their successful curial careers under Paul II to their family relations or connections to the pope’s *familia*, Nicholas eventually advanced more thanks to his appropriation of humanist values, which he displayed through his active performance in vibrant intellectual circles and through strategically dedicated works. At stake here was the favor of the cardinals with tastes for intellectual matters – such as Bessarion, Ammannati, Marco Barbo or even della Rovere who, as the *Epilogue* will show, would particularly find use of humanism for the purpose of propaganda – as well as the pope, and consequently their support for securing better offices and richer benefices. In this way Nicholas’ career can be compared best to that of Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Giovanni Antonio Campano and Niccolò Perotti, all of whom advanced within the Curia mostly thanks to their reputation as humanist scholars. There is one important difference, however. For while the three entered the circles of influential cardinals as humanist scholars and became bishops only as a consequence, Nicholas came to Rome as a bishop of a markedly scholastic background and turned to humanism in an effort to establish himself in the local intellectual circles.

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<sup>463</sup> App. 1, doc. 23: *qui opere potens es et sermone; quem in magnis expertum et arduis eximia probitate et fidelitate rerumque gerendarum experientia et precipua prudentia et integritate comprobatum habemus.*

Therefore, the Nicholas of Modruš that emerges from the analysis of his social networks, his library and his works is not a disinterested intellectual enjoying his *otium* in the provinces, but a prelate whose first years as a curial official were marked by a clear effort to rise to the challenge of the highly agonistic field of Renaissance Curia which regarded classicism as the highest cultural ideal. Such an interpretation of Nicholas' career under Paul II goes against that of Anthony D'Elia who by focusing on the suppression of the Roman academy in 1468 painted a somewhat dichotomous picture of Barbo's pontificate. The Roman humanists were presented as a homogenous group of anti-clerical, republican intellectuals in favor with the Platonist cardinal Bessarion and were pitted against a tyrannical, anti-humanist pope, 'interested in the material, not the literary, culture of antiquity.'<sup>464</sup> However, what Nicholas' career clearly testifies is that the cultivation of humanism – though obviously couched within an orthodox framework – still remained a path to a successful curial career. To be sure, Nicholas' scholastic books, particularly his marginalia in the copies of Alexander of Hales' *Summa* as well as various tables of contents and folio numbers he appended to nearly all of his theological and philosophical manuscripts clearly reveal that he continued to occupy himself with theological questions in the privacy of his *studiolo* or even in the discussions with his fellow prelates. However, it is conspicuous that he stopped writing about these issues, gradually turning instead to the humanist topics and canonical works that not only promised but obviously delivered greater gains for an aspiring curial prelate as himself. Indeed, there were other clergymen that enjoyed successful careers as him during Paul's pontificate precisely because of their humanist learning, such as the pope own secretaries Lianoro dei Lianori and Leonardo Dati. After all, nowhere is the continuing appreciation of humanist ideals more visible than in the person of Paul's cousin and confidant, Marco Barbo, who on the one hand enjoyed rapport with numerous humanists that dedicated their works to him, while on the other was in 1468 appointed by Paul to preside over the legal proceedings against the academicians. Nicholas' career, as well as careers of other of his contemporaries, therefore falls in line more with the conclusions of John D'Amico who argued that though Paul displayed 'an antipathy to some forms of ancient Latin poetry,' 'he did not oppose all humanists and realized the benefits of humanism.'<sup>465</sup> In a word, Paul's suppression of the

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<sup>464</sup> Anthony F. D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror: A Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), quotation specifically at p. 23.

<sup>465</sup> D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 93.

academicians of Roman academy seems to have been precisely that – a suppression of a radical group of *lay* humanists pivoted around Pomponio Leto, Bartolomeo Platina and Filippo Buonaccorsi alias Callimachus Experiens, which even if delineating its boundaries did not in any way represent a rejection of humanism as a cultural ideal altogether.

Before concluding, it is important to turn back to Nicholas' role within the Illyrian community of Rome. For while the bishop's career advancements under Paul II were a direct result of appropriation of humanist standards and his strategic interaction with the prelates of influence at the Curia, his allegiance to the Illyrian national community seems to have been the decisive factor to *which* gubernatorial positions the career took him. As the research of Ferdo Gestrin showed, with the emigration caused by the Ottoman advances after 1463, to which we drew attention in the beginning of the chapter, the South Slavs came to constitute more than fifteen percent of the population in some cities of the Marches, Fano in particular.<sup>466</sup> Though we lack direct confirmation that Paul's decision to assign Nicholas precisely to the posts in Ascoli, and then Fano, Senigallia and Sassoferrato was motivated by a desire to facilitate accommodation of the immigrants to new surroundings, contemporary references suggest that they did represent a concern for the papacy. Again the immense *epistolarium* of cardinal Ammannati-Piccolomini sheds much light on contemporary affairs at the Curia. On August 14 1472, while Nicholas was on the expedition against the Ottomans, Ammannati wrote to cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini to tell their brother Giacomo to tread lightly as a governor in Senigallia, a city 'in the middle of the dominions of the Church, among many people not sufficiently pacified,' which is 'greatly inhabited by Dalmatians, people of very dubious loyalty, with whom it is necessary for him to deal with for many reasons.'<sup>467</sup> The fact that Nicholas was the acting governor of the city not even a year before Ammannati's references to the 'Dalmatians of very dubious loyalty' does indeed suggest that, next to his growing credentials as a humanist prelate and his more stronger social network, by 1470 he established himself as curial prelate for the matters Illyrian, and that it is on this account that he was appointed to the gubernatorial positions in the Marches and not in, say, Umbria.

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<sup>466</sup> Gestrin, 'Migracije,' 401.

<sup>467</sup> Ammannati, *Lettere*, vol. 3, 1591–1593: *Vide, quo in loco positus sit frater, in medio dominatu Ecclesiae, inter plerosque populos non satis sibi pacatos et procul ab omni fratrum praesidio. (...) Dalmatis ut plurimum is locus incolitur fidei multum dubiae hominibus, inter quos versari illum saepe ob multa necesse est.*

## PART II: ARISE, ‘THE GLORY OF ILLYRIA’

Nicholas’ career as a papal diplomat may have been put on hold in 1464, but the war against the Ottomans continued. The difference was, however, that the large coalition that included the military participation of Venice, papacy and Hungary was no more. While the Venetians continued the war, pope Paul II, though still financially and diplomatically supporting their cause, from 1465 largely turned his attention to Bohemia, excommunicating the following year king George of Poděbrady (r. 1458–1471) for his support of the Hussite movement. The same was Matthias Corvinus who, in spite of the bellicose rhetoric of his diplomacy, seems to have concluded a secret peace treaty with the Ottomans that would last for almost a decade. And though after 1473 Matthias firmly established his image as the foremost champion of Christendom, during this period he was often ‘accused of colluding with the Ottomans,’<sup>468</sup> suffering criticism not only from his main rival, the Holy Roman emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–1493), but also from the pro-crusading ranks of the Curia, centered around cardinal Bessarion.<sup>469</sup> Such developments basically meant that from the second half of the 1460s the Venetians were left largely on their own in the war, which eventually, in 1470, led to the fall of Euboea, after Crete their most important base in the Aegean. It is this event that six years after Pius’ failed expedition of 1464 finally turned back the attention of the papacy to the organization of a Christian league that would help the Venetians, and consequently the *Res publica Christiana*.<sup>470</sup>

Although in the summer of 1471, in the midst of these events, pope Paul died, the anti-Ottoman cause received an even greater incentive with the ascension of Francesco della

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<sup>468</sup> Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 306–307.

<sup>469</sup> One of Bessarion’s *familiars*, theologian Fernando of Cordoba, composed in 1466 a now-lost treatise *An licita sit cum Saracenis pax (Whether the Peace with Saracens Should be Allowed)*, which was a response precisely to the rumors that Matthias concluded a peace treaty with the Ottomans; see John Monfasani, *Fernando of Cordova: A Biographical and Intellectual Profile* (Philadelphia PA: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1992), 37–38.

<sup>470</sup> For the war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire during the papacy of Paul II, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 271–313;



Rovere, the general of the Franciscan Order closely tied to Bessarion's circle, who took the name of Sixtus IV. The pro-crusading faction at the Curia that was in the past years largely centered around cardinal Bessarion thus again rose to prominence, and their plans were put into motion in December of 1471 when Sixtus established five legations *de latere* that made Bessarion travel to France, Burgundy and England, Rodrigo Borgia to Spain, Angelo Capranica across northern Italy, Marco Barbo to Germany, Hungary and Poland, and Oliviero Carafa to the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>471</sup> With diplomatic preparations in process, Bessarion himself provided the propaganda material, composing his famous *Orations to the Christian Princes against the Turks* (*Orationes ad principes Christianos contra Turcos*) that called on the unity of Christendom in order to relieve Greece from the yoke of her barbarian oppressors, to which effect he also translated Demosthenes' *Olynthiac Orations* drawing explicit connection between the threat of Philip of Macedon to Greece and the Turkish threat to Europe. The collection of Bessarion's *Orationes* was printed at his request in April 1471 in Paris, at the printing press of the French humanist Guillaume Fichet, only in a hundred or so copies. However, at least 49 of these can be established to have been directly sent to the ecclesiastical and lay potentates across Europe, with many being personalized and illuminated as complimentary copies. While the traditional crusade preaching by the mendicants – targeted at mass communication in order to raise money – continued, the print run of Bessarion's *Orationes* paradigmatically exemplifies the propaganda mechanism and audience of humanist crusade literature, which was supposed to, as James Hankins put it, press 'a relatively small group of elite readers,' 'to take military action against the Turk.'<sup>472</sup>

Yet, notwithstanding the renewed diplomatic efforts of the papacy and their extent, only the involvement of Ferrante I of Naples was certain. The western Balkans were a perennial sphere of influence of the Neapolitan kingdom, which was itself in danger of serving as beachhead for a potential Ottoman advance into Italy. There was less to be expected from the western legations, while the northern Italian rulers were, much as in time of Pius II, completely disinclined to help what they essentially perceived to be a Venetian cause. Finally,

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<sup>471</sup> Legations *de latere*, i. e. 'from the (pope's) side,' were legations of the highest rank awarded to the prelates of the cardinal rank entrusted with plenipotentiary powers. For Sixtus' expedition of 1472 and its preparations, one can rely on Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 314–320; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, 218–230; and Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 302–327.

<sup>472</sup> James Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207; at pp. 117–118.

even Matthias Corvinus was, with his southern borders still secured by a tenuous treaty with the Ottomans, deeply engaged in Bohemia. It is, therefore, not surprising that some cardinals expressed doubts on the success of the legations from the very beginning.<sup>473</sup> Indicative of Sixtus' own expectations is the fact that, in spite of the fact that the legates were still on their missions around Italy and Europe, he pushed on with the preparations of the papal fleet that would together with the Neapolitan as well as the Venetian one, under the command of Pietro Mocenigo attack the Ottomans, in the Aegean. The motivations for such a decision were based on the fact that in addition to their naval operations, Sixtus hoped to involve at least two more players into the anti-Ottoman coalition. The first was Ivan III of Moscow (1462–1505), whom the pope married to Zoe Palaiologina, daughter of the late despot Thomas and niece of the last Byzantine emperor, via proxy in Rome on June 1 1472, and whom he provided in this way with a claim to universal political authority. Possible assistance against the Ottomans was coupled here with the prospects of the union of the Roman and Russian Church, though given the distance of Muscovy there were immediately reservations regarding what would come out of this move.<sup>474</sup> Much was expected, however, from Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–1478), the ruler of the Aqqyunlu, who after a series of stunning victories in 1467–1469 saw a rapid rise of his empire that by 1471 stretched across Armenia, Azerbaijan and most of Iran and who represented the greatest threat to Mehmed II.<sup>475</sup> In the Italian humanist circles Uzun Hasan played the role akin to that of Prester John, and was regularly styled as the king of Persia, and hence, unlike the Scythian Turks, an heir to a noble ancient civilization.<sup>476</sup> Here concrete actions were already in motion, since in August of 1471 Uzun Hasan's ambassadors were in Rome, and the following year he signed a treaty with Venice by which the Republic would deliver arquebuses and heavy cannons to one of his fortresses in the Gulf of Iskenderun. Finally, in the summer of 1472, following these strenuous diplomatic and military preparations, the Christian fleet that included the Venetian, Neapolitan and papal galleys, together with the land forces of Uzun Hasan launched a coordinated attack, which was

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<sup>473</sup> See for instance the ironical letter of Ammannati to Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini concerning Sixtus' legations, in Ammannati, *Lettere*, vol. 3, 1630.

<sup>474</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 318–320. For the development of Russian imperial ideology, see Nancy Shields Kollmann, 'Russia,' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand, 748–770 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 764–770.

<sup>475</sup> For the rise of Uzun Hasan and the expansion of his empire, see John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City UT: The University of Utah Press, 1999), 87–123.

<sup>476</sup> The example of Uzun Hasan (as well as that of Shah Ismail Safavi in the sixteenth century) reveals the pragmatic ambivalence of the Italian and European humanists to the Islamic rulers; see Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 223–237.

supposed to, much as pope Pius II had hoped in 1463/1464, continue the following year as well, and spur on the response of a larger Christian league that would finally lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of a new world order.

The fact that during Paul's pontificate Nicholas of Modruš would not only covet the favor of the Venetians in power but would enjoy good relationships with various members of Bessarion's circle resulted in the fact that though he had established himself with the circle in power by 1471, the ascendancy of della Rovere to the papal throne led to a further rise of his fortunes. In the midst of the preparations for the 1472 expedition, Nicholas was sent by the pope as ambassador to Venice, in order to supervise the construction of the papal fleet and negotiate plans with the allies.<sup>477</sup> As was the case with his legation to Bosnia in 1463, he would refer to these events in his *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*:

*I quickly move on to Sixtus who barely seated on the throne immediately sent legates entrusted with plenipotentiary powers across the whole world in order to ask for help against the common enemy of the Christians: the cardinal of Nicaea to the French, Rodrigo the nephew of late Calixtus and vice-chancellor of the Roman Church to the Spanish, Marco the cardinal of St Mark to the Germans. And he appointed Oliviero Carafa cardinal of St Eusebius as the admiral of the fleet, the greater part of which I myself, added to Oliviero's side, have assembled in Venice with papal funds, while the Venetians were crying from joy exulted that they were being helped in such a grave war.<sup>478</sup>*

Papal expenditures for this expedition, most of which were spent on the formation and supply of this fleet counting altogether 24 galleys, amounted to the great sum of more than 144 000 gold florins, and were financed by the Medici bank.<sup>479</sup> While a few of the papal galleys were stationed in the Tyrrhenian Sea, the major part was being assembled in Venice and Ancona. Nicholas' personal testimony, his role as Sixtus' ambassador in Venice, and a receipt dated May 4 testifying that he received 7 000 ducats (some 7 800 florins) from the Venetian branch of the Medici bank following a transaction carried out in Rome at Carafa's orders (see App. 9,

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<sup>477</sup> App. 1, doc. 35.

<sup>478</sup> App. 5, cap. 19: *Ad SIXTVM festino qui uix dum in sedem collocatus extemplo per uniuersum orbem ad implorandam aduersus communem hostem Christianorum opem magna cum potestate mittit legatos: Nicaenum in Gallos, Lodricum olim nepotem Calixti ecclesiae Romanae uicecancellarium ad Hispanos, Marcum Cardinalem Sancti Marci ad Germanos, Oliuerium uero Carapham Cardinalem Sancti Eusebii classi praeficit, cuius ego maiorem partem comes Oliuerio datus Venetiis pontificiis instruxi sumptibus, lachrimantibus pre gaudio Venetis et se in tam graui bello adiuuari gestientibus.*

<sup>479</sup> For the formation of the papal fleet, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 316, esp. n. 9; and Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, 226.

pl. 8),<sup>480</sup> all place him in the center of these preparations in the Adriatic, and are sign of the great confidence he enjoyed with the new pope, dating, as was shown, either from their encounters in Bessarion's circle or perhaps even from the time of his studies at Padua where della Rovere taught.

The modern historiographical accounts of this expedition focus mostly on cardinal Carafa who departed from Rome with four galleys on May 28. They neither describe the movements of the greater part of papal fleet in the Adriatic, nor mention the name of Nicholas of Modruš in this context.<sup>481</sup> However, hitherto unpublished evidence allow us to reconstruct not only his preparations but also shed light on the course of the papal galleys under his command before joining with Carafa and the rest of the Christian fleet. Part is provided by Francesco Maturanzio, who in Venice joined the retinue of Nicholas of Modruš, and to whom he later dedicated a book of poems composed during the expedition which included at least one cycle of poems addressed to the Virgin Mary and one that was addressed directly to the bishop.<sup>482</sup> Though we will return to these poems in the conclusions, for now it will be enough to say that thanks to the latter cycle we can establish that the fleet under Nicholas' command moved from Venice first to Fano, where Nicholas held the position of a governor until 1471 and where it probably joined with those galleys that were stationed in Ancona.<sup>483</sup> The fleet then moved eastwards to southern Dalmatia and Albania, where news of Ottoman advances seem to have prompted Nicholas to enter the Drin river with the fleet and help defend the possible attack on Shkodër (Scutari).<sup>484</sup> Finally, the fleet resumed towards Brindisi in Calabria in order to rendezvous with Carafa,<sup>485</sup> and thence to Samos where the entire Christian fleet was being assembled. In the course of summer and autumn, while Uzun Hasan made an offensive drive into the Ottoman-occupied Qaraman, the joint fleet ravaged the coast of Asia Minor, most notably the cities of Adalia (Satalia) and Izmir (Smyrna), whereafter, Nicholas included, it

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<sup>480</sup> App. 1, doc. 36. Given that the fleet embarked from Venice not long after May 4, the 7 000 ducats probably represented the amount needed for its supplies. The receipt can be found in the records of Giovanni d'Orsino Lanfredini, the Medici's partner who was appointed manager of the Venetian branch of the bank upon its reestablishment in 1471; see Raymon de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 253.

<sup>481</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 316–317; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, 226–228; Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 302–308.

<sup>482</sup> For the poetry of Francesco Maturanzio, see App. 6.

<sup>483</sup> App. 6, car. 22.

<sup>484</sup> App. 6, car. 23.

<sup>485</sup> App. 6, car. 32.

returned to Italy in January of 1473, with a new expedition being planned for the following summer.<sup>486</sup>

It is precisely in the midst of these events that Nicholas of Modruš composed his *De bellis Gothorum*, the first Renaissance historiographical work which focused on all the Gothic wars and which thus effectively represented the first history of the Goths. Following a reference to the war between the Aqquyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II,<sup>487</sup> which was going on from early summer of 1472 until the autumn of 1473, Giovanni Mercati argued that the work should be dated to 1473, the period of *otium* that Nicholas spent in Rome free of administrative duties.<sup>488</sup> However, given the fact that Francesco Maturanzio dedicates one of his poems from 1472 to this work,<sup>489</sup> and, taking into consideration its purpose, it is certain that Nicholas composed it earlier, and probably started working on it as early as della Rovere rose to the papal throne.

*De bellis Gothorum* today exists in two redactions, each preserved in a single manuscript, both of which are unfortunately truncated. The newly identified, Vat. lat. 6029 (henceforth *V*; see App. 9, pl. 9), preserving the first redaction, is a *quarto*-sized manuscript copied by an unidentified humanist scribe, to whom the work was, judging from the character of his mistakes, dictated by Nicholas.<sup>490</sup> Minor marginal and interlinear emendations of the text in Nicholas' own hand, absence of titles and rubrics, and the lack of a dedication suggest that the manuscript was not circulated.<sup>491</sup> Such an interpretation is furthermore corroborated by the existence of the second redaction, today the first fascicule of Corsin. 127 (henceforth *C*; see App. 9, pl. 10), an *octavo*-sized manuscript copied by Nicholas himself. Though this copy has

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<sup>486</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 317; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 114–117.

<sup>487</sup> DBG, 1.2: *Ex his nunc Turcus immanissimus Christianorum hostis aduersus Vsunhasani Persarum Medorumque regis potentiam uiginti milia pugnatorum mercede conduxisse dicitur*. (Tr.: They say that it is from them (sc. the Wallachians) that now the Turk, the vile enemy of the Christians, brought twenty thousand mercenaries against the might of Uzun Hasan the king of Persians and Medes.)

<sup>488</sup> Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 229–230.

<sup>489</sup> App. 6, car. 19. This is in fact the first of Maturanzio's poems addressed to Nicholas, which, save for one exception (App. 6, car. 32), seem to be arranged in a chronological order and span from the spring of 1472 until the summer of 1474. The poems will be treated in greater detail in the conclusion to the chapter.

<sup>490</sup> See for instance App. 4, the apparatus criticus to 1.11 (*ad aquilonem* instead of *ab aquilone*), 1.13 (*aut* instead of *haud*; *sino* instead of *sinu*), 1.17 (*frequenter* instead of *repente*), 1.18 (*egegit* instead of *exegit*).

<sup>491</sup> See App. 8b, no. 25, for a more complete description of the manuscript.

rubrics, again the lack of dedication and at places much heavier emendations suggest that neither this manuscript was circulated. Nevertheless, the existence of two redactions, both ending not in the middle of a folio but abruptly due to the removal of quires in the middle of a sentence, leads to the conclusion that the work was completed and then subjected to a revision, whereafter the final parts of both copies were detached afterwards. Moreover, since both redactions preserve the reference to the ongoing war between Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II, both composition and revision of the work must have been carried out within this time period – from the end of 1471 until the fall of 1473, before Uzun Hasan’s crushing defeat at the Battle of Başkent – when the anti-Ottoman war was high on Sixtus’ agenda.<sup>492</sup>

*De bellis Gothorum* recounted the origins and earlier history of the Goths, the Visigothic invasion of Italy and settlement in Hispania, the invasion of Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, and finally the reconquista of Italy by the Byzantine emperor Justinian. Altogether five books of the work have been preserved in *V*, and the tempo of the narrative suggests that it originally counted six or seven. Book 1 (fols. 1r– 27r) presents the Gothic origins and prehistory, their history before settlement within the borders of the Roman Empire, along with the invasion of Italy by Alaric’s Visigoths. Book 2 (fols. 27r–47v) presents the conquest of Italy by Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, and the subsequent rule of his daughter, queen Amalasantha. Book 3 (fols. 47v–66v) presents the conquest of Sicily and Naples by Justinian’s general Belisarius, and the end of the rule of the Ostrogothic king Theodatus. Book 4 (fols. 67r–84r) continues with the rise of his successor Witiges, while book 5 (fols. 84r–110v) starts with the arrival of Narses before breaking off with the response of Belisarius to the Ostrogothic legates, which – given the length of the preserved text of the book and the fact that precisely this speech represented the book division in Leonardo Bruni’s *De bello Italico adversus Italicos*, one of Nicholas’ sources – seems to have represented the end of the book in *De bellis Gothorum* as well.

Apart from the fact that the preserved text of *V* is three times longer than that of *C*, the most important difference between the two redactions is that the latter organizes the narrative in a different manner. Namely, it seems that upon revising his text Nicholas decided to divide each book in two. *C* has book 1 (fols. 1r–19r) ending with the account of the origins and

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<sup>492</sup> For Uzun Hasan’s campaigns in 1473, the Battle of Başkent and its aftermath, see Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 117–123.

earlier history of the Goths, book 2 (fols. 19r–43v) devoted to the invasion of Italy of Alaric’s Visigoths, book 3 (fols. 43v–60r) to that of the Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, with only one folio preserved of book 4 (fol. 60v), starting with the reign of Amalasantha, which in *V* started precisely at the middle (at fol. 38r) of Book 2 (fols. 27r–47v):

**Table 5: Organization of narrative in the two redactions of Nicholas’ *De bellis Gothorum***

|   | V         | C         |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gothic origins and prehistory</i>  | Book 1    | Book 1    |
| <i>Visigoths: Invasion of Italy and settlement</i>                                      |           | Book 2    |
| <i>Ostrogoths: Theodoric</i>  | Book 2    | Book 3    |
| <i>Amalasantha</i>  |           | Book 4    |
| <i>Belisarius’ conquest of Sicily and Naples, fall of Theodatus and rise of Witiges</i> | Book 3    | (Lacking) |
| <i>Witiges’ siege of Rome</i>   | Book 4    |           |
| <i>Arrival of Narses, concluding with the rise of Ildohadus</i>                         | Book 5    |           |
| <i>The rule of Totila and fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom</i>                           | (Lacking) |           |

Yet, apart from the division of books, Nicholas also makes numerous stylistic improvements to the text, as well as a few significant additions in *C*. The most notable of the latter include: a correction to Ptolemy’s description of Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea (1.4); a theological explanation of the Hunnish/Hungarian myth of origins accompanied by the story of the Senj revenant (1.9);<sup>493</sup> and an expanded account of the Visigothic sack of Rome (1.30). As will be seen in the course of this chapter, these were all introduced for argumentative purposes.

The very incipit of Nicholas’ work – *Bella Gothorum scripturus quae ter Italia dirissima pertulit* – reveals his efforts to generically situate his work in the line of Sallust’s *Bellum Iugurthinum* who following the famous introductory essay noted the beginning of the main narrative with words *Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit*.<sup>494</sup> Such allusive evocation of the Sallustian model was, interestingly,

<sup>493</sup> For the story of Senj revenant, see n. 130.

<sup>494</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, cap. 5; the edition used: Sallust, *Sallust*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

employed some quarter of a century earlier by a Florentine humanist Matteo Palmieri (1406–1475), in his *On the Capture of Pisa (De captivitate Pisarum): Bellum scripturus sum in quo Pisae sunt a Florentino Populo captae*.<sup>495</sup> Much like it had been the case with Palmieri, Nicholas' *imitatio* of the Sallustian model did not cease with the incipit, but extended to the imitation of technique and style. The bishop of Modruš introduces frequent geographical descriptions based on Sallust's description of Africa; engages in Sallustian rapid and intensive portrayals of battles by recourse to asyndeton; peppers his narrative with numerous speeches;<sup>496</sup> and, finally, even adopts the Roman historian's archaizing spellings in the example of such words as *lubens / lubenter*, instead of *libens / libenter*. The topic, genre, as well as such conscious imitative decisions make *De bellis Gothorum* not only Nicholas' first (and only) venture into historiography but also his first bonafide humanist work.

What was the purpose of this work, and how did it connect to the expedition of 1472 and Nicholas' role in it are the questions that *Part II* seeks to answer. In order to analyze it, however, one has to first shed light on the ideological context. The first chapter of *Part II* therefore takes under close scrutiny the earlier historiographical traditions on the Gothic invasions as they developed on both sides of the Adriatic. What follows is an analysis of the work itself, after which, in conclusions, the socio-political context of the 1472 expedition and its aftermath are treated in more detail.

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<sup>495</sup> For Palmieri's work, see Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 26.

<sup>496</sup> For the style of Sallust and his *Bellum Iugurthinum*, see Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1964), 138–177, 240–273; Anthony J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies* (London: Routledge, 1988), 117–159; and Ellen O'Gorman, 'The Politics of Sallustian Style,' in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 2 vols., ed. John Marincola, vol. 2, 379–384 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).



## HUMANIST PATRIOTISM FROM ITALY TO ILLYRIA

Writing about the late antique Gothic wars was not a case of mere disinterested antiquarianism. Within the framework of Italian humanism the topic represented one of the key phases of national history. At the same time, however, the Goths played a role across the Adriatic as well, occupying a prominent place in the historical imagination of Dalmatian intellectuals. The co-existence of these two diverging historiographical traditions would have a defining effect on Nicholas' own works and, accordingly, it is to them that we first must turn to.

### *Italian Humanist Historiography and the Gothic Wars*

Nicholas was not the first to write on the topic of Gothic wars. The topic was treated by the two foremost Italian humanist historians: Leonardo Bruni (*ca.* 1370–1444) and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463). Bruni, whose historiographical oeuvre was recently brought under close scrutiny by Gary Ianziti,<sup>497</sup> touched on the subject in the first book of his *Historiae Florentini populi* (*History of the Florentine People*) composed by 1416, in which he mostly based his account on Orosius.<sup>498</sup> Later, in 1440, he returned to the subject anew, this time by specifically focusing on Justinian's conquest of Italy in his *De bello italico adversus Gothos* (*On the Italian War against the Goths*) and relying mostly on Procopius' *Gothic War*.<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> Gary Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>498</sup> Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. James Hankins (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001–2007), with Gothic wars in Italy covered in vol. 1, pp. 54–97. For full treatment of *Historiae*'s sources, see Anna Maria Cabrini, 'Le *Historiae* del Bruni: Risulati e ipotesi di una ricerca sulle fonti,' in *Leonardo Bruni, Cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze*, ed. Paolo Viti, 247–319 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1990).

<sup>499</sup> Leonardus Aretinus, *De bello Italico adversus Gothos* (Foligno: Johann Neumeister and Aemilianus de Orfinis, 1470). Unlike other works of Bruni's oeuvre, his *De bello Italico* received little attention of scholars, as it was considered a mere adaptation of Procopius. Such views were reconsidered by Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy*, 278–300, who in his analysis of the work stresses not only Bruni's critical acumen and personal agenda but his reliance on other sources as well.

Flavio Biondo, on the other hand, made the Gothic invasions the starting point to his grand history of medieval and Renaissance Italy, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* (*Historical Decades from the Decline of the Roman Empire*), divided in 32 books and composed in the period between 1439 and 1453.<sup>500</sup>

Though each of these works was written for a different purpose, they all share the same vantage point in their appeal to a national locus of loyalty, coupling Ciceronian rhetoric of the common good with claiming superiority for the Italian nation over all others.<sup>501</sup> Biondo's diachronic history of Italy complemented its synchronic presentation, the *Italia illustrata* (*Italy Illuminated*), in both of which the pope was presented as the agent of national unification. Leonardo Bruni's treatment of the Gothic wars, *On the Italian War against the Goths*, was characterized by the same perspective, complementing other works of his oeuvre, such as *De primo bello Punico* (*On the First Punic War*), *Commentarium rerum Greearum* (*Commentary on Greek History*) and his *De temporibus suis* (*Memoirs*), which all opted for a national focus. The *Memoirs*, which, as was seen, Nicholas had on the shelves of his library, were Bruni's commentary on contemporary events in Italy, while in *De primo bello Punico* he turned to the Greek historian Polybius in order to present an account of the first Punic war, a chapter of national history missing from Livy. Even his *Commentarium rerum Greearum* was motivated by national concerns, as in it the Florentine turned to Xenophon's *Hellenica* and the era of 'transient hegemonies' between Greek city states, in order to, as was argued by Ianziti, furnish the leading statesmen of Italy with a 'distant mirror' and teach them the pitfalls of pursuing internecine wars.<sup>502</sup> Finally, even his *History of the Florentine People*, with its focus on the Florentine city-state and its famous rejection of the Roman imperial framework, still presented Italy as the common *patria*. In this work, for Bruni it was still 'our forces' that had

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<sup>500</sup> Flavio Blondus, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* (Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1483). Biondo's sources have been treated by Paul Buchholz, *Die Quellen der Historiarum Decades des Flavii Blondus* (Naumburg: H. Sieling, 1881), 33–47, 111–112. For an overview of his life and work in general, see Riccardo Fubini, 'Biondo, Flavio,' in *DBI*, vol. 10 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/biondo-flavio\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/biondo-flavio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013); and Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 34–40.

<sup>501</sup> Tréncsenyi and Zászkaliczky, 'Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism,' 11–12.

<sup>502</sup> For these works, see Ianziti, *Writing History*, 61–88, 237–256, 257–277, respectively.

captured the Gothic leader Radagasus, ‘our nation’ had suffered a blow at Pollentia.<sup>503</sup> The works of Bruni and Biondo presented Italian elite with a historiographical narrative of their national history, which according to the humanist tenets presented antiquity as its most glorious stage.

Yet, in addition to the novelty they introduced in shifting the historian’s focus from the commune or the *regnum* to the *natio*, and the new methods of historiographical causation and use of sources, the most enduring legacy of their works was the tripartite framework of history, that is to say the presentation of history as divided into an ancient, medieval and modern period. In constructing this framework, Bruni and Biondo resorted to the same vocabulary and the same rhetorical device. In their works they established the antithetical relationship between the age of flourishing (*incrementa, florere*) and age of decline (*inclinatio*), the age of virtue and age of depravity, the age of peace and concord (*pax, concordia*) and age of bloodsheds and discord (*caedes, discordia*), the age of cultural activity and age that brought about its destruction. The tripartite framework of world history which we still use today did not emerge as an explicitly labelled succession of periods of antiquity-middle ages-modern period, but as a succession of periods of bliss and misery.<sup>504</sup> Antiquity was above all a moral category, a repository of all sorts of *exempla* offered by a world lost, divided from the present by the bloodshed, destruction and ignorance of the time in between, but that was supposed to be revived through the process of *imitatio*, the central precept of the humanist movement.

Within this framework of Italian national history, there was no ancient or medieval ‘Other’ as the ‘Gothic Other.’ As Bruni presented in the dedication to his *De bello Italico adversus Gothos*:

*Even though it would have been far more pleasant for me to discuss the days of Italy’s bliss rather than those of her calamities, still, because these were what the*

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<sup>503</sup> Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 62–63: *Ipse quoque Radagasus cum suos, fractis iam rebus, turpi fuga desereret, captus a nostris et in vincula coniectus, postquam victorum spectacula satiavit, occiditur. / Radagaisus himself, his venture now in ruins, deserted his own troops in shameful flight, but was captured by our forces and thrown into irons.* Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 64–65: *Hinc tumentes ira victoriaeque elati, iustam paene rabiem contra nostros exercent. / And from this place, swollen with wrath and elated with victory, they (sc. the Goths) turned their righteous fury on our nation.*

<sup>504</sup> The Middle Ages defined as *media tempestas* appeared for the first time in 1469, as *media aetas* in 1518 and as *media tempora* in 1531; see Conrad Rudolph, ‘Introduction: A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art,’ in *Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, 1–43 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), at p. 4.

*times brought forth, I too shall follow the mutability of fortune and describe in these books the invasion of the Goths and the war in which Italy was almost completely destroyed.*<sup>505</sup>

For Bruni, therefore, it was precisely the Goths that ushered in the new era of Italian history, an idea that would be even more elaborated by Flavio Biondo in his *Decades*. After presenting his intention to narrate the history of Italy following the decline of the Roman empire until his own time, he proceeded by identifying the key episode that marks the beginning of his work:

*Just as for the ancients the founding of the city was used for the reckoning of the time, so have I identified the beginning of the decline, from which I can more easily explain in which order did these most extraordinary events, in which the posterity barely can believe, took place. I have decided to take the year that they numbered as 1164 from the founding of the City, that is to say the year 412 of Christian salvation, as the first after decline of the empire.*<sup>506</sup>

It was the year that the Goths sacked Rome, continued Biondo (erroneously), and his reason for this decision lay with the fact that, although Alaric, the leader of the Goths, ordered them to refrain from killings, ‘still, it is known that this city that was once the master of the whole world now stood defiled by considerable bloodshed, pillaging, and various forms of defilement.’<sup>507</sup> Biondo, therefore, much like Bruni, took the Gothic wars as presenting a new, miserable period of Italian history. He justified his decision of taking this event as his point of departure by explaining that although Rome had suffered calamities even earlier it was always able to quickly restore its power and magnificence. This time it was different, for it was the Gothic invasions that turned the grandeur of the Roman empire into ruin from which it would not rise again for a thousand years to come. The accounts of the wars against the Goths presented by the two Italian historians were framed through a binary opposition between Romans and Goths, civility and barbarity, us and them. While the influence of Bruni’s and Biondo’s works was immense, reflected in the numerous manuscript copies of their works and

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<sup>505</sup> Aretinus, *De bello Italico*, fol. 1r: *Etsi longe iocundius mihi fuisset Italiae felicitatem quam clades referre tamen quia tempora sic tulerunt sequemur et nos fortune mutabilitatem Gothorumque inuasionem et bellum quo Italia tota paene eversa fuit in his libris describemus.*

<sup>506</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 5v: *Vt scilicet quale maioribus fuit, unde gestorum supputatio sumeretur Urbis conditae initium, nos pariter nostrum habeamus inclinationis illius principium, a quo maximae atque mirabiles res ipsae quas uix credat posteritas quo temporum ordine sint gestae, certius faciliusque possimus explicare. Annus ergo quem a condita Vrbe sexagesimum quartum et centesimum supra millesimum numerabant qui et salutis Christiane duodecimus et quadringentesimus fuit, nobis primus erit ab inclinatione imperii constitutus.*

<sup>507</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fols. 6r: *Et tamen aliquantis caedibus, stupris incendiisque urbem quondam orbis dominam constat fuisse foedatam.*

printed editions, the topos of Gothic barbarity had been central to the humanist movement since the time of Petrarch. Bruni and Biondo were the ones who elaborated it by furnishing examples through historical narrative, but it is from this period in general that the terms such as ‘Gothic architecture’ and ‘Gothic script’ originate, coined as pejoratives meant to designate the ‘barbarism’ in style introduced from the north that was to be avoided by returning to classical architecture and what was perceived to be a classical script – which in reality was Carolingian minuscule.<sup>508</sup>

The narrative of the Gothic invasions was not without political relevance. By tracing their origins to Scythia, the land of the barbarians whom Alexander the Great had shut behind the legendary Hyperborean mountains by means of iron gates, the Italian humanists included the Goths in the pack of barbarian *nationes* that brought destruction upon the Roman Empire and Italy on numerous occasions and that now threatened it again in the form of the Turks.<sup>509</sup> Again, the Gothic-Turkish connection was already formulated by Bruni and Biondo. For them, as was the case with the Turks, the origins of the Goths were Scythian.<sup>510</sup> And, again as was the case with the Turks, it was their Scythian origin that ultimately accounted for their character: they were bellicose people, their motivations were guided by their savage nature, they did not have any civilization achievements but instead only brought destruction. Though unlike the Turks, the Goths had accepted Christianity, they were still Arians that polluted Italy with their heresy. After all, it was precisely this Gothic-Turkish connection that loomed behind Bruni’s *De bello Italico*, which was conspicuously dedicated to cardinal Giuliano Cesarini (1398–1444) the papal legate sent in 1442 to lead a crusade against the Ottomans. The work was supposed to serve the legate in calling on the Italians to rally in defense of

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<sup>508</sup> For humanism-influenced Italian perceptions of the Gothic architecture, see Rudolph, ‘A Sense of Loss,’ 5; and for their perceptions of the Gothic script, see Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1973), 114–116.

<sup>509</sup> For the humanist perceptions of the Ottoman Turks, see Hankins, ‘Renaissance Crusaders;’ Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and most recently the work by Meserve, *Empires of Islam*.

<sup>510</sup> Bruni, *History*, 54–55: *Ea gens scythica est; incoluit autem primum eam Scythiae regionem, quae circa Maeotida paludem ad occasum spectet. / They* (sc. the Goths) *were Scythian by descent, and they inhabited the part of Scythia which borders the western shores of the Sea of Azov.* Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 2r: *Eam gentem quae pro gethica dicta est gothica: constat a scythis originem habuisse. Scythas uero primos esse in europa sub septentrione et ad tanays limitem: feros ac paratissimos ad mortem: apud omnes scriptores habetur;* Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 3r: *Continuerunt se postea Gothi: tot a romanis acceptis cladibus: maiori ex parte intra Scythicum natale solum: romanis prouinciis adiacens: per annos circiter septuaginta.* Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 99r: *Fueruntque et ipsi Turci Scythae ex iis quos Alexandrum Macedonem intra Hyperboreos montes, ferreis clausisse repagulis, quum alii tradunt scriptores, tum beatus Hieronymus affirmat.*

Greece from the Scythian Turks, by pointing that it was the Greeks that centuries before had rallied to save Italy from the Scythian Goths.<sup>511</sup> Indeed this fact suggests that even the first printed editions of Bruni's work in 1470 and 1471, conspicuously appearing at the height of the Ottoman-Venetian war, were motivated by much more than mere scholarly interest. To be sure, such points were often made explicit, as was the case with Greek émigré scholar Demetrios Chalkokondyles (1423–1511) in the climax to the first of his *Discourses on the Inauguration of Greek Studies at Padua University* in 1463.<sup>512</sup> Flavio Biondo himself, in his *De gestis Venetorum (On the Deeds of the Venetians)*, praised Venice as a perennial refuge to those fleeing from the waves of barbarian hordes repeatedly attacking Europe, from the Goths all the way now to the Turks.<sup>513</sup>

However, while the image of the Turks, as Margaret Meserve pointed out, was firmly circumscribed by the medieval Christian images of Scythians as 'a monstrous human scourge sent by a vengeful, interventionist God against a sinful civilization,'<sup>514</sup> the role of the Goths, Huns, Germans, and other barbarians was occasionally reconsidered when it came to the anti-Ottoman propaganda. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini may have accepted the Italian framework in the introduction to his *Epitome of Biondo's Decades* by presenting the Turks as Scythian barbarians 'that brought about the latest carnage' after a series that included the Goths, the Huns, Lombards, Persians, Arabs.<sup>515</sup> Yet as pope Pius II, in his *Europa* (composed in 1458) and *Asia* (1460–1462), works that pitted the Scythian Asia against the united European *Res publica Christiana*, he strove to firmly place the Christianized barbarian kingdoms such as those of Huns/Hungarians, Visigoths/Spanish, and Germans within the European framework.<sup>516</sup> The example of the Hungarians is revealing. While within the Italian narrative they played the role of typical Scythian villains that contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, in *Europa* Pius manipulated his sources in order to identify them with the

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<sup>511</sup> James Hankins, 'Chronology of Leonardo Bruni's Later Works (1437–1443),' forthcoming in *Studi medievali e umanistici* 6 (available at <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:2961721>, last accessed March 6 2013), 28–29; Ianziti, *Writing History*, 298–299.

<sup>512</sup> As Chalkokondyles put it, 'just as she (sc. Greece) had expended in their behalf (sc. the Latins) all of her most precious and outstanding possessions liberally and without any parsimony, and had restored with her hand and force of arms the state of Italy, long oppressed by the Goths, they (sc. the Latins) should in the same way now be willing to raise up prostrate and afflicted Greece and liberate it by arms from the hands of the barbarians; quoted in Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 114–115.

<sup>513</sup> Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders,' 142.

<sup>514</sup> Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 152.

<sup>515</sup> Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1571), 144.

<sup>516</sup> For Pius and his views of the Ottomans, see Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 94–116.

Avars and thus, by presenting the wars that the latter had supposedly fought with the Turks in the eighth century, implicitly claim that the Hungarians have been defending Europe as the *antemurale Christianitatis* for over six centuries.<sup>517</sup> One should interpret Piccolomini's *Germania* and *Oratio de Constantinopolitana clade et bello contra Turcos congregando* (*Oration on the Constantinopolitan Bloodshed and Organizing the War against the Turks*) within the same framework, in which by recourse to Tacitus he pointed to the noble character of the ancient German barbarians and 'highlighted the deciding role of the Catholic church in their 'cultivation' and reaching economic prosperity.'<sup>518</sup> Again, the prime motivation of both works was to secure the participation of the German elites in the war against the Ottomans.

### ***The Barbarian Turn: Formation of Dalmatian Res publica litterarum and South Slavic Illyrism***

The ideological developments in the Apennine peninsula, whether claims of cultural superiority from the perspective of Italian humanists or papal constructions of the European *Res publica Christiana*, represented, as Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky pointed out, one of the main catalysts to modern collective identities.<sup>519</sup> Leading to the diffusion of humanism and ushering what has often been called 'the barbarian turn' in Renaissance historiography, humanists around Europe, from Spain and England to Hungary and Poland, through interplay of local and imported elements started furnishing their 'barbarian' *nationes* with a

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<sup>517</sup> Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 105–106.

<sup>518</sup> Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 63–64.

<sup>519</sup> Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, 'Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism,' 12–25.

historiographical narrative integrated into the classical archetype.<sup>520</sup> If we turn to Nicholas of Modruš with this paradigm in mind, the previous chapter showed that though he may have acquired the same humanist appreciation of classical literature as the community of Italian, and to an extent Greek, prelates and humanists within which he sought to establish himself, he claimed allegiance to a different *patria*, acting as one of the central figures of the South Slavic community in Rome. And whereas the Italian humanists turned the Goths into the main villains of their national history, the outlook of contemporary South Slavic humanists was rather different. In order to shed light on the perspective of the latter, however, it is first necessary to turn back a bit and discuss the process of diffusion of humanism to the other side of the Adriatic and the formation of the Dalmatian branch of the *Res publica litterarum*.

The phenomenon of Dalmatian humanism has long been interpreted largely through the literary prism. In the fifteenth century, so the story went, the Dalmatian communes saw the emergence of *local* literary circles from which sprouted names that with the advent of print achieved fame across Europe, the case in point being Marko Marulić of Split (1450–1524) and Trankvil Andronik of Trogir (1490–1571). The beginnings of interests in humanism among the Dalmatians were traced to the activities of Juraj Benja of Zadar (died 1437) and Petar Cipiko of Trogir (died 1440) during the 1420s and 1430s, whose association with the idea of origins can be compared to that of Petrarch, long considered ‘the first humanist.’<sup>521</sup> Yet, just as Ronald Witt has done much to dispel the sacred aura around Petrarch’s status by

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<sup>520</sup> The topic of diffusion of humanism and emergence of patriotism in early modern Europe is vast, but see for instance the recent volume by David Rundle, ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Language and Literature, 2012). See also Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Johannes Helmrath, et alii, ed. *Diffusion des Humanismus: Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002); and Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay, ed., *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London: Longman, 1990). For the humanist use of medieval myths in Germany, see Frank L. Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971); and for the Hungarian context, see Tibor Klaniczay, ‘The Concepts of Hungaria and Pannonia in the Age of the Renaissance,’ in *Forms of Identity: Definitions and Changes*, ed. Ladislaus Löb, et alii, 9–20 (Szeged: Attila József University, 1994); and the article by Gábor Klaniczay, ‘The Myth of Scythian Origins of Attila in the Nineteenth Century,’ in *Multiple Antiquities-Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, et alii, 183–210 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011), which analyzes the Hungarian perceptions of Attila the Hun from Renaissance through the nineteenth century.

<sup>521</sup> See for instance Slobodan Prosperov Novak, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* [History of Croatian literature], vol. 2 (Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 1997), 62–66, where the author styles the activities of Juraj Benja and Petar Cipiko as representing the ‘*magna charta* of Eastern Adriatic humanism.’ Such interpretations of Dalmatian humanism can be considered a local example of a European-wide phenomenon which saw most of the national historiographies concerned to prove that ‘humanism had autochthonous roots in their respective national cultures;’ see Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, ‘Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism,’ 12.



pointing at his predecessors with equal rights to the title of a humanist, the activities of the two Dalmatians have to be set within a larger socio-historical framework as well.<sup>522</sup> Indeed, the appreciation of humanism as an aesthetic ideal among the Dalmatians was above all contingent on the Venetian conquest of Dalmatian communes in the 1408–1420 war against Sigismund of Hungary and the Republic's ensuing state building efforts.

In the first place, the Venetian control of the administrative apparatuses brought about the constant circulation of state officials into Dalmatian communes. The study of these men of patriciate status was recently conducted by Monique O'Connell, and though she did not consider the role of humanist education in their appointments or in their 'negotiations' with the communal elites, there can be no doubt that a fair number of them had humanist interests.<sup>523</sup> An illustrative example is that of Giovanni Battista Bevilacqua who from 1417 to 1425 served as the military commander of Zadar and whose friendship with the famous Venetian humanist Francesco Barbaro saw the circulation of the latter's *De re uxoria* (*On Wifely Matters*) and translations of Plutarch's lives in the region.<sup>524</sup> It was no different with the episcopal appointments. Though these were not officially part of the state apparatus, in the course of the quattrocento three quarters of the episcopal appointments in Venetian Dalmatia were made from the members of the Venetian patriciate, especially when it came to richer and more important bishoprics.<sup>525</sup> Examples of such prelates with humanist tastes are Maffeo Vallaresso archbishop of Zadar and Lorenzo Zane archbishop of Split, whose correspondence, preserved today as part of the former's collection of letters, presents us with a play which through manifold classical allusions bonded the two leading prelates of Venetian Dalmatia.<sup>526</sup> Though Vallaresso in particular held negative views of the Dalmatians in general, calling them a 'warlike and rebellious crowd' 'unfamiliar with the law and liberal arts,' he did enjoy

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<sup>522</sup> Witt, *The Origins of Humanism*.

<sup>523</sup> O'Connell, *Men of Empire*.

<sup>524</sup> Pierluigi Calabrese, 'Nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro,' *Archivio Veneto* s.V. 118 (1982): 5–55. See also Neven Jovanović, 'Ciceron, Plutarh i Francesco Barbaro u Zadru 1417.–1419.' [Cicero, Plutarch, and Francesco Barbaro in Zadar 1417–1419], *Colloquia Maruliana* 22 (2013).

<sup>525</sup> Jadranka Neralić calculated that between 1417 and 1492 in nine of the Eastern Adriatic bishoprics under the Venetian rule, 46 out of 63 appointed bishops were originally from Venice or Veneto, while in the most important ones the appointed prelates were exclusively Venetian; see Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 373.

<sup>526</sup> Darko Novaković, 'Epistolarij nadbiskupa Maffea Vallaressa kao vrelo za povijest hrvatskog humanizma' [The correspondence of archbishop Maffeo Vallaresso as a source for the history of Croatian humanism], *Colloquia Maruliana* 21 (2012): 5–24. Approximately one fifth of the archbishop's letters were published by Luka Jelić, 'Regestum litterarum zadarskog nadbiskupa Mafeja Vallaressa' [*Regestum litterarum* of Maffeo Vallaresso archbishop of Zadar], *Starine JAZU* 29 (1898): 33–94.

close contacts with a number of intellectuals from the region, such as Ivan Sobota of Trogir or even Nicholas of Modruš as we saw in the *Prologue*. Finally, important was also the influence of the communally-funded humanist teachers, such as Tideo Acciarini, Stefano Flisco, Palladio Fosco and Nardino Celinesse, who, though not part of the Venetian administrative apparatus, exercised a profound influence on the early formation of Dalmatian intellectuals.<sup>527</sup>

To be sure, the circulation of people moved in the other direction as well, and indeed a number of Dalmatians, Nicholas of Modruš himself as we saw, studied in the Venetian public *Scuole* of St Mark and di Rialto,<sup>528</sup> and particularly at the University of Padua, which served as the center of higher education for the entire Venetian state.<sup>529</sup> The problem in studying this prosopographical group, however, is the loss of the matriculation records of the *natio Dalmatica* and the *natio ultramarina* to which the Dalmatian students of law and arts respectively belonged.<sup>530</sup> Yet a few examples from the university's graduation acts testify to the strong national affiliations among the students that were nurtured by such an administrative division of the university. One can consider the defense of the doctorate *in artibus* by Ambroz Mihetić a patrician of Šibenik taking place on June 2 1442, which saw scions of the patrician families from the three other most important Dalmatian communes appearing as witnesses and, one would imagine, as moral support to their fellow countryman: Nikola and Jerolim Nassi of Zadar, Stjepan Cega of Trogir, and Matej Papalić of Split.<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> Currently Sandra Ivović (University of Zagreb) is preparing her dissertation on the communal education in Renaissance Dalmatia, illustrating *inter alia* the Dalmatian careers of a number of Italian humanist teachers. On the career of Tideo Acciarini in particular who taught in Split, Zadar and Dubrovnik, see Francesco Lo Parco, 'Tideo Acciarini, umanista marchigiano del secolo XV: L'insegnamento in Dalmazia e le sue attinenze con gli umanisti dalmati Marco Marulo, Giorgio Sigoreo, Elio Lampridio Cerva,' *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 7 (1929): 17–42.

<sup>528</sup> It is difficult to assess to what extent did the Venetian public schools play a role in this, since they were prohibited to keep matriculation records. However, apart from Nicholas of Modruš we know that Ivan Damjanov from the Zadar bourgeois family of de Dominis studied with Paul of Pergola as well, living at the teacher's home and copying there Giacomo of Forli's *Quaestio de intentione et remissione formarum*, now BNCF, Fondo Conventi Soppressi, Cod. D.2.502; see the colophon in Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1, 157: *ego Johannes filius domini Damiani de Dominis de Iadra scripsi dum eram studens in domo nostri temporis monarce famosissimi doctoris magistri Pauli Pergulensis* (Tr.: I, Ivan of Zadar son of lord Damjan de Dominis, copied this while I was a student in the home of the monarch and most famous doctor of our time, teacher Paul of Pergola).

<sup>529</sup> This is not to say that Dalmatians and Croats did not gravitate to Padua even earlier; see more in Mirko Dražen Grmek, 'Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi' [Croats and the University of Padua], *Ljetopis JAZU* 62 (1957): 334–374.

<sup>530</sup> In 1399 the University of Padua was divided into two faculties, that of law and that of arts, which included philosophy, theology, rhetoric, mathematics and medicine. All the members of the university were organized into *nationes*, whereby Dalmatians had their own *natio* within the faculty of law, but were included in the *natio ultramarina* within the faculty of arts together with Croats, Istrians, Sicilians and Greeks; see Grmek, 'Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi,' 339, 347.

<sup>531</sup> Grmek, 'Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi,' 356.

Therefore though we lack graduation and matriculation records of a number of Dalmatian humanists that we know studied there, such as Juraj Šižgorić, Koriolan Cipiko, and Marko Marulić, there can be no doubt that they as well professed, and acted according to, the same regional/national affiliations, and that it is precisely there that their connections to other intellectuals in the region were formed. As Nicholas of Modruš himself explicitly put it in 1462 in his *De mortalium felicitate*, it is ‘from the farthest corner of Dalmatia’ that he came to Venice to study under Paul of Pergola. Juraj Benja and Petar Cipiko, therefore, did not spring out of nowhere, but have to be seen against the backdrop of this bidirectional circulation of people between the center (Venice/Padua) and periphery (Dalmatian communes) which represented the main channels through which humanism was diffused across the Adriatic.<sup>532</sup>

The manuscript and epistolary evidence show that not only that the diffusion of humanism led to the emergence of local circles as previously thought, but that the 1450s to the 1480s witnessed the forming of a *regional* Dalmatian *res publica litterarum*, spanning across Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir and Split, the four largest communes of Venetian Dalmatia located within a diameter of 180 kilometers (see Map 1). Let us first turn to the *fortuna* of what is today arguably the most famous manuscript that circulated through Dalmatia in this period, the BNF Codex Parisiensis lat. 7989 (olim Traguriensis) preserving *inter alia* the sole surviving copy of Petronius’ *Cena Trimalchionis* (*Trimalchio’s Banquet*). Albinia de la Mare showed that after being copied in Florence *ca.* 1423–24 the manuscript was brought to Zadar by Juraj Benja who then gifted or bequeathed it to Petar Cipiko of Trogir, where it remained in the possession of the Cipiko family until its rediscovery in the seventeenth century.<sup>533</sup> Bratislav Lučin, however, added another very important note to the provenance story, identifying the hand of Marko Marulić in the codex as well and plausibly arguing that it was Koriolan (1425–

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<sup>532</sup> The model for the diffusion of Dalmatian humanism proposed here is not deterministic, but generic. That is to say, it is not my intention to argue that the appreciation of antiquity among the Dalmatian elite in this period was achieved exclusively through the interaction with the Venetians after 1408–1420, whether in their hometowns or Venice and Padua. After all, Dalmatian communes, though under the Venetian rule, did not develop under a Venetian bubble, but continued to enjoy long-lasting contacts with Italian communes in Romagna, the Marches, and Apulia, especially in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, what I am arguing is that the Venetian conquest of the communes and the ensuing state building efforts – such as the control of the communal administrative apparatus and the centralization of higher education – did represent the *defining* factors in the diffusion of humanist ideas and the subsequent formation of Dalmatian intellectual elite.

<sup>533</sup> Albinia C. de la Mare, ‘The Return of Petronius to Italy,’ in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, 220–254 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

1493), son of Petar Cipiko and Marulić's friend, who borrowed the codex.<sup>534</sup> My own research on the Dalmatian humanist manuscripts in the Bodleian and British libraries suggests that such a circulation of books within the region was not an exception. Indeed, the same can be argued for another manuscript that passed from Benja to Petar Cipiko, Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 224 containing Cicero's *Philippics*, *Topics* and *Against Catiline*, which unlike the Codex Traguriensis was, as again shown by de la Mare, partly copied by Benja himself and partly by Petar Cipiko.<sup>535</sup> For it can be established that in 1460 Jakov Naplavić, a Šibenik patrician, used precisely this manuscript as his exemplar when he copied Cicero's *Philippics*, now Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 254. Naplavić not only copied Cipiko's marginal notes as well but also rehashed Cipiko's colophon almost verbatim (see App. 9, pl. 11a and 11b).<sup>536</sup> Petar Cipiko was long dead by 1460 when Naplavić copied Cicero's *Philippics*, so again his son Koriolan must have served as the the person who provided the texts. Therefore, from the manuscripts that Juraj Benja passed on to Petar Cipiko, we have at least two that were later circulated within the region by his son Koriolan, one to Split and another to Šibenik. If we turn to another manuscript in Koriolan's possession at the time, Canon. Misc. 106 containing Paul the Deacon's summary of Festus' *De verborum significatu* (*On the Meaning of Words*), in which the Trogir humanist noted 'I am the book of Kvint Koriolan Cipiko and his friends' (*Quinti Coriolani Cipici sum liber et amicorum*; see App. 9, pl. 11c), the group that emerges behind *et amicorum* is not a local circle but that of the immediate region, spanning from Šibenik fifty kilometers northwest of Trogir to Split thirty kilometers south of it.<sup>537</sup>

Aside from the manuscript evidence, the functioning of such humanist networks is best revealed by epistolaries, collections of letters sent and received, that were assembled for the purpose of publication or private enjoyment. Unfortunately, no such epistolaries seem to have

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<sup>534</sup> Bratislav Lučin, 'Marul, Katul i Trogirski kodeks Petronija (Codex Parisiensis Lat. 7989 olim Traguriensis)' [Marulus, Catullus and the Codex Traguriensis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 7989)], *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007): 5–48.

<sup>535</sup> de la Mare, 'Return of Petronius,' 246–247.

<sup>536</sup> Bodl., Canon. Class. lat. 224, fol. 76v: *Petrus Cepio Marci Cepionis filius Dalmata Tragurinus absolutit Tragurii sibi et cui Fata dabunt. Lector uale. MCCCCXXXVIII Idus Decembrias.* (Tr.: Petar Cepio (sc. Cipiko) Dalmatian of Trogir, son of Marko Cepio, copied this in Trogir for himself and for whomever the Fates shall give it to. Hail, reader. On December 13th 1438.) Bodl., Canon. Class. lat. 254, fol. 137v: *Iacobus Naplaue scripsit sibi et cui Fata dabunt. Sibenici pridie Kalendas Martias anno Domini MCCCCCLX.* (Tr.: Jakov Naplavić copied this for himself and for whomever the Fates shall give it to. In Šibenik on February 28th in the year of the Lord 1460.)

<sup>537</sup> The colophons such as *liber sum ... et amicorum* are commonly found in Renaissance manuscripts, testifying not only to the group identity but also implying restriction; see Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 35.

been arranged by Dalmatian humanists, the only example of Dalmatian provenance being the aforementioned one of the Venetian Vallarosso. However, the network of a Dalmatian intellectual at the time can be gauged from the collection of poems of Šibenik humanist Juraj Šižgorić (ca. 1445–1509), published in Venice in 1477.<sup>538</sup> Šižgorić's collections of poems included epistolary poems sent or presented to contemporary addressees in the course of a longer period, that were finally assembled by the author for the purpose of publication.<sup>539</sup> Out of altogether 66 texts in the collection, 34 represent epistolary poems and prose texts written by Šižgorić to others or vice versa. Out of 34 epistolary poems and prose texts, 13 are addressed locally to the individuals within the city, counts, a bishop and communal teachers, together with the local learned patricians, presenting us with a paradigmatic example of the intellectual elite in a Dalmatian commune. However, seven texts are addressed to other Dalmatians and vice versa, and here appear names coming from all the main communal centers of Venetian Dalmatia along with Dubrovnik. These altogether twenty texts testify not only to the humanist's engagement with the life of his own commune, but also to his connections across the entire region.<sup>540</sup>

If we take a wider scope and look at all the Dalmatian humanists of the second generation active during the 1450s–1480s – from Koriolan Cipiko and Ivan Lipavić in Trogir,<sup>541</sup> Ambroz Mihetić, Jakov Naplavić, and Juraj Šižgorić in Šibenik,<sup>542</sup> members of the Papalić family and

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<sup>538</sup> For the edition of the collection and Croatian translations of selected items, see Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin, *Elegije i pjesme* [Elegies and poems], ed. and trans. Nikola Šop and Veljko Gortan (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1966). See also the recent contribution to Šižgorić's biography and oeuvre by Darko Novaković, 'Nepoznata verzija Šižgoričeve elegije o smrti dvojice braće' [A hitherto unknown elegy by Juraj Šižgorić on the death of two brothers], in *Hrvatska književna baština*, ed. Dunja Fališevac, et alii, 253–266, at pp. 253–254.

<sup>539</sup> For the process by which such collections of poetry were formed, see Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 131–137.

<sup>540</sup> Similar pattern is evinced by the small collection of thirteen poems of a later date by Marko Marulić, and which are addressed at, or refer to, the literati from his Split, but also those of the immediate region, such as Jerolim Cipiko, Koriolan's son, in Trogir, and Hanibal Lucić and Katerin Gazarović in Hvar; see Neven Jovanović, 'Prolegomena za retoriku Marulićeve splitske ekipe' [Prolegomena to the rhetoric of Marulić's Split set], *Colloquia Maruliana* 15 (2006): 141–174.

<sup>541</sup> Ivan Lipavić finished copying his manuscript of Propertius' *Elegies*, Vat. lat. 5174, in Trogir on February 13 1464. To these he also added a few other short poems, including his own, *Ioannes Lipauich post pestem Tragurium rediens composuit*, in which he praised his city as even more beautiful than Venice (*Pulchra prius fueras Veneta vel pulchrior urbe*); see Šime Jurić, 'Tri kodeksa značajna za kulturnu povijest Trogira: Prilog poznavanju trogirskih humanista' [Three codices important for the cultural history of Trogir: Contribution to the knowledge of Trogir humanists], *Mogućnosti* 10/11 (1980): 1107–1114.

<sup>542</sup> In Šibenik documents Naplavić is referred to as 'Iacobus Naplavich iudex maioris curie'; see Danko Zelić, 'Proclamationes šibenskog kneza Fantina de Cha de Pesaro (1441.–1443.)' [*Proclamationes of the Šibenik count Fantino de Cha de Pesaro (1441–1443)*], *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 149–191, at pp. 185–186. One can add here Ilija Banvarić, a Šibenik notary, who in 1469 copied Quintus Curtius' *History of Alexander*, now BL Additional 6794.

young Marko Marulić in Split – it becomes clear that most, if not all of them, were patricians that studied in Padua, had an active interest in humanist literature, and actively participated in the life of their communes. Moreover, it is among these new humanistically educated patricians that the representatives of the commune were chosen to deliver speeches before the arriving Venetian governors and before the doges in Venice. Though only a few of such speeches have been preserved, such as the one by Ambroz Mihetić from 1458, this was a common practice, and we do know that Koriolan Cipiko on a few occasions and Marko Marulić in 1474 both gave them as well.<sup>543</sup> What the preserved examples make clear is that these, one can imagine highly ritualized, performances presented an opportunity for humanists to showcase their own credentials and loyalty as well as that of their commune and region, and constantly define and redefine their relationship to Venice. In a word, the cultivation of humanism in Dalmatia was not a sign of intellectual escapism, but accumulation of cultural capital needed to better one's own position within the commune, as well as the position of the commune and, increasingly, the region within the Venetian empire. In this way, the ample references to their contemporary Dalmatian intellectuals in the first humanist histories by Juraj Šižgorić and particularly Vinko Pribojević of Hvar (mid XV c.–after 1532) can be read as a manifesto of the emerging Dalmatian *res publica litterarum* and thus an echo of histories of humanist movement in general written by Italian humanists such as Marcantonio Sabellico and Paolo Cortesi.<sup>544</sup> Therefore, what the analyzed exchanges of manuscripts and letters present us with is the functioning of a self-conscious Dalmatian *res publica litterarum*, a community bonded by the common regional-Dalmatian and social-patrician background, intellectual-humanist *habitus* and Ciceronian care for the good of their commune, region, and, gradually, the nation.

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<sup>543</sup> The speech by Ambroz Mihetić before the doge was transcribed by Antonija Vlahov, 'Pozdravni govor Ambroza Mihetića za mletačkog dužda Pasqualea Malipiera iz 1458' [The 1458 salutatory oration by Ambroz Mihetić for the Venetian doge Pasquale Malipiero], MA Thesis (University of Zagreb, 2012). For Cipiko's speeches, see Koriolan Cipiko, *O azijskom ratu* [On the Asian war], trans. Vedran Gligo (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), 21. I am currently preparing an edition of a similar speech before the doge by an unnamed Zadar patrician.

<sup>544</sup> For the humanist self-perceptions, see Patrick Baker, 'De viris illustribus and the Self-Conception of Italian Humanism in the 15th Century,' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, ed. Steiner-Weber, 189–198.

Indeed, the concomitant process to the diffusion of humanism into the region and the formation of the Dalmatian *res publica litterarum* was the increasing emphasis not only on the regional, but also national, Illyrian, markers of identity. As defined by Zrinka Blažević, Illyrism, the discursive constructions of the Illyrian nation, emerged as a need of Dalmatian humanists for self-legitimization in response to two perceived threats of Others: Venetian expansionism, on the one hand, and the Ottoman threat, on the other.<sup>545</sup> The emergence of Illyrist discourse can be traced to the very beginnings of the quattrocento,<sup>546</sup> gradually expanding to the episcopal seats of Croatia as well as to the South Slavic communities in Italy as was seen in the previous chapter. These ideas, however, received one of their first concrete elaborations in Dalmatia within the second generation of humanists, in 1487, with Juraj Šižgorić's *On the Location of Illyria and the City of Šibenik (De situ Illyriae et ciuitate Sibenici)*.<sup>547</sup> As was argued by Blažević, in order to confront one of the central premises of Venetian ideology – that the Republic's duty was to rule over the Greeks and the Dalmatians<sup>548</sup> –, Šižgorić unveiled 'the ancient and noble *natio Illyriorum*' as a 'symbolic equal to the discursive Italy' constructed by the humanist historians on the other side of the Adriatic.<sup>549</sup> In addition, however, Šižgorić's work can also be seen as falling in line with the practice of delivering speeches before the communal governors and the doges upon their assumption of power, especially once one considers the fact that *De situ Illyriae* was dedicated to the Šibenik governor Antonio Calbo (1486–1489 in office). The difference was that rather than encomiastically presenting Venice and toward the end favorably depicting the commune and the region, *De situ Illyriae* turned the focus to the humanist's community, concentrically expanding it from a focus on commune and region to the nation. Indeed, similar concerns govern the rhetorical construction of Koriolan Cipiko's *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gestorum libri (The Books of the Deeds of the Admiral Pietro Mocenigo)*, the work dedicated, as indicated in the title, to the military feats of the Venetian admiral Pietro

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<sup>545</sup> Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 114; Blažević, 'Indetermi-Nation,' 205.

<sup>546</sup> The first use of the word Illyrian as an ethnonym can be dated to 1403; see Mladen Ančić, 'Inventar splitskog kancelara i javnog bilježnika Tome Colutii de Cingulo: Prilog poznavanju prvih humanističkih krugova u Dalmaciji' [The inventory of the Split chancellor and public notary Thomas Colutii de Cingulo: Contribution to the understanding of first humanist circles in Dalmatia], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 47 (2005): 99–148.

<sup>547</sup> For the edition of this work, see Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku* [On the location of Illyria and the city of Šibenik], ed. and trans. Veljko Gortan (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1981). For the analysis of Šižgorić's work, see Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 117–125.

<sup>548</sup> Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 81.

<sup>549</sup> Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 124–125.

Mocenigo in the 1472–1474 war against the Ottomans.<sup>550</sup> While the greatest praises are indeed reserved for Mocenigo, the author conspicuously introduces episodes highlighting the courage of Dalmatians and Illyrians, ‘who were the greatest in number among the naval troops.’<sup>551</sup>

Which finally brings us to the Goths and their place within the Illyrian narrative. Šižgorić and his contemporaries, as well as subsequent Dalmatian humanists – most notably Vinko Pribojević in his work *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (*On the Origin and Deeds of the Slavs*) published in 1532 – all included the Goths in the catalogue of numerous peoples comprising the glorious Illyrian nation.<sup>552</sup> While this was part of the rhetorical strategy designed to add prestige to their *natio* by pointing at the might and courage of their ancestors, it is precisely the Goths that had for centuries occupied the central role in the medieval historiography of the South Slavs, at least in those realms that were situated in the hinterland of Dalmatia. For already in the eleventh century and the hagiographical *vita* of St Dujam of Split there emerged a historiographical tradition that presented them – whether Croatia, Bosnia, or Dioclea in the south, the predecessor to the later-date principality of Zeta – as kingdoms founded by the Ostrogothic rulers of late antiquity.<sup>553</sup> This tradition can be found in the thirteenth-century *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* by Archdeacon Thomas of Split,<sup>554</sup> but was most elaborated in the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*, a somewhat problematic Latin text that legitimized the rule of the Dioclean dynasty of the twelfth

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<sup>550</sup> For the edition of the work, see Renata Fabbri, ed., *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1988), 139–230.

<sup>551</sup> See for instance the episode where two Dalmatians overpower a bear, Fabbri, ed., *Per la memorialistica veneziana*, 178–180.

<sup>552</sup> Šižgorić, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*, 28: *Praesertim auditu mirabiles fuerunt in bello Gethae, quos et Gothos Illyriae populos dicimus* (Tr.: Particularly famous warriors were the Getae, whom we also call Goths, people of Illyria); Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena* [On the origin and glory of the Slavs], ed. Miroslav Kurelac (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1997), *passim*. For more on Pribojević’s speech, see Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 125–136; and Domagoj Madunić, ‘Strategies of Distinction in the Work of Vinko Pribojević,’ in *Whose Love of Which Country*, ed. Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, 177–202.

<sup>553</sup> For Croatian medieval historiographical traditions, see Neven Budak, ‘Tumačenje podrijetla i najstarije povijesti Hrvata u djelima srednjovjekovnih pisaca’ [The interpretations of the origin and the earliest history of the Croats in the works of the medieval authors], in *Etnogeneza Hrvata* [The ethnogenesis of the Croats], ed. Neven Budak, 73–79 (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske and Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1995).

<sup>554</sup> Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006).



century.<sup>555</sup> Finally, one should mention here the *Croatian Chronicle*, a late-fourteenth century text written in Old Croatian which, building on the same Gothic basis as the Dioclean chronicle, narrated the formation of the Croatian kingdom until the death of king Demetrius Zvonimir (1074–1089) and inclusion of Croatia under the rule of Hungary.<sup>556</sup> While the Renaissance *fortuna* of the Dioclean chronicle is somewhat enigmatic, *Croatian Chronicle* seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in the hinterland of Dalmatian communes, before it was finally, in 1510, translated into Latin by Marko Marulić.<sup>557</sup> The translation, titled *Regum Delmatiae atque Croatiae gesta* (*The Deeds of the Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia*) and dedicated to Marulić's friend and fellow patrician from Split, Dmine Papalić, seems to have had a great circulation in the Dalmatian humanist circles. Most notably it would serve Vinko Pribojević who would even call it 'Marulić's *De regibus Illyriorum*,' a clear example of the incorporation of the Gothic theory of origins into the Illyrist narrative.<sup>558</sup> Without going into the debates concerning the particulars of the *fortuna* of the medieval histories, it is enough to say that the fifteenth and sixteenth century witnessed a number of humanists referring to medieval chronicles and formulaic identity-equations – such as Priest of Dioclea's *Gothi, qui et Sclavi* (sc. *nuncupantur*), 'Goths who are also called the Slavs'<sup>559</sup> – in order to evoke the Gothic origins of Illyrians.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> For the recent edition of the work, and a novel, though highly speculative, interpretation concerning its dating and authorship, see *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*, 2 vols, ed. Tibor Živković (Belgrade: Institute of History-Ostrog Monastery, 2009). For another hypothesis, see Solange Bujan, 'La *Chronique du Prêtre du Dioclée*: Un faux document historique,' *Revue des Études Byzantines* 66 (2008): 5–38.

<sup>556</sup> For the edition of the text, see Marulić, *Latinska manja djela*, vol. 2, 269–282.

<sup>557</sup> The edition of Marulić's *Regum Delmatiae atque Croatiae gesta* was recently made by Neven Jovanović; see Marulić, *Latinska manja djela*, vol. 2, 123–225. For the discussions of the manuscripts of this highly popular work, see Neven Jovanović, 'Rukopisi *Regum Dalmatię atque Croatiaę gesta*' [The manuscripts of *Regum Dalmatię atque Croatiaę gesta*], *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 5–26.

<sup>558</sup> Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, 72.

<sup>559</sup> *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*, vol. 1, 24.

<sup>560</sup> It is important to note that Illyrism did not have much currency in Renaissance Dubrovnik, at least not until the end of the sixteenth century; for more on which see Lovro Kunčević, 'Civic and Ethnic Discourses of Identity in a City-State Context: The Case of Renaissance Ragusa,' in *Whose Love of Which Country*, ed. Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, 149–175.

### *The Patriotism of Nicholas of Modruš: Letter to the Modruš Clergy*

It is a question whether Nicholas of Modruš enjoyed contacts with any of the members of the Dalmatian *res publica litterarum*. His studies in Venice and Padua would have certainly placed him in contacts with other Dalmatians, and indeed he may have studied in Padua at the same time as Koriolan Cipiko, the central figure of the regional network. Moreover, it is precisely Cipiko who would later serve as the commander of the Trogir galley in Mocenigo's Venetian fleet that acted jointly with the papal fleet in the expedition of 1472, and who would compose a historiographical account of this expedition as we saw. Yet, it is perhaps indicative of Nicholas' somewhat isolated status as an expat that, unlike Cipiko, Marulić and many other Dalmatians, the bishop of Modruš would not be mentioned in Pribojević's extensive catalogue of the Dalmatian *res publica litterarum*, in spite of the fact that he was one of the most prolific South Slavic intellectuals of the period.<sup>561</sup> However, although there exist no tangible connections between Nicholas and the vibrant regional Dalmatian circle of patrician humanists, it is clear that they all claimed allegiance to their *natio Illyrica* re-imagining its medieval traditions within a humanist framework.

In order to shed light on how Nicholas himself used these traditions and how he articulated his national identity, it is important to fast forward a few years, to 1476 or 1477, when he, at the time governor based in Spoleto in Umbria, received news from the Modruš clergy concerning trouble in his bishopric. His response, written in Croatian language and the Glagolitic alphabet, presents us with the background to the story:

*Nicholas, by the will of God and by the mercy of the Apostolic See bishop of Modruš and Krbava, governor of Spoleto, Todi, Amelia, etc. writes to the chapter and clergy of the Modruš church. Salvation to all. My heart suffers within me and my chest is pressed with concern for the worries of my people. I have found a bitter and vile enemy, who does not cease to trouble and confound your souls and bodies. So much, indeed, that the vicious and savage hand of the Turk that you have experienced in so many deaths, troubles and toils, and in so much bloodshed of miserable people, is truly a gift and a blessing. How greater misfortune is then that someone even more fierce and cruel is found among our own people, an evil neighbor, who eats bread with us, who – inspired by I do not know what sort of arrogance or audacity of an unmerciful spirit – dared to confound your thoughts and your hearts, who tears asunder the ecclesiastical peace and corrects, not to say disproves, with unjust audacity the ecclesiastical traditions. For he says that*

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<sup>561</sup> Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, 81–82.

*the rite of holy service in our father tongue is not approved by the Catholic church and that he would not be able to adhere to all the teachings and instructions of the Christian faith or the holy fathers, were it not for the rules listed in the Donatus and the Doctrinale.*<sup>562</sup>

Someone among his flock was spreading rumors that the liturgy conducted in Slavic language was not approved by the Catholic church. Nicholas continued by responding to such claims.

*Yet, the books of the grammarians could not contain all the wisdom of the world. Many things were kept by the wise men that are called cosmographers, others by those that are called astrologists, and others more by those that are called philosophers. When it came to explaining the treatments and precepts of the teachers none of them made any room for grammar except in speaking, and even less when it came to the Holy Scriptures. And if this person, as such an avid reader of the Holy Scriptures, would either read them or kindly inspect them, he would truly realize that that which had been commended by the Holy fathers and what was instituted so many ages ago for the common people does not need any new letter, bull nor any new confirmation. The tradition of the Holy Roman Church has been to honorably confirm all the teachings and decrees of all the holy men, particularly those of the four Doctors of the Church, and having confirmed them to resolutely defend them. Furthermore, the fathers – gathered in councils and prohibited, even by a grave penalty of excommunication, to change the differences in ecclesiastical traditions that had been instituted by the holy bishops – decreed that they all must completely adhere to the set traditions of his church and must not violate them in any way whatsoever without papal approval. Just as the Eastern Church kept its traditions and liturgy much different from the Western Church, just as in Gaul many differences are allowed, so are in Germany, in Pannonia, in Iberia and England, and so in many territories of other churches the ecclesiastical rites and traditions are upheld very differently without bulls, letters and confirmations of the Apostolic See. And just as the Roman Church exults in the institutes of St Gregory and other holy fathers, so does the Eastern Church exult in the institutes of her Greeks, and so does the Church of Milan exult in the institutes of St Ambrose which in mass and liturgy of Lent are much different from those of the Roman Church. And in the same manner in many churches across Croatia and Dalmatia the holy mother Roman Church honorably confirmed the rites and traditions instituted by St Jerome, and she never accepted*

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<sup>562</sup> App. 2, lett. 16: Mikula, Božjej volji i Stola apostolskoga milostiju biskup modruški i krbavski, Špurlita i Tolde i Amerie i pročaja guvernatur; pišem kapitulu i kleru crkve modruške. Spasenje va vsih spasiteljno! Smete se va mnje srce moje i tisnu se va mni utroba moja svrhu brige ljudi mojih. Najdoh gorka i žestoka suprotivnika, ki od tolika vrimenta ne presta briže i mantraje sriče i telesa vaša. Tolikoje govorim da je žestoka i divja ruka turačka po tolikih smrteh i brigah i raspeh, i po toliki prolitiji krvi nevoljnih ljudi, dar i rez'zališće, ku ste poznali. Da ča je veća žalost, da se najde veće žestok i krudel obiteljanin, njeprijal znanac, i domači moj, s nami kupno jide kruh, ki – ne vim ke oholosti ali smenosti duha nemilostivoga nadahnut – smel jest smesti misli i srca vaša, mir crkveni razlučuje i običaj crkveni nepravadnu smenostju ispravljaje, a neću reči smučuje, govoreći da oblast svetih služab našega jazika otačaskoga od crkve katoličasko ni potvrjena. Kako da bi on vsih naukov i naredab vere hristjanske ali svetih otac plni nauk držal, da ni vsih stvari naukov popisanih v Dunati i v Doktrinali.

*any protests from anyone concerning that what he, more important than any other holy father, inspired by the Holy Spirit did for the comfort of the common people in imitation of St Paul, whose works he had read.*<sup>563</sup>

Before proceeding with analysis, it would be useful to shed some light on the context first. The Glagolitic alphabet, or Glagolitsa, was invented by Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century for the proselytization of the Slavs. While gradually throughout the Orthodox Slavic world it was replaced by Cyrillic, in Croatia and Dalmatia Glagolitsa-mediated Slavic liturgy would be continued to be used, existing in parallel with the Latin one.<sup>564</sup> Finally, the thirteenth century, which led to the papal confirmation of this practice, also saw the emergence of a local hagiographical legend according to which Jerome, a western canonical saint, being from Dalmatia was turned into an ethnic ‘Slav’ or ‘Croat,’ and hence into the saint who invented the Glagolitic alphabet and translated parts of Bible into Slavic. It is by recourse to this legend that supporters of the Slavic liturgy held their ground against its detractors in the centuries to come. Therefore, in one aspect, Nicholas’ letter defended the use of Slavic liturgy by recourse to the traditional apologetic material, arguing that the traditions in ‘our father tongue’ (*našega jezika otačkoga*) were instituted by St Jerome.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>563</sup> App. 2, lett. 16: *Ni samo knjige gramatikov mogoše vsu mudrost ovoga svita imati. Mnoge stvari udružaje za se meštri ko se govore kožmografi, četiri meštri ki se govore aštrulozi, peto ko se govore filozofi, izlagujuć likare i zakonov učitelje, od kih ni jedan v svojej meštiji gramatiku dopusti imjeti mesta, nego samo v govorenji, a vele manje Svetoga pisma knjižnici, kih ako bi taki koli je Svetoga pisma i taki čtac ali bi je čtal, ali bi je ljubeznivo procinil, zaisto bi našal do ono ča je od svetih otac pohvaljeno, od toliko vikov nastojećim ljudem narejeno, ni jednih listov, ni jednih bul i ni jednoga novoga potvrjenja ne potribuje. A navadna je sveta Rimaska crikav vse nauke i naredbe vsih svetih, navlastito presvitlih četirih doktorov svojih, častno prijeti, i prijamaši stanovito braniti. A po tom otci – budući skupljeni v koncili – razlike običaje crikvene, ke su naredili sveti biskupi, i njih prominuti ne smiše, pače pod veliku penu prokletstva narediše da vsaki svoje crkve navadne običaje ima savršeno obdržati i da ih nima prez dopušćenja papina nikakože prestupiti. Kakono je crikva Vstoka svoje običaje i svoje služenje udružala je mnogo različno ot crikve Zapadne, i kakono v Galiciji mnogo osebjuna jesu dopušćena, takoje Ermaniji ča se govore Nimci, i Panoniji, Iberiji i Angliji, tolikoje u mnogih inih vladanjih nika crikve vlašće službe i običaje crikvene vele različno držu preza vsakih bul i pisam i potvrjenja Stola apostolskoga, i kakono Rimaska crikav raduje se o narejenji svetoga Grgura i inih otac svojih, takoje se raduje Istočna crikav o narejenji Grkov svojih, i tako se raduje Mediolanska crikav o narejenji svetoga Ambrozija v služnji mis i v službi korizmenoj, ča mnogo jest različno od crikve Rimске. I takoje mnogim crikvam po Hrvatih i Dalmaciji običaje i uredbe od svetoga Jeronima narejene sveta mati Rimaska crikva jest vele časno prijela, i po ni jedno vrime od nikogare ni v tom smetenija prijela, ča je on, od svetih dokturi poglavitiji, nadahnut Duhom svetim na utešenji nenaučenih ljudi razumno jest naredil, nasljeduje svetoga Pavla apostola, koga knjige biše čtal pokle.*

<sup>564</sup> For overviews of Glagolitic culture in medieval Croatia, Dalmatia and Istria, see the two contributions by Eduard Hercigonja, ‘Glagoljaštvo i glagolizam’ [Glagolitic and glagolism], in *Hrvatska i Europa: Kultura, znanost i umjetnost* [Croatia and Europe: Culture, science and arts], vol. 1, ed. Ivan Supičić, 369–398 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2007); and ‘Glagoljaštvo u razvijenoj srednjovjekovlju’ [Glagolitic in the late Middle Ages], in *Hrvatska i Europa: Kultura, znanost i umjetnost* [Croatia and Europe: Culture, science and arts], vol. 2, ed. Eduard Hercigonja, 169–225 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2000).

<sup>565</sup> The reference to the ‘father tongue’ seems to be a pun to the fact that Jerome was not only a ‘Croat,’ but also the father of Church.

Nicholas' support of the Glagolitic and Slavic liturgy is hardly surprising. The bishoprics of Krk, Senj and Modruš, in which he held successive ecclesiastical appointments, were in fact the strongest centers of Glagolitic culture, which was greatly supported by the Frankopan counts. John Frankopan for instance, in whose dominion Nicholas started his ecclesiastical career, owned the so-called Glagolita Clozianus, a tenth-century manuscript (see App. 9, pl. 12), the visible old age of which – it was copied in angular Glagolitic script unlike the contemporary 14th- and 15th-century in round Glagolitic – was the reason it was thought to have been so old that it was copied by St Jerome himself. For this reason the count seems to have venerated it as a relic and had its boards decorated in gold and silver.<sup>566</sup> Moreover, the very monastery of St Lucia in Baška where Nicholas served as an abbot boasted what is now called the Baška tablet, one of the oldest written monuments in Croatia, made in 1100 and recording the donation of the Croatian king Demetrius Zvonimir.<sup>567</sup> While the Jerome legend legitimized the use of Glagolitsa and Slavic liturgy actively supported by the Frankopans, the fourteenth century witnessed the emergence of the legend of 'good king Zvonimir' – according to the *Croatian Chronicle*, the last in line of the Gothic-Croatian kings before the Hungarian rule –, most notably used as the historiographical basis for the claims of the Šubići of Bribir, a Croatian noble family that under Paul I (*ca.* 1245–1312) effectively ruled Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia.<sup>568</sup> For more than a century this rich medieval legendary material circulated, imagined and re-imagined through historiographical works, inscriptions, manuscripts, documentary evidence, and after all oral traditions, and Glagolita Clozianus and the Baška tablet present us with two illustrative examples where the bishop of Modruš would have been exposed to it.

Yet, Nicholas' evocation of Jerome has to be considered not only as a standard apologetic strategy but within the framework of humanist patriotism as well. In the course of the fifteenth century Jerome not only found his place in the gallery of national heroes constructed by the historians of Illyria, but became established as its emblematic figure to such an extent

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<sup>566</sup> Vjekoslav Štefanić, 'Luka Rinaldis i Kločev Glagoljaš' [Lucas Rinaldis and the Glagolita Clozianus], *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 2 (1955): 129–153.

<sup>567</sup> For the Baška tablet, see Štefanić, 'Opatija sv. Lucije,' 4–5.

<sup>568</sup> For the Croatian nobles of Šubić of Bribir and their use of the image of king Zvonimir to promote their aspirations to Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, see Damir Karbić, 'Šubići i dobri kralj Zvonimir: Prilog proučavanju upotrebe legendi u politici hrvatskih velikaških obitelji' [The Šubići family and 'the good king Zvonimir': A contribution to research on the use of legends in the policy of Croatian aristocratic families], *Krčki zbornik* 42 (2000): 271–280.

that his national identity even became subject to a bitter polemic between Italian and Dalmatian humanists. Though already Šižgorić lamented that ‘the Italians in particular are trying to take away Jerome from the Illyrians,’<sup>569</sup> the most aggressive stance was taken by Marko Marulić, who composed a short polemical treatise, *Against Those Who Claim that St Jerome Was an Italian (In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt)*, directed at Flavio Biondo who had previously included Jerome in his own catalogue of Italian national heroes.<sup>570</sup> Given Jerome’s status, it is then no wonder then that he seems to have been briefly used as a tool of political propaganda by the Republic of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth century, in the heyday of its territorial expansion, in order to promote its aspirations to the whole of Dalmatia.<sup>571</sup> Finally, as mentioned in the *Part I*, Jerome was the patron saint to the Illyrian hospice in Rome, and, though outside the time frame discussed here, a paradigmatic example of his emblematic role is a copperplate made by Natale Bonifazio of Šibenik (1537–1592) for hospice’s institutional successor, the Illyrian Congregation in Rome, which portrays Jerome as standing between the Dalmatian, Croatian, Slavonian and Bosnian coats of arms (see App. 9, pl. 13). In the same manner as this copperplate, Nicholas’ letter evokes Jerome as a symbol of unity of the disunited *patria*, territorially defined by ‘Croatia and Dalmatia’ (*po Hrvatih i Dalmaciji*), and thus transcending political entities – Croatia recognizing the overlordship of the Hungarian king, Dalmatia largely that of the Venetian republic.

Finally, what also makes *Letter to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy* different from the standard apologetic strategy are the references to the ecclesiastical traditions of the French, Germans, Hungarians, Spanish, English, and Greeks. Evoked here is the European framework of the Renaissance papacy – Europe as representing a myriad of distinct *nationes*, each with its own separate traditions but united into a common *Res publica Christiana* – within which Nicholas firmly places his *patria* which is now endangered by the discord among ‘our’ ranks and the ‘savage hand of the Turk’ (*divja ruka turačka*). One can consider here also the concluding chapters of Nicholas’ *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* from 1480, where in

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<sup>569</sup> Šižgorić, *O smještaju Ilirije*, 24: *quem (sc. Jerome) Itali praesertim Illyriis auferre conantur*.

<sup>570</sup> For the edition of Marulić’s life of St Jerome and the polemical treatise on his origins, see Marulić, *Latinska manja djela*, vol. 2, 11–121.

<sup>571</sup> Nella Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti: Ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke Republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [The theater of power: State ceremony and feasts of the Dubrovnik Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century] (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2009), 257–259.

presenting the crusades launched by the Renaissance popes the bishop of Modruš would lament:

*For more than forty years the Asian war against the Turks and Saracens has been going on under the leadership of the popes. (...) There were no people, no nation across Europe that did not willingly provide soldiers and money for this cause. Spanish, English, Gauls, Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Pannonians, Illyrians, in spite of losing so many of their kings, leaders, and a few emperors, still they never renounced this expedition, no matter how many times the bishops of the Apostolic See willed to lead it. It is shameful to say, but it said that the Italians, and among these only a few, barely twice or at most three times took arms in a great number.<sup>572</sup>*

Notwithstanding the obvious exaggeration of the participation of the rest of the Europe in the wars against the Ottomans that, just as the praise of Corvinus discussed in the *Prologue*, should be read as an inverted mirror to the Italians, it is precisely the same European-Christian framework that governs the construction of the final chapters of *Defensio*. Therefore, by evoking Jerome as a symbol of national unity and Ciceronian rhetoric of the common good, and by drawing a counter-position between ‘us’ and the rest of Europe and more importantly the ‘Turk,’ the *Letter to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy*, much like *Defense of Ecclesiastical Liberty*, represents a clear case of humanist patriotism, even if under a Glagolitic guise. In both works, just as in that of his contemporaries, the Illyrian *natio*, in spite of its fragmented state, emerges as the constituent and most exposed part of the *Res publica Christiana* under the attack of the Scythian Turk.

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<sup>572</sup> App. 5, cap. 17: *Nulla fuit gens, nulla per Europam natio quae et milites et sumptus ad id libenter non praestiterit. Hispani, Anglici, Galli, Germani, Poloni, Boemi, Pannonnes, Illyrici tot suis regibus ducibusque ac non nullis imperatoribus amissis nunquam tamen hanc expeditionem detractarunt quotiens illam Sedis Apostolicae antistitibus libuit instaurare. Soli Itali (quod dicere dispudet) et hi quidam perpauca bis aut ad summum ter tanto in numero arma sumpsisse memorantur.*

## ON THE WARS OF THE GOTHIS

The developing Italian patriotism, the papal vision of the European *Res publica Christiana*, Dalmatian Illyrism, and finally Nicholas' own role within the Illyrian community of Rome were the shaping factors in how the bishop of Modruš portrayed his *patria* in the *Letter to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy* and *Defensio ecclesiasticae liberatis*. It is precisely these works that in turn present us with the necessary framework within which one needs to consider Nicholas' history of the Gothic wars, a work that exhibits his patriotism as well, but one that was directed at a different audience, written for different purposes, and consequently much more subtle and allusive in presentation. Following the analytical model proposed by Zrinka Blažević, the analysis of *De bellis Gothorum* will proceed topically, that is to say it will analyze the discursive construction of the Gothic nation according to the *topoi* and their function. In her work Blažević identified the following *topoi* as formative elements of the Illyrian nation:<sup>573</sup>

- |               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1) origins,   | 5) geography,    |
| 2) territory, | 6) institutions, |
| 3) language,  | 7) heroes,       |
| 4) character, | 8) saints.       |

The recourse to, and elaborations of, each of these *topoi* varied from work to work depending on their political utilization. Nicholas' matrix – as it is constructed in the preserved part of the text at least – includes all of the listed ones save for the *topos* of national geography, and that of the national saints, which can be considered as a subcategory to the *topos* of the national heroes. The following analysis therefore considers Nicholas' *inventio*, the introduction and concrete use of these *topoi*. However what it hopes to do in addition is to consider the other

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<sup>573</sup> For the overview of the Illyrian *topoi* and their political utilization, see Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 88–113, and Blažević, 'Indetermini-nation.'



levels to their utilization, that is to say their arrangement, the *dispositio*, as well as the style and rhetorical techniques, the *elocutio*, by which they were presented, in order to shed light on the unique construction of this work.

### ***Refashioning the Barbarian: Origins, Character, and Heroes of the Goths***

The first set of topoi that will be treated are those that are inherently connected to the cultural evaluation of the Gothic nation: the topoi of national origins, character, and heroes. Unlike in the works of Bruni and Biondo, who treated the wars within the framework of Italian history, in *De bellis Gothorum*, a work focused on the Goths themselves, their origins figure prominently. Taking as his model Sallust's presentation of Numidian history prior to the division of the kingdom and the ensuing description of African geography,<sup>574</sup> Nicholas used the first ten paragraphs of Book 1 to discuss the Gothic origins and prehistory framing them with a lengthy description of the Danube (paragraphs 11–15) as the border between Europe and Scythia.<sup>575</sup> As was the case with Sallust's work, these paragraphs serve as a thematic excursus introducing the main part of the narrative dedicated to the Gothic history after they crossed the Danube, settled within the borders of the Roman Empire and accepted Christianity.

It was shown that the Italian humanists presented the Goths as a people native to the Scythian soil enclosed by Alexander the Great behind the Hyperborean mountains by means of iron gates, people who were not only analogous to the other Scythian barbarians such as the Huns, Lombards or the Turks but connected to them. Hence it is not surprising that immediately after stating the professed intention of the work – to describe the wars that the Goths waged in Italy – Nicholas opens with the reference to the standardized account:

*We have learned that the Goths were people of Scythia, called the Getae by the ancients, and that they inhabited the shores of Thanais (sc. river Don) and the Meothian swamp (sc. Sea of Azov), or that, as Strabo would have it, they*

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<sup>574</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, cap. 5–19.

<sup>575</sup> DBG, 1.11: *Est autem Danubius qui et Hister lingua Bessorum dicitur teste Lucano post Nilum fluuorum omnium maximus, Scythiam Europae ut scriptorum uetusti uolunt a meridie determinans.*

*occupied the plains that expand far and wide between Ister (sc. Danube) and Boristenes (sc. Dnieper).*<sup>576</sup>

By referencing classical authorities such as Strabo and Ovid as well as Jordanes and Ablabius, the two ‘who recorded the deeds of the Goths,’ Nicholas used the beginning of his work to establish the identity equation Goths=Getae=Daci/Davi, which led him to combine the two previously held views and place the Gothic territory to Pontic Scythia or more precisely to the shores expanding from the Danube to the Sea of Azov.<sup>577</sup>

However, by opening this account with ‘We have learned’ (*Accepimus*) Nicholas was far from categorical about the standardized version of the Gothic origins, and indeed soon after he provided a correction to it: ‘Still, those who track the origins of this people even further maintain that they are not indigenous to Scythia but that they migrated to this region from the island of Scandza.’<sup>578</sup> The bishop continued by providing the description of Scandza, i.e. Scandinavia, based on Ptolemy’s *Geography* transmitted through Jordanes, the importance of which becomes even more clear when one takes into consideration that this is one of the few episodes significantly elaborated in the second redaction of the work.<sup>579</sup> Nowhere did the bishop of Modruš elaborate on the geography of Scythia and the Scythian character in relation to the Goths by referencing, for instance, Pompeius Trogus as Flavio Biondo had done when discussing Gothic origins.<sup>580</sup> The point was simple. The Gothic origins were not Scythian, and so there was no need to provide context by describing Scythia. Biondo, on the other hand, used Jordanes’ work but chose to pass over his account of Scandza origins altogether and present the Goths as indigenous to Scythia. This perfectly fitted the Italian master narrative of the Goths as the first of the Scythian hordes of genealogically interconnected barbarians that brought destruction upon Europe and Italy time and again and that now threatened it in the form of the Turks. Rather than being a case of mere antiquarian pedantry Nicholas’ retracing

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<sup>576</sup> DBG, 1.1: *Gentem Gothorum accepimus Scythiae fuisse populos, Getas ab maioribus appellatos ripas Thanais Meothidisque paludis accolentes, siue ut Straboni placet campos qui inter Histrum Boristenemque expanduntur late obtinentes.*

<sup>577</sup> DBG 1.1.

<sup>578</sup> DBG, 1.4: *Porro qui altius nationis huius originem repetunt, ferunt eos non indigenas esse Scythiae uerum e Scandiza insula ad eas oras commigrasse.*

<sup>579</sup> DBG, 1.4, app. crit.; and Iordanes, ‘De origine actibusque Getarum,’ in *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, 53–138 (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1882), cap. 3.

<sup>580</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 3r.

of the Gothic origins to Scandza therefore constituted an important ideological twist by which he dissociated the Goths from such heritage.

Yet the introductory excursus of *De bellis Gothorum* represents more than an account of Gothic origins and prehistory, in the entire context of which their dissociation from the Scythians becomes even more clear. For taking cue from geographical descriptions of the region around the lower Danube Nicholas introduced frequent *prolepseis*, flash-forwards external to the primary time span of the narrative, which were supposed to present the contemporary political situations in the region. Though most of these represent brief *olim-nunc* juxtapositions, Nicholas did enter into lengthier digressions involving other nations as well: the Turks, the Huns/Hungarians, and the Wallachians. The most notable presence is that of the Turks, ‘the most vile enemy of the Christians,’ whose 1462 campaign against the Wallachian voivode Vlad Țepeș Dracula is presented in detail.<sup>581</sup> Unlike in the works of Bruni and Biondo or Pius’s *Epitome*, Nicholas makes no connection between them and the Goths, whether explicit or implicit. Rather there is a clear counter-position. While the excursus ends by introducing the Goths as baptized Christians, the Turks are presented as the scourge of Christian world. Another nation is that of ‘the Huns, whom today we call Hungarians,’ which Nicholas presents as ‘the most savage and most vile of all the barbarian nations that Europe has ever seen,’ a nation which ‘subjugated the Ostrogoths into the state of miserable servitude’ prompting the Visigoths to cross Danube.<sup>582</sup> As was the case with the Turks, the Huns/Hungarians are also clearly dissociated from the Goths. Unlike the Goths they on the other hand *did* come from behind the mythical Hyperborean (in Nicholas’ account, Riphean) mountains where ‘it is said they’ (*dicuntur*) have been shut by means of iron gates by Alexander the Great. But while such an interpretation may be considered as falling in line with the standardized Italian account of the Huns, in Nicholas’ work it was used to present a strong counter-position between them and the Goths who came from Scandza. And in order to highlight this distinction further, Nicholas turned back to Jordanes once again and recalled the myth that identified the Huns as a product of copulation between demons and witches that had

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<sup>581</sup> DBG, 1.14.

<sup>582</sup> DBG, 1.8: *Hunorum gens, et ipsa Scythica eo Gothis efferatior quo gelidioribus atque magis horridis enutrita rupibus, repente prorumpens e mediis Ripheis montibus, ubi claustra Alexandri feras gentes cohobere dicuntur, Ostrogothos sibi finitimos miserandam redegit in seruitutem.* DBG, 1.9: *Siquidem inter omnes barbaras nationes quas umquam Europa uidit nulla aut crudelior moribus aut forma foedior fuisse memoratur, praecipue in ipso aduentus eorum exordio.*

been cast out from the Gothic people. This was not a mere retelling of the myth introduced by a *caveat*, for the bishop of Modruš was adamant to corroborate such claims. In the second redaction of the work he introduced not only a reference to theologians giving credence to Jordanes' account but also his own testimony of his times in the Frankopan dominions in Senj where he claims to have witnessed a case of a revenant impregnating his widow who in turn gave birth to a child that looked just as the Huns and other Scythians. While the Goths were a nation purified of evil, the Huns/Hungarians were inherently vile.<sup>583</sup>

Yet, there is one more nation that features prominently in the introductory excursus, which was also not introduced haphazardly. For after determining that the Goths occupied the lands of Scythia between Danube and Boristenes (Dnieper), Nicholas introduced the Wallachians into his narrative, who, he continued, now inhabit these lands.<sup>584</sup> In this passage he presented them in an entirely negative fashion, as people given to thievery, perfidious in nature, whose allegiance constantly switched between the Hungarian king and the Ottoman sultan. He dedicated even more space to their ruler Draculea (*Draculus*), engaging in a long and detailed description of the tortures he inflicted upon his political opponents and fashioning in this way an image of a savage of the utmost cruelty.<sup>585</sup> Moreover, the description of Draculea's tortures by far surpasses any description of the Gothic carnages to which the work was professedly dedicated. The key to understanding the rhetorical function of these passages is in the connection that Nicholas draws here, identifying this nation as descending from 'former Roman either exiles or soldiers, named from their leader Flaccus now called *Vlacchi* (sc. Wallachians), by a change of letter.'<sup>586</sup> By presenting Wallachians as untrustworthy savages, barbarians in all but name, and stressing the *Vlacchus–Romanus* connection, Nicholas indirectly but effectively challenged *Romanitas* as the embodiment of cultural greatness and hence the Italian claims to national supremacy.

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<sup>583</sup> DBG, 1.9. See n. 130 for the translation of a part of the passage.

<sup>584</sup> DBG, 1.2.

<sup>585</sup> DBG, 1.3.

<sup>586</sup> DBG, 1.2: *Inferiora uero quaecumque Hister Boristenesque intercipit usque ad Gothiae ripas Vlacchi obtinent, Romani quondam uel exules uel milites a duce Flacco quondam cognominati nunc immutatione litterae Vlacchi appellati quo uocabulo cunctae illae circumuicinae nationes Italos hodierna nominant die.*

Inherently connected to the topos of national origins is the topos of national character, since it is their Scythian origins that ultimately explained for their ‘warlike,’ ‘savage,’ ‘intemperate,’ in sum ‘barbarian’ character, which in turn prompts them to conquests and wars against the Roman Empire. As was the case with the topos of origins, Nicholas’ *On the Wars of the Goths* treated this topic differently than had his predecessors. To be sure, the bishop never denied that the Goths are warlike. In discussing their origins and earlier history, he devoted a passage to their pre-Christian rituals and attacked their credulity for believing that they drew their ancestry from god Mars.<sup>587</sup> Yet this was no different to Leonardo Bruni’s rejection of the Roman claims of origins from god Mars.<sup>588</sup> Instead, Nicholas treated their character differently when discussing the causes to the Gothic invasions.

Let us first turn to the account of the Visigothic rebellion, the first episode of the main part of the narrative ensuing after the introductory excursus on the Gothic origins and the Danube. Having crossed the Danube and having been settled in Moesia (in Nicholas’ work erroneously styled as Mysia) by emperor Valens to serve as a *propugnaculum* against the Huns, the Visigoths soon rebel and pillage the neighboring provinces, with the events culminating in the battle of Adrianople where the emperor himself dies. This episode was briefly treated by Bruni (in his *History of the Florentine People*) and Biondo, who both relied on their sources, Orosius and Jordanes, in identifying the causes of the rebellion in the corruption of the Roman generals and the general scarcity of goods (*rerum inopia*).<sup>589</sup> They both, however, added a third cause stressing the savage nature of the Gothic princes (*ingenio feroces / feroci ingenio uiri*), whom they characterized as bellicose men that hated idleness (*virii bellaces otioque*

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<sup>587</sup> DBG, 1.5.

<sup>588</sup> Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 12–13: *Ex eadem aemulatione templum Martis est, in quem videlicet deum Romani genus, fabulosa licet credulitate, referebant. / The temple of Mars was built in the same spirit of emulation, for it was to this god that the Romans, superstitiously, traced their ancestry.*

<sup>589</sup> Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 56–57: *Sed multitudinem ingentem et advenam confestim rerum inopia subsecuta intolerabiter premere coepit, quam avaritia Maximi, quaestum in commerciis procurantis, durius acerbabat / But the great influx of foreigners soon produced an intolerable shortage of goods, and the avarice of Maximus, who was making a profit on commercial transactions, aggravated the shortage;* Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 58–59: *Reguli erant Gothorum Phritigernus et Alatheus, virii bellaces otioque infensi. Hos cum suo ingenio feroces, tum popularium querelis incensos, novarum rerum stimulabat cupiditas / Their princes, Phritigern and Alatheus, were warriors who hated idleness; they were fierce by nature and had in addition become incensed over the grievances of their people;* Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 3v: *Perfecit quoque imperator Lupicinum ac maximum romanos duces: qui curarent necessaria aduenis importari. Subsecuta uero est, multitudinem rerum inopia. Cui ducum romanorum auaritia: quaestum acerbissime in comitatibus procurantium: addidit fomentum. (...) Quibus stimulati suam fortunam miserantium uocibus reguli bellaces et feroci ingenio uiri romanos inuaserunt et lupicinum ac maximum paruo: quod auarissimi haberent: praesidio interfecerunt.*

*infensi / reguli bellaces*). Though in like manner Nicholas condemned the Gothic pillages that ensued, his approach to the episode that caused their rebellion was rather different:

*Since Lupicinus and Maximus – whom the emperor had put in charge of procuring the wheat and other necessities for the settlers – greedily administered things in their quest for profit, they spent the entire salary owed to the Goths. Their greed did not find any measure so after they exhausted all of this they even started taking the personal goods of the Goths, and deprived them of their slaves. (...) Such an inexplicable desire to own things seized control of their blind hearts and did not desist in driving their greedy hands to amass wealth, until it, as usually happens in such cases, scattered that which they eagerly stashed. Still the poor parents, concerned for the salvation of their children, did not hesitate to look after their safety to their own detriment, wishing more to lose their freedom than their lives. And since Fridegerin, Alatheus and Safrac, the Gothic princes who ruled over the entire nation at the time, could not watch such a horrid crime calmly, they, along with a few others, started to organize secret meetings in order to liberate themselves from such greedy and heinous servitude to the Romans. They reasoned that things had gone so far that it would be better to die of sword in war than in this shameful peace of starvation brought about by their negligence and Roman greed.<sup>590</sup>*

Nicholas continued:

*When Lupicinus realized this he decided to ambush and kill Fridegerin (who, he had learned, was the head of the emerging conspiracy) beforehand. So having called him for dinner, he ordered that once the sign had been given he (sc. Fridegerin) was cut to pieces along with all of his retinue, whom he had seated in the inner part of the house. Lupicinus' accomplices however, although they were supposed to start first with the prince, began by killing his slaves. When Fridigerin heard their dying voices, he instantly took his sword and brought them*

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<sup>590</sup> DBG, 1.16: *Dum enim Lupicinus et Maximus, quos imperator hospitibus annonam aliaque necessaria procurare praefecerat, quaestui dediti rem auarius administrant, uniuersam Gothis pecuniam extorserunt, qua exhausta cuncta illos supellectili spoliant; nec inueniente modum auaritia omnia illis ademerunt mancipia. Iamque deficientibus omnibus non est ueritus auarus mercator liberos carissima pignora a complexu parentum pretium uictus exigere, singulumque mancipium uno pane aut decem libris carnum mercari, atque feruescente auara cupidine immundorum animalium cadauera pro suillis bouinisque carnibus uenumdare. Inexplebilis habendi ardor caeca corda occupauerant et ad congerendum auidas manus cogere non desinebat, quoadusque ut assolet cum auiditate congesta graui cum maerore non dissipasset. Et tamen parentes miseri pro liberorum salute solliciti non dubitabant ingenti dolore suo incolumitati eorum consulere, malentes ingenuitatem perire quam uitam. Cumque Fridegerinus, Alatheus et Safrac, Gothorum reguli qui per ea tempora totius nationis curam gerebant, tam detestandam facinus aequis oculis diutius spectare nequirent, coeperunt clam cum quibusdam congruere ut se tam auara tamque nephanda Romanorum seruitute in libertatem uendicarent; eo iam rerum esse uentum ut praestabilius sit ferro in bello occumbere quam in hac flagitiosissima pace per nostram socordiam et Romanorum auaritiam fame perire, spem tum rei bene gerendae optimam se offerre cum abest longius imperator cum graui Parthorum occupatus bello diutius detinetur, cum haec contemnenda praesidia facile sunt pellenda, cum omnes hae regiones militibus uacuae nullo negotio nostrae poterimus subicere dicioni, quarum aut obtinebimus imperium aut corrasas opes alio asportabimus, meliorem fortunam quocumque ibimus proculdubio inuenturi.*

*the needed help. After he had freed many of them, he boldly withdrew back to his Goths and passionately urged them – who were already for long burning with hatred for Romans – to take up arms.*<sup>591</sup>

Nicholas not only contributed a significantly larger space to the episode, but more importantly made no mention of any scarcity of the materials nor Gothic savage nature. Here it was solely the greed of the Roman generals that represented the cause of the Gothic rebellion. In addition, he again turned to Jordanes for another element to the episode that had been omitted by Bruni and Biondo, the account of the perfidious play by the Roman Lupicinus, who conspired to ambush and kill Fridegerin. The Gothic prince, he added here, was saved on divine intervention, which becomes even more accentuated once set against the ensuing episode, the battle of Adrianople, where the emperor suffers divine retribution for imbuing the miserable Goths who only ‘searched for the water of faith’ with his Arian beliefs.<sup>592</sup> Though Nicholas condemned the ensuing Gothic carnage, the strong appeal to pathos in presenting the Roman avarice and the Gothic plight effectively turned this episode into its exculpation. The Goths may be warlike, but they did not cross the Danube or rebel for this reason.

Omitting references to Gothic proneness to war while describing the causes of the invasions continues, while at the same time another aspect of their *ethos* becomes more accentuated. Following the battle of Adrianople the Goths struck an alliance with the Romans once again, but again they were eventually cheated out of the arranged provisions. This time, however, the role of the villain is played by the corrupt Roman general Stilicho, whose ultimate plan is to destroy the Goths and place his son in lieu of the reigning emperor Honorius.<sup>593</sup> The battle of Pollentia figures here as the most important episode, as it represents the culmination of Stilicho’s eventually foiled double play that makes the Goths turn back to

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<sup>591</sup> DBG, 1.16: *Haec sentiens Lupicinus statuit Fridegerinum quem auctorem coeptae didicerat conspiracy per insidias ferro praeoccupare. Itaque uocatum ad cenam iubet dato signo obtruncare pariter et ipsius familiares omnes, quos in penitiorae aedium parte discumbere fecerat. Sed ministri (coelesti ut opinor aliquo numine tantum nefas aduertente) cum prius a regulo incohare debuissent, famulos trucidare coeperunt, quorum Fridegerinus moribundas hauriens uoces mox nudato gladio opportunam laborantibus tulit opem, quorum complurimis liberatis ad suos se uiriliter corripuit, et non nullorum morte uulneribusque facta flagitii fide Gothos iamdudum odio Romanorum ardentis ad capienda arma uehementius instigat.*

<sup>592</sup> DBG, 1.17: *Ipse imperator ictus sagitta cum fugiens dolore uulneris repente equo laberetur in humilem cuiusdam uillulae casam semianimis relatus est, cum qua a saeuientibus inimicis iniecto igne uiuus concrematus, ignaris tamen hostibus in tam uilem casulam imperatorem delitescere. Sed diuino nimirum iudicio factum est ut ab illis igne exureretur quos aquam fidei petentes in ardentissimae perfidiae flammis iniecerat, simulque ut impietatis suae et immensae atrocitatis qua paulo ante in Catholicos desauerat episcopos debita exsolueret poenas.*

<sup>593</sup> DBG, 1.18–1.19; 1.22–1.26.

Italy and sack Rome. In this episode, being dissatisfied with the alliance that the Goths had once again struck with the emperor Honorius by which they were allowed to settle in Gaul and serve as *propugnaculum* against other barbarians, Stilicho decided to act contrary to the emperor's wishes, attack them by surprise and destroy them with one single stroke. Again Nicholas' approach to the episode was different than that of the Italian humanists:

*Stilicho learned that the Goths were, on account of their confidence in peace and undisturbed journey, caring little for military discipline and feeling too secure had disassembled the fortifications of their camp. Happy that the opportunity he wished for was offered to him, he decided to perpetrate the crime on the holiest day of the Resurrection, believing that it will be possible to defeat the Goths more easily while they are celebrating and are engaged in the sacred rites. Rushing into crime his mind was not ashamed to take advantage of all the sacred ceremonies.*<sup>594</sup>

Stilicho then put his plans into motions:

*He commanded for his general Saul to be summoned, a Hebrew by nation and perfidious nature. To him he revealed his plans and ordered him to leave Forlimpopoli at midnight with light troops, attack hard the Goths at the crack of dawn and in this way completely annihilate them. The Hebrew took the orders with joy and was, it is told, more than eager for the slaughter of the Christians whom he hated zealously, especially on the day most detestable to his people. It was as if he intended not to compete for glory with the adversaries but to exact punishment from the most bitter enemies, wishing more to obliterate than to defeat them. And so he killed, slaughtered, butchered all those who crossed his path unsuspecting and unready. A great confusion arose, panic everywhere, everywhere cries for help and a miserable scene. Some were being killed on the paths, the others, fleeing for their lodgings, were murdered at the very entrances, the third were cut by the enemy's sword as they were exiting their shelters, while many were taken by surprise in the tents, and thus not even awake yet forced to enter the final rest. A number of them were returning from the church restored by the sacramental bread, and were more in a blessed than desirable way destined for*

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<sup>594</sup> DBG, 1.27: *Vbi ergo crebrissimis exploratoribus Gothos didicit, cum fiducia pacis tum profectionis sollicitudine, militarem negligere disciplinam et nimia securitate castrorum corrupisse munitiones optatam se commoditatem nactum laetatus decreuit sacratissimo die Paschae facinus peragere ratus feria et religionis occupatos mysteriis facilius opprimi posse, usque adeo properans in flagitium animus sanctissimis quibusque caerimoniis abuti non erubescit.*



death. They lamented how the saddest day dawned upon them, which upon other Christians usually dawns as the most joyous.<sup>595</sup>

Nicholas continued:

*It is incredible to say that though they have suffered so many wounds, though they went through so many deaths, still out of reverence for that day the Goths pleaded with the enemies to let them in peace now that they were satisfied with the death of so many. (...) But when they saw that the enemies were raging more and more, that they were abusing the patience of the innocent, while through their own modesty they nurtured the savage audacity, they called upon God and the saints, zealously took up arms and turned to kill the enemy.<sup>596</sup>*

The attack of Stilicho's troops, Nicholas made sure to emphasize, was led by general Saul, 'Hebrew by nation and perfidious nature,' and was moreover carried out on Easter morning. To be sure, although both Biondo and Bruni (in his *History of the Florentine People*) had, again following Orosius and Jordanes, noted the perfidy of Stilicho and his Hebrew general Saul in attacking the Goths on Easter Sunday, there was no affection for the Gothic plight. As Bruni reasoned it was after all 'our nation' that suffered a blow at Pollentia,<sup>597</sup> while for Biondo Stilicho's decision to carry out the attack on Easter Sunday was based on the fact that the Goths would not only be engaged in ceremonies but that they would also be 'passed out from all the wine and feasting,'<sup>598</sup> as one would have expected from intemperate barbarians. Nicholas, on the other hand, constructed his account by switching the identity markers and

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<sup>595</sup> DBG, 1.27: *Accersiri iubet Saulem quendam ductorem et genere et perfidia Hebraeum, huic apertis consiliis mandat ut media nocte Forum Pompilii (adhuc enim ab ea ciuitate non discesserat) egressus cum expeditis copiis summo diluculo Gothos, qui apud Pollentiam haud amplius quattuor milibus passuum aberant, inuaderet et usque ad internitionem deleret. Capessit iussa lubens Hebraeus et in Christianorum caedem quorum flagrantissimo ardebat odio praecipue illa suo generi admodum execranda die cupidissimus fertur, non tamquam cum hostibus de gloria certaturus sed tamquam de saeuissimis inimicis supplicium sumpturus, delere potius cupiens quam uincere. Nactus opinatos imparatosque obuios quoscumque ferit, obruncat, trucidat. Fit ingens trepidatio, tumultus ubique, ubique clamor et miseranda rerum facies. Hi cadebant per uias, illi ad domicilia fugientes in ipsis ianuis conficiebantur, alios tabernaculi ingredientibus hostilis excipiebat gladius, multi in tentoriis opprimebantur et non dum somno discusso aeternum obdormire cogebantur. Complures e fano redeuntes refecti coelesti alimento felicius quam optabilius morti destinebantur. Lamentabantur tristissimam sibi illuxisse diem quae reliquis Christianis laetissima illucescere consueuisset.*

<sup>596</sup> DBG, 1.27: *Incredibile dictu! Gothi tot acceptis uulneribus, tot funera passi tamen tanti diei reuerentia pluribus hostes orant incolumes abeant tantorum clade saturati, illis nihilominus propositum urgentibus Gothi adhuc grassantes perpeti pergunt uim potius repellere quam referre studentes. Ast ubi eos magis magisque desaeuire conspiciunt innoxiorum abuti patientia et per modestiam suam beluinam nutrire audaciam, Deum sanctosque contestati arma ardentibus stringunt animis ac in caedem hostium uertuntur.*

<sup>597</sup> Bruni, *History*, vol. 1, 64–65: *Hinc tumentes ira victoriaque elati, iustam paene rabiem contra nostros exercent. / And from this place, swollen with wrath and elated with victory, they (sc. the Goths) turned their righteous fury on our nation.*

<sup>598</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 5r: *sacrum delegit pasche diem in quo partim religione ociosos partim epulis et uino obrutos ad unum omnes confodi posse confideret.*

opposing not the ethnical terms, *Romani* and *Gothi*, but religious ones, *Hebraeus* and *Christiani*. He thus emphasized that aspect of the Gothic *ethos* with which the Italian audience could identify and turned the *ethos* of the attacking force into one alien to it, effectively switching the object of sympathies of the audience. Again, as was the case of the rebellion in Moesia, the Gothic army emerges not as a barbarian horde but as a Christian army. There, their prince was saved on divine intervention, while here they took up arms only after numerous unsuccessful appeals to the piety of their attackers, and then defeated them with the help of God and the saints. And again, Sallustian high style was employed in order to arouse the reader's *pathos*, which was here further accentuated by a detailed description of the temporal setting, Easter Sunday.

Yet the most striking emphasis on the Gothic *pietas* and downplaying of their warlike character can be seen in Nicholas' account of the sack of Rome, one of the episodes elaborated in the second redaction of the work. The Gothic siege was hard, yet as Nicholas emphasized, once they broke through the Roman defenses, on the order of their king Alaric,

*they left completely unharmed each person that ran to the basilicas of the Holy Apostles, and such honor was shown to the holies that the golden and silver vessels consecrated through the service of St Peter (...) which had been found by some soldier were by the order of the king returned to the treasury of the church with the utmost reverence of all.*<sup>599</sup>

Initially, Nicholas ended here with his account of the sack of Rome. However, upon revision he turned back to Orosius and expanded it:

*For as the greed for loot drives barbarians not to spare even the most sacred things, this certain soldier entered the convent in which the nuns dedicated to Christ used to live. He came upon one of them, venerable in both age and appearance, seized her and threatening torture forced her to reveal whether she had any gold stashed with her. Overcome by her womanly fear she showed him a great amount of hidden gold and silver but said: 'Consider by which audacity you violently touch the vessels from the sacristy of Peter prince of the apostles which were entrusted to me. I dedicated to the sacred service would never dare to give them over to you.' The Goth, admiring the mass of the vessels and their number – no doubt these were taken from that ancient Roman wealth and turned into works*

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<sup>599</sup> DBG, 1.30: *Omnes uero qui ad basilicas apostolorum confugerant prorsus sine iniuria permisi sunt. Tantusque honos habitus est sanctis ut uasa aurea atque argentea diui Petri ministerio sacra ingenti pondere magnitudineque eximia arte fabricata apud quendam reperta militem iussu regis summa cum omnium admiratione in thesauros ecclesiae relata sunt.*

*of piety by the skillful art of the Christian masters – struck by fear at sound of the apostle’s name instantly reported the matter to Alaric asking him what to do about it. The king immediately ordered that nothing should be touched and that the same nun should return everything back to the sacristy with the utmost reverence, saying: ‘I lead war against the Romans not against the Apostles.’ Feeling secure by the king’s response the agitated nun called on her fellows, and placing the vessels on their heads they all carried them back to the Basilica of the Apostle in a solemn procession, singing holy songs along the way. On the sound of their voices numerous Christians now flocked from their hiding places whom the barbarians allowed to freely follow the nuns laden with the sacred gold. It is incredible to say that the crowd of civilians was not only left unharmed while they carried so many of so remarkable treasures through the middle of plundering soldiers but that they were guarded by the very same. When many of the pagans saw this they did not hesitate to mingle themselves with the Christian crowd, shamelessly professing that religion whose very name they had hated. But it happened through divine plan I believe that they found salvation solely thanks to the very religion because of which they complained to have lost the empire, and that they realized that the divine will was not infuriated with the Christian name but with their own crimes because of which they deserved to suffer so much.<sup>600</sup>*

Whereas Biondo, as was shown, put stress on the barbarian greed and elaborated how the sack represented the beginning of the empire’s fall, since the city that once ruled the world now stood ‘defiled by considerable bloodshed, pillaging, and various forms of defilements,’<sup>601</sup> Nicholas engaged in a lengthy discussion in which foremost he placed emphasis on the Gothic piety. He opens his account with the lapidary equation of barbarity with impiety connecting it to the story of a Gothic soldier who entered a convent and forced the nun to give him the

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<sup>600</sup> DBG, 1.30, app. crit.: *Nam dum barbaros praedae aviditas nec sacratissimis quibusque parcere compelleret, miles quidam monasterium ingressus in quo uirgines Christo dicatae degere consueuerant unam forte offendit et aetate et uultu uenerabilem apprehensam tamen audacius compellat quicquid auri apud se depositum haberet ante cruciatus depromere. Illa muliebri pauore territa celati auri atque argenti uim ingentem ostendit, Haec inquit uasa de sacrario principis apostolorum Petri meae fidei credita uide sis qua audacia uiolentus contingas. Ego diuino sacrata cultui numquam tibi ausim tradere. Admiratus vasorum pondus ac magnitudinem Gothus (haud quidem dubie ex antiqua illa Romanorum opulentia sumptum sed Christianorum artificum ad religionis opus eximia arte fabricatum) simul et ad nomen apostoli subito timore correptus rem Halarico indicat et quid fieri uelit requirit. Rex extemplo praecipit intacta omnia per eandem uirginem summa cum ueneratione in sacrarium referri, negans se cum apostolis sed cum Romanis bellum gerere. Hoc responso confirmata animo trepida uirgo accersit sodales, quibuscum imposita capitibus uasa solemnem pompa ad apostoli basilicam deferunt toto itinere diuina concinentes carmina, quarum uocibus exciti e latibulis Christiani frequentes concurrunt et prosequuti sacro auro honestas uirgines a barbaris sine iniuria permittuntur. Incredibile dictu. Imbellem turbam per medios praedabundos milites tantas et tam conspicuas opes non solum inuolatas perferre sed etiam solo hostium praesidio tutas. Quod animaduertentes paganorum plerique Christianis se agminibus iungere non dubitant religionem impudenter mentientes cuius oderant et nomen. Sed diuino ut reor consilio factum est ut ob solius illius religionis gratiam salutem inuenirent propter quam se imperium amisisse falso querebantur.*

<sup>601</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 6r: *Et tamen aliquantis caedibus, stupris incendiisque urbem quondam orbis dominam constat fuisse foedatam.*

hidden treasure. Yet the audience is immediately taken into the other direction. The Goth, struck by pious fear on hearing the apostle's name, reports the matter to the king who immediately orders the vessels to be taken from the convent back to the basilica where they belong in the solemn procession accompanied and guarded by the Goths themselves.<sup>602</sup> Finally, the Goths again act according to divine plan that saves the lives of pagans only on account of their profession of the Christian religion which they had despised. The definition of barbarity that introduces the episode and initially purports to denounce the Goths is by the end of the episode unveiled as a key element in the subversion of the label barbarian used to describe their *ethos*. The pinnacle of this subversion represents the rhetorical *chria* placed in the mouth of Alaric, 'I lead war against the Romans, not against the Apostles,' which defines the essence of both his and, generally, Gothic character as pious and Christian, and hence *not* barbarian.<sup>603</sup>

Comparing Nicholas' account of the sack of Rome to the accounts of the rebellion in Moesia and battle of Pollentia, it is indicative to note that while in these key episodes of the narrative Italian humanists attribute Goths' motivations partly to the latter's intemperate barbarian character, Nicholas regularly focuses on their plight and piety, and completely omits references to their barbarity. In the Visigothic rebellion there is no mention of Gothic savage nature to explain their motivations, at the battle of Pollentia there is no mention of Gothic drunkenness. The Gothic princes did not rebel because of the shortage of goods or an innate inability to enjoy *otium*, but to save their people from the starvation caused by the greed of corrupt Roman generals. It is divine intervention that saved Fridigerin from the Roman plot, it is through divine and saintly intervention that the Goths won at Pollentia, and that the pagans of Rome were spared. It will be useful to compare this with Bruni's perspective. The Florentine humanist never once invoked divine intervention in favor of Goths, but he did invoke it when he discussed the failed assassination attempt on Justinian's general Belisarius, who was styled by the Italian humanists as the liberator of Italy. In Bruni's view, 'God in his

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<sup>602</sup> In this episode the double meaning of the Slavic word *sam*, signifying both *alone* and emphatic pronoun *himself*, led Nicholas to write *solo hostium praesidio tutas* instead of *ipso hostium praesidio tutas*, even though he clearly wanted to emphasize that rather than being attacked by the pillaging soldiers they were under their very protection – not that they were protected solely by them. The mistake, which clearly shows Nicholas thinking in Slavic vernacular here, could have passed his notice since this is one of the few passages added from scratch during revisions of the work.

<sup>603</sup> *Chria* is a short anecdote or saying of a historical person instructive of his or her character; see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 489–493.

benevolence did not allow for this evil to happen.’<sup>604</sup> Nicholas of Modruš, on the other hand, though he had Bruni’s work beside him, stressed that had Belisarius died on that day it ‘would have brought a great victory to the Goths and led to the restoration of a kingdom perhaps even greater than that which they had lost.’<sup>605</sup> The causation through divine intervention is one of the cases where one can clearly trace the national perspective of the two authors.

The next topos to be considered is that of national heroes, which can be divided into great rulers and warriors on the one hand, and great intellectuals on the other. Together, they represent the creators of the glorious pasts and embodiments of national culture whose pragmatic function is the care for, moral and intellectual education of, their community.<sup>606</sup> Through elaborations of episodes serving as *exempla* Nicholas constructs a gallery of Gothic national heroes, within which the *fortitudo et sapientia* of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric take the fore. The bishop praised the latter’s incredible valor and courage in combat during the imperially-sanctioned ‘liberation’ of Italy from Odoacer’s tyranny,<sup>607</sup> and later presented him as a just and learned ruler, who carried out the project of *instauratio*-restoration of Rome,<sup>608</sup> was loved by his Latin subjects,<sup>609</sup> and was a favorite of the Eastern emperor Zeno, at whose court he was educated.<sup>610</sup> In Biondo’s *Decades* Ostrogothic king Theodoric did have a positive image and was praised for many of the same aspects, but was in the end still at most the ‘mildest of all the barbarians under which Italy and Rome suffered.’<sup>611</sup> Theodoric’s daughter Amalasantha was as well lavishly praised by Nicholas for her incredible learning, her knowledge of both Latin and Greek, and above all her moral virtue, by which she ‘either equalled or surpassed all the ancient matrons by the merit of her virtue.’<sup>612</sup> Yet in Nicholas’

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<sup>604</sup> Aretinus, *De bello Italico*, fol. 24r: *Sed non permisit Dei benignitas tanta mala contingere.*

<sup>605</sup> DBG, 4.29: *Et nisi mox a circumstantibus comprehensus geminare uulnus esset prohibitus, illa dies Belisario suprema fuisset ingentem Gothis allatura uictoriam, regnum fortasse latius quam amiserant restitutura.*

<sup>606</sup> Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 110–111; Blažević, ‘Indetermi-Nation,’ 213–214.

<sup>607</sup> DBG, 2.6–2.12.

<sup>608</sup> DBG, 2.15.

<sup>609</sup> DBG, 2.13, 2.15.

<sup>610</sup> DBG, 2.2, 2.6.

<sup>611</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 20r: *Is autem rex omnium quos Italia et Roma pertulerint barbarorum mitissimus fuit.*

<sup>612</sup> DBG, 2.25: *quae priscas omnes matronas uirtutis merito uel equauerit uel superauerit.* See DBG, 2.17–2.19.

work nearly all of Gothic rulers are presented as model rulers – even the most unlikely ones like Alaric, the conqueror of Rome, whose restraint from pillaging the Roman holy places Nicholas, as just demonstrated, carefully expanded in order to present it as un-barbaric. The list also includes the rulers Filimir, the king who banished the witches ‘whom he judged to be pernicious for the moral wellbeing’ of his nation; Fridegerin, who led his people from the abominable Roman servitude; and Vallia whose wise councils placated the restless Gothic spirits.<sup>613</sup> All these were in like manner through elaboration of *exempla* fashioned into the heroes representing the Gothic virtues.

Yet, there were not only virtuous rulers that could be found amongst the Goths. In the introductory excursus discussing the earliest history of the Goths, and immediately following the discussion of Gothic worship of Mars, Nicholas introduced their philosophers: Zamolxis, Zeuta and Diceneus.<sup>614</sup> As was the case with Scandza origins, this was a novel point, for the Italian historians had glossed over this material found in Jordanes in silence. However, Nicholas did much more than merely lifting and adapting this passage from Jordanes’ work. He elaborated the description of Diceneus by using a passage that appears later in the *Getica*,<sup>615</sup> and in addition turned to the fourth book of Valla’s translation of Herodotus, which he had already used in his *De humilitate*, in order to provide a more complete description of Zamolxis.<sup>616</sup> That it was an important argumentative point is also clear from the style Nicholas engaged in, for he opened the passage with the line: ‘Who could believe that such ferocious hearts were once also kept warm by the study of philosophy, in the pursuit of which they were consumed by an amazing passion?’<sup>617</sup> significantly choosing to phrase his thought as a rhetorical question in order to place additional emphasis on the existence of the Gothic philosophers, whom he then continues to discuss at length.<sup>618</sup> Therefore, the introduction and further elaboration of this topos, along with the rhetorical twist he added to it, reveals the importance he attributed to the figures representing the national *ingenium*.

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<sup>613</sup> DBG, 1.41–42

<sup>614</sup> DBG, 1.6.

<sup>615</sup> Iordanes, ‘De origine actibusque Getarum,’ cap. 11.

<sup>616</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, trans. Laurentius Valla (Venice: Jacobus Bureus, 1474), fol. 110r–v.

<sup>617</sup> DBG, 1.6: *Quis credere posset haec tam ferocia pectora philosophiae quoque studiis aliquando caluisse cultuque ipsius impensius flagrasse?*

<sup>618</sup> For the rhetorical question (*interrogatio* or *ἐρώτεμα*), see Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 340–341.

One might say that there is a discernible pattern to Nicholas' presentation of his material. He opened his work with a reference to the standardized account of the Scythian origins of the Goths, but quickly passing over it disproved it by tracing their origins further to Scandza which he then discussed at greater length and expanded even further in the second redaction of the work. He then proceeded by discussing the Gothic barbarity and warlike character epitomized in the account of their worship of Mars, after which he continued by pointing at their philosophers, relying here on material from Herodotus. Indicatively, in Jordanes' Gothic history the description of Scandza comes before Scythia,<sup>619</sup> while the Gothic worship of Mars is presented before their philosophers.<sup>620</sup> In both cases Nicholas, therefore, not only expanded his primary source but manipulated the disposition of material for rhetorical effect. It is the same with his account of the sack of Rome, which opens with the explicit equation of barbarism with impiety that initially promises to be an application to the Gothic carnages but is then unveiled as an inverted mirror of their actions. Indeed, all key episodes where Nicholas slowed down the tempo of the narrative either stand silent of denouncements of barbarism or specifically invalidate this claim, in contrast to the works of Bruni and Biondo.

***From Visigothic Hispania to Ostrogothic Illyria: Gothic  
Territorial Dispersion, Language, and Kings***

Let us now turn to the topos of territorial dispersion, which naturally represents one of the central topoi of a work dedicated to a series of wars, and is, in a sense, a logical extension of the topos of origins. The diachronic presentation of Visigothic and Ostrogothic conquests includes nearly all the European provinces of the Roman Empire. Leaving Scandza for Pontic Scythia the Goths conquer and pillage Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Noricum, Illyricum, Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Hispania – virtually the entire European part of the Roman Empire. While these conquests on the one hand represent a testimony to their bellicose *ethos*, they are conspicuously exculpated or legitimized through elaboration of key episodes. As was seen, the *casus bellorum* led by the Visigothic rulers are

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<sup>619</sup> Iordanes, 'De origine actibusque Getarum,' cap. 1–5.

<sup>620</sup> Iordanes, 'De origine actibusque Getarum,' cap. 5.

ultimately the repeated failures on part of the corrupted Romans to adhere to the stipulations of the concluded agreements as well as their unprovoked attacks. Similarly, the conquest of Italy by Theodoric's Ostrogoths from Odoacer's tyranny is sanctioned by the emperor and the senate in Constantinople.<sup>621</sup> Finally, even the justification of Justinian's reconquista of Italy is repeatedly brought into question, though this time through the use of speeches, as will soon be demonstrated.

Yet particular importance assume the chronological deviations from the story. The topic and hence the primary time span that Nicholas covers, to be sure, is professed in the introduction: 'the three disastrous wars of the Goths that Italy suffered.' These begin with the Visigothic crossing of the Danube in 376 until the work cuts due to the truncated text with the rise of Ildibad (*Ildohadus*) in 540, but which presumably ran through the final defeat of the Gothic king Teias by Narses at the Battle of Mons Lactarius in 552 and its immediate aftermath, since this represents the end of the Gothic wars as narrated by Bruni's *De bello Italico* and Biondo's *Decades*.<sup>622</sup> However, as already shown, *De bellis Gothorum* frequently deviates outside the primary time span of the story, whether analeptically by presenting the origins and 'prehistory' of the Goths or Huns, or proleptically by juxtaposing the contemporary political and ethnic situation of Europe. While the most notable cases of such *prolepseis* are those that narrate the wars between Wallachians and Turks, the Goths also feature in the *nunc*. In narrating the Visigothic invasions, Nicholas concludes Book 1 with their settlement of Hispania.

*From that point on the Caesar Constantine relied on the most zealous and trustworthy efforts of the Goths in fighting off the rest of the barbarian nations and restored the empire that was nearly destroyed. Vallia the ruler of Hispania thus became not only the founder of the realm but also of the family line of all the kings of Hispania, who after almost eighty continuous generations reached our own time and retained the realm that they had received, even though it was frequently troubled by a number of wars and attacked for more than twenty years by the rulers of the Moors.*<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> DBG, 2.6.

<sup>622</sup> DBG, 1.1: *Bella Gothorum scripturus quae ter Italia dirissima pertulit.*

<sup>623</sup> DBG 1.42: *Exinde Constantius Caesar strenuissima fidissimaque Gothorum opera in expugnandis ceteris barbarorum nationibus est usus euersum propemodum imperium restaurauit. Ipse uero Vallia regnator Hispaniae plane effectus sicut dominationis ita et generis auctor fuit omnium regum Hispaniae qui per octoginta ferme generationes succedentes ad nostram quoque aetatem peruenerunt et traditum regnum retinuerunt, quamuis multis saepe bellis exagitatam et a Maurorum regibus per uiginti et amplius annos interpellatum.*



By striking the connection between the Visigoths and the Spanish, Nicholas' refashioned account of the Gothic wars did not function only through means of analogy but explicitly legitimized the contemporary period. Taking then into consideration his deliberate manipulations of the standardized Italian account together with his professed national allegiance, there can be no question that, though we lack the ending of the work and hence the *telos* of the Ostrogothic wars, *De bellis Gothorum* relied on the South Slavic historiographical traditions in order to account for the emergence of the Illyrian nation. This is not to say that after presenting the defeat of the Ostrogoths in Italy by Justinian's general Narses, Nicholas continued by narrating the history of Goths in Illyria according to the *Croatian Chronicle* or the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*. The work was after all avowedly dedicated to the three wars that the Goths had waged in Italy. However there cannot be any doubt that in the same manner as he concluded the Roman war with the Visigoths by noting that the Spanish drew ancestry from them, he concluded the Roman war with the Ostrogoths by evoking to the contemporary Illyrians. It was an idea that would reverberate in the works of other South Slavs. In 1638 a Franciscan, Martin Rusić (d. 1660), in his historical epic *Brief Compendium to the Entire Glorious Nation of Illyrian Language (Breve compendium nationis gloriosae totius linguae Illyricae)* praised the Visigoths who upon settling 'took on a new name, calling themselves the Spanish,' but who remained tied to the Illyrians 'through brotherly hearts.'<sup>624</sup> Just as the Visigoths adopted the name of the province they settled in, for Nicholas, much as for Rusić nearly two centuries later, so have the Ostrogoths.

Yet, before considering further elements of the quoted passage, it would be useful to turn to the topos of national language, which according to the principle *gentem lingua facit* was considered the basic and most important marker of identity.<sup>625</sup> Here one should note that in addition to the fact that he undoubtedly ended his work with the Ostrogothic settlement in Illyria, Nicholas did briefly refer to the contemporary Illyrians and their language in the preserved part of his work as well. In the beginning, discussing the origins of the Wallachians, the bishop of Modruš noted that though these people speak a Latin vernacular, i.e. Romanian, they also use the 'language of the Mysians, which is an Illyrian one.' 'Mysians' (incorrectly

<sup>624</sup> For Rusić's work, see Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 204–214.

<sup>625</sup> For the relation between vernacular language and early modern patriotisms, see Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky, 'Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism,' 20–25; and Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 101; see particularly n. 49, where the author notes the traces of this formula in the works of Tertullian, St Irenaeus and Claudius Marius Victor.

used by Nicholas to refer to the Moesians, a common mistake in the period) was a humanist ethnonym for Serbians – which he reveals to adhere to by indicating that *nostra aetas* calls Mysia partly Serbia (*Seruia*), partly Raška (*Rascia*)<sup>626</sup> –, which here refers to the use of Slavic liturgy in the Wallachian Orthodox churches. However, at the same time, he noted that the Goths had called their laws *bellagines* and their heroes *uses*,<sup>627</sup> and these words hardly corresponded to the contemporary situation either in South Slavic/Illyrian or in Spanish for that matter, not to mention the fact that neither of these two languages had connection to each other (apart from belonging to the Indo-European group of languages of course). If *De bellis Gothorum* presents the humanist legitimation of the Illyrian nation, building on the continuity between Ostrogoths and Illyrians, as well as between Visigoths and the Spanish, how does this reflect in the national language?

Nicholas' vision of ethnogenetical processes and reconciliation of such apparent differences can be seen in the third book of the work, in the oration placed in the mouth of Asclepiodotus, a representative of the pro-Gothic party in Naples. Praising the Gothic rule in Italy and arguing against the surrender of the city to the besieging forces of the Byzantine general Belisarius, Asclepiodotus points out that the Goths 'use our language, laws, institutions and traditions' and that by 'sharing all these and other of such kind for more than sixty years they have all but coalesced with us.'<sup>628</sup> The point that the speaker raises is not contested by the opposite party and indeed reflects the 'reality' that, as was shown, Nicholas constructs in the main part of the narrative told from the authorial perspective. In this way the coalescence of Goths with the Italians can be taken as reflecting Nicholas' ideas of their settlement in Hispania and Illyria. Indeed, it was a common humanist notion. For instance, by recourse to pseudo-etymological arguments, Flavio Biondo, one of Nicholas' sources, explained the coalescence of Goths and Alans into Catalans,<sup>629</sup> while Trankvil Andronik, the peripatetic Dalmatian humanist from the early sixteenth century, used the idea when

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<sup>626</sup> DBG, 1.13.

<sup>627</sup> DBG, 1.6, and 2.14.

<sup>628</sup> DBG, 3.13.

<sup>629</sup> Blondus, *Decades*, fol. 65r: *qui eo modo incoluerunt citeriorem Hispaniam Gothi et Halani nunc dicuntur corrupto uocabulo Cathelani* (Tr.: In the same manner those Goths and Alans that inhabited the nearer Hispania are now called, by corrupt word. Catalans).

presenting the formation of the barbarian kingdoms of Europe, and indeed so have other humanists.<sup>630</sup>

If then the Gothic nations coalesced with the locals, adopting their ‘language, laws, customs and ceremonies,’ wherein lies the continuity, besides the genealogical one, between the Visigoths and the Spanish, and, even more importantly, between the Ostrogoths and the Illyrians? The answer is: in the institutions. Not a year before Nicholas started his work, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, a prominent figure in the Roman intellectual circles whose *Speculum vitae humanae* the bishop of Modruš had in his library, composed and immediately had printed in Rome his *Compendious Spanish History* (*Compendiosa historia Hispanica*), dedicating it to the Henry IV of Castile (r. 1454–1474). In this work Sánchez de Arévalo traced Castile and Aragon, and the ruling Trastámara dynasty, to Vallia and the Visigothic kingdom.<sup>631</sup> Though in the quoted passage Nicholas presented the Visigoths fighting off the ‘rest of the barbarian nations’ and ‘the Moors’ in the coming centuries, equal amount of emphasis is placed on *institutional* and *dynastic* continuation between the Visigothic kingdom of Vallia and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon under the Trastámara dynasty. Just as the bishop had evoked the emerging historiographical traditions of the Spanish humanists, the South Slavic medieval traditions were used to present the kingdoms and dynasties of Illyria as successors to the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, Amalasantha, and their successors. After all, that the institution and dynasty of the Ostrogothic kingdom held particular concern for Nicholas is clear from his elaboration of the episode where Theodoric is presented by the emperor with the *regnum Italiae*, as well as from the genealogical tree he presents of the

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<sup>630</sup> Tranquillus Andronicus Dalmata, ‘Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Turcos,’ in *Govori protiv Turaka* [Orations against the Turks], ed. Vedran Gligo, 481–529 (Split: Logos, 1983), 506–507: *Siquidem priscis temporibus per huiusmodi occasionem Hunni, Gotti, Vandali, Heruli, Cepidae, atque aliae barbarae nationes ab ultimis Scythiae atque Sarmatiae oris egressi nostras prouincias foede lacerauerant, regnaque integra occupauerant. Sed hi sedibus uagantes incertis tamquam procella quaedam uehementior cito euanescens, partim oppressi sunt, partim Christianam religionem, sacra communia, ritus et leges amplexi una nobiscum in sedibus nostris consederunt atque coaluerunt, et ab indigenis iam non dignoscuntur* (Tr.: Because in ancient times, Huns, Goths, Vandals, Heruls, Gepids, and other barbarian peoples coming from the farthest regions of Scythia and Sarmatia have in similar fashion destroyed our provinces and occupied entire kingdoms. However, moving around in unstable places as some raging storm which vanishes quickly, they were partly defeated by the force of arms and partly accepted Christian faith, holy traditions, rites and laws, settling here and coalescing with us so that they cannot be discerned from the indigenous people).

<sup>631</sup> For the use of Gothic theory of origins at the Castilian court, see Jeremy N. H. Lawrence, ‘Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula,’ in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. Goodman and MacKay, 220–258, at p. 229. See Rodericus Zamorensis, *Compendiosa historia Hispanica* (Rome: Ulrich Han, [not after October 4 1470]).

ruling dynasty and its connection to the Visigothic one.<sup>632</sup> While historiographical distortions fashioned a legitimate *translatio imperii* for the South Slavic realms, the connection to the more illustrious Spanish kingdoms added prestige to them. Though the concrete political utilization of this work will be considered in the conclusions to *Part II*, for now it is important to note that the construction of these three topoi shows that Nicholas' history of the Gothic wars was not supposed to be read as 'a distant mirror' – as for example Bruni envisioned his *De bello Italico adversus Gothos* and his *Commentarium rerum Greearum* – but that it was explicitly connected to the contemporary period.

### ***Rhetorical Strategy: A Historia in utramque partem disserta***

From the analysis thus far *De bellis Gothorum* can be seen as another example of national discourse emerging across Europe as a response to the ideological developments of Italian humanism, which in this case was meant to legitimize the place of the Illyrian nation within the European *Res publica Christiana*. Yet what makes it a truly unique example of humanist patriotism is its genre and rhetorical strategy. While most of the national historiographers engaged in a direct polemic with the assertions of cultural supremacy by the Italians, in *De bellis Gothorum* Nicholas took a topic central to the Italian master narrative, and, presenting himself as a non-partial narrator, sought to undermine its key ideological tenet by means of subtle subversions. Therefore even though the work was meant to increase the prestige of the Illyrians, i.e. the South Slavs, there is no use of the first pronoun, no bombastic boastfulness of 'our nation.' Its rhetorical strategy, as well as its political context to which we will soon turn to, clearly reveal that it was the Italian intellectual and political elite which was supposed to accept a positive ancient pedigree of a nation that played the role of the arch-villains of its national history. Indeed, as the narrative unfolds it becomes clear that the Goths did pillage and attack but that the Roman generals were corrupted, they provoked and conspired for imperial power; that indeed the Romans had made Rome into a glorious city, but that the Goths rebuilt it after years of neglect during the final emperors; that Roman history offers

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<sup>632</sup> DBG, 2.6, 2.14.

examples of many model rulers, but that one finds them among the Goths as well. The argumentative arrangement by which Nicholas sought to convey this message, purporting, as was shown, to agree with the standardized account only to subvert it, sheds full light on the delicacy of his rhetorical situation. Though he used the word ‘barbarian’ or ‘savage,’ this can be seen as conditioned by the audience of the work, which the elaborated *exempla* were supposed to invalidate. With this in mind, the topological analysis of the *De bellis Gothorum* hardly does justice to the subtle strategy at work here, and the following pages therefore consider Nicholas’ use of set-piece speeches as a particularly subversive feature of his rhetorical arsenal.

The use of speech in the course of the narrative was one of the prominent devices of classical historiography, whereby a historian would write a speech that would explain the motivations of historical characters.<sup>633</sup> In this respect, speeches attributed to enemies became powerful stratagems of subversion, since they provided historians – such as Tacitus and more importantly Sallust, whose *Bellum Iugurthinum* served as Nicholas’ literary model – with an opportunity to present the putative viewpoints of Rome’s opponents and thereby, as John Marincola stressed, ‘engage in a form of critical political analysis relevant to both the particular situation and the more general issues involved with empire and imperialism.’<sup>634</sup> The construction of *De bellis Gothorum* leaves no doubt that Nicholas recognized the full potential of this technique, relying particularly on forensic speeches which allowed him to dramatize the conflict between the Romans and Goths. The arguments and *exempla* that the Roman speakers draw on are the same as those presented by Bruni and Biondo. The Romans point to the Gothic barbarity and savage nature as confirmed by pillaging, plundering, and the massacres they perpetrated from time immemorial.<sup>635</sup> However, for the first time in Renaissance Italy, the Goths are made to speak their minds as well, as it were. For instance, in the account of the Visigothic invasion of Italy, Nicholas makes his Visigoths regularly point to Stilicho’s machinations that turned them against Rome, while during Justinian’s reconquista of Italy, he has the Ostrogoths repeatedly call into question its justification, deriding

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<sup>633</sup> For an overview of this extensive topic, see John Marincola, ‘Speeches in Classical Historiography,’ in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. Marincola, vol. 1, 118–132.

<sup>634</sup> Marincola, ‘Speeches in Classical Historiography,’ 119.

<sup>635</sup> For instance, see Honorius’ speech to Gothic legates in DBG 1.37.

Justinian's image as a lawgiver and just ruler.<sup>636</sup> Yet, much as classical historians, so does Nicholas involve larger issues into the discussion. This case can best be made when analyzing the aforementioned speech of Asclepiodotus, the Italian representative of the pro-Gothic party in Naples, who argued against surrendering the city to Belisarius besieging it. As Asclepiodotus reasoned:

*For there is no one who would not rather prefer to serve the Goths, though they are called barbarians, than these degraded Greeklings, whose greed and craving no man was ever able to satisfy and whose arrogance and pride no man was able to stomach. At the same time no one so far was able to justly accuse the Goths of the same flaws, especially since they have set their homes here and grown accustomed to live among us. You can see that they have absorbed our customs in such a way that they do not come second to us neither in generosity, nor in moderation, nor in culture, nor in any other virtue for that matter, and that in many they are even superior. They use our language, laws, institutions and traditions. In sharing all these and others of such kind for more than sixty years they have all but coalesced with us. As conquerors they did not feel ashamed to accept the laws of the conquered, which the Greeks have never done nor will they ever do. Such is the haughtiness of that people, such disdain for morals, that apart*

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<sup>636</sup> See for instance the speech of Asclepiodotus, the representative of the pro-Gothic party in Naples, in DBG, 3.14: *Reposcendae Urbis iustam se praedicant habere causam. At quo iure reposci potest semel liberius concessum plenoque iure donatum? Autem qui nesciat Zenonem imperatorem Gothis Italiam permisisse et iure perpetuo Theodorico possidendam tradidisse, Anastasium uero ac Iustinum qui post eum sceptrum tenuere imperii donationem implorasse! Qua igitur honestate, quae iustitia modo Iustinianus, ne minima quidem lacessitus iniuria, Italiam a Theodato extorquere festinat? Nulla alia profecto nisi ardenti fortuna elatus, qua his diebus desides ignavosque Vandalos ex Africa pepulit. At non tales Gothos offendet, sentiet propediem rem sibi cum uiris esse, ac cum talibus inquam uiris, quos praestitisset minime prouocasse. Ceterum haec illi melius inter se decernent, immo uero inter ipsos Deus, qui semper innocentum causae fauere consuevit superbiorum autem retundere audaciam et insolentiam infringere ac proculcare* (Tr.: They proclaim that they have a just cause to ask for Rome back. But pray tell by what law can one ask back that what is freely given and donated with full right? Indeed who does not know that emperor Zeno gave up Italy to the Goths consigning its possession to Theodoric in perpetuity, and that Anastasius and Justin, who wielded the scepter of the empire in turn, have called for his help referring to this donation. So by what kind of principles, by what kind of justice does now Justinian, taking offense at not even a smallest insult, rush to wrest away Italy from Theodatus? Truly there is nothing behind this than his elation over his shining fortune, by which he drove off the slothful and idle Vandals from Africa. However, he will not find the Goths to be like this, and will soon realize that he is dealing with men, and such men I say that it would have been better if he had not provoked them. But let them decide this question amongst themselves, or better yet let God do that, who was always wont to favor the innocent and restrain the audacity of the arrogant and break and squash their insolence). Another interesting example is the speech of Gothic legates to Belisarius; see DBG, 4.23: *Quid tibi nobiscum est? Qua lacessitus iniuria pacem orbis perturbas? Cur quietos sollicitas? Cur uiros in mutuas armas caedes et iustissimi mitissimique imperatoris animum in amicos sociosque instigas? Neque enim credendum est illum iniusti belli auctorem qui et parens et assertor publice est iustitiae. Non consuevit contra leges legum conditor agere, nec legitimus imperator maiorum praeuaricari instituta.* (Tr.: What do you have with us? At what injustice did you take offense to disturb the world's peace? Why do you unsettle those that are peaceful? Why do you incite men to mutual bloodshed and turn the mind of the most mild and most just of the emperors against his friends and allies? Surely one should not believe that the author of this unjust war is the very same person who is the genitor and defender of public justice? Usually a founder of laws does not act contrary to the law, nor does a legitimate emperor violate the decisions of his predecessors).

*from their learning I do not know what they have within them that is not more detestable than in any barbarian nation.*<sup>637</sup>

Nicholas has the Italians themselves present the Goths as almost part of the same people, while at the same time reject the Greeks. The use of the phrase ‘although they are called barbarians’ (*quamuis barbaris appellatis*), where the very label ‘barbarian’ is used with reservation, falls in line with his previous subtle invalidation of the barbarian label during the Gothic sack of Rome. Finally, the bishop of Modruš makes Asclepiodotus invoke all the negative stereotypes of the Greeks turning them into the lightning rod that diverts criticism from the Goths. A more fascinating example is the address of the Gothic legates to Belisarius, the general of the emperor Justinian:

*Witiges sent us to you, Belisarius, to complain about the wrongs with which you do not cease to trouble the Gothic nation. If we had been attacked by beasts or some wild people, our complaints would have been futile, since it is foolish to ask for reasons from those whom the nature formed as deprived of reason. But since it is you that have brought war upon us – a man just as much Latin as Greek, both of which peoples have grown accustomed to perceive other nations as inhuman and barbarian and appropriate as their own the honor of being cultured and just – we can indeed ask you about the main reason by which you were induced to attack us contrary to law and right.*<sup>638</sup>

Not only that Nicholas again here called into question the rhetoric of barbarity, he made sure that it resonated in the minds of the Italian audience by playing on the double-image of the Byzantine Empire as Greek and Roman, and identifying Belisarius not only as a Greek but also equally Latin. It is therefore not only the Greek haughtiness that Nicholas has the Goths

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<sup>637</sup> DBG, 3.13: *Nemo est enim qui Gothis, quamuis barbaris appellatis, seruire non malint quam his obsoletis Graeculis, quorum auaritiam libidinemque nullus unquam explere quiuit nec fastum atque superbiam tolerare. Qualia in Gothis nullus adhuc iuste potuit accusare, praesertim postquam inter nos constitutis domiciliis degere consueuerunt. Cernitis eos ita nostros imbibisse mores, ut nec liberalitate, nec continentia, nec humanitate, nec quibusuis aliis uirtutibus ulla ex parte nobis cedant, plerumque etiam uincant. Sermone utuntur nostro, legibus, institutis, caerimoniis. Haec atque talia uniuersa sexaginta et eo amplius annos communia nobiscum habentes paene coaluerunt, uictoresque in uictorum leges transire non erubuerunt, quod Graeci nec fecerunt umquam neque facturi sunt. Tanta est hominum elatio, tanta morum insolentia, qui exceptis litteris nescio quid in se habeant quod non sit detestabilius quam in quouis genere barbarorum.*

<sup>638</sup> DBG, 4.23: *Misit nos ad te Witiges, Bellisari, iniurias tecum expostulare, quibus immeritum Gothorum genus afficere non cessas. Si nos ferae aut aliquod hominum agreste genus armis lacesserent, uana esset nostra expostulatio, quando quidem stulte ab illis exigitur ratio quos natura exsortes finxit rationis. Sed cum nobis tu bellum intuleris, homo et Latinus et Graecus cuius utrunque genus ceteras nationes inhumanas ac barbaras habere consueuit propriumque sibi et humanitatis et iusticiae honorem usurpare, non possumus non abs te eam exigere rationem, qua potissimum adductus tu nos contra ius fasque ferro infestas.*

attack but the Italian one as well. What these two speeches, therefore, represent is an explicit attack on the central tenet of Italian humanist patriotism: the claimed superiority of the Italian *natio* over all other barbarian *nationes*. Rather than engaging in an open polemic against the central premise of the Italian humanist patriotism, Nicholas, as we saw, resorted to more subtle means of subversion of the narrative on the Gothic wars. The most critical ideas, however, were introduced through the use of set-piece speeches, since this rhetorical strategy allowed the bishop to convey the message to the audience whilst not overtly subscribing to it. To be sure, this all is not to say that Nicholas did not include Roman speeches in the work or that they do not have arguments of their own, but it is the first time that the ‘barbarians,’ here the Goths, enjoy an equal status, as a legitimate *natio*. Indeed, Nicholas peppered his narrative with them to such an extent that certain episodes – as for instance the siege of Naples taking much of book 3 – can be read as a dialogue between the Romans and the Goths, a *historia in utramque partem disserta* as it were. Such a dialogue invited the audience to judge the validity of claims of the speakers, in which the claims of most of the Gothic ones, unlike that of, say, Stilicho or Justinian, regularly accorded with the *res gestae* as portrayed in the main part of the narrative.

In Renaissance Rome, challenging claims of Italian cultural superiority was no light matter. In 1519 a Belgian humanist Christophe de Longueuil (1488–1522) was for instance attacked by the members of the Roman Academy precisely for praising the ancient Franks at the expense of the ancient Romans. Longueuil was challenged to an open debate before the government of Rome and interested public, which was in the end never held as the humanist fled the city in fear for his life.<sup>639</sup> Although Nicholas’ episcopal dignity certainly made it impossible for him to be liable to such pressures, the case clearly exhibits to what extremes were the attitudes of Italian intellectuals towards more forthright patriotic ideas of foreigners gradually taken. Its rhetorical features made *De bellis Gothorum* a product of the socio-intellectual conditions of Renaissance Rome, can thus be set next to the work of the aspiring curial humanist, Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger, as well as those of Florentine humanist, Bartolomeo Scala. While the latter expressed ideas of Lucretius’s *De rerum natura* arguing in

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<sup>639</sup> D’Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 110.



*utramque partem*,<sup>640</sup> the former used it to introduce subtle critiques of the Curia.<sup>641</sup> Even if pursuing different topics and using different genres, all three humanists resorted to the same rhetorical strategy that allowed them to introduce heterodox and subversive ideas, while at the same time preserving the appearance of their own orthodoxy.

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<sup>640</sup> For Bartolomeo Scala's dialogues and Lucretian themes, see Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 16–41.

<sup>641</sup> Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia*, 42–45.

## CONCLUSIONS: UTOPIAN VISIONS AND CAREER AMBITIONS

In order to fully understand the intended purpose of *De bellis Gothorum*, it is important to take a closer look at its immediate political context, the expedition of 1472. Particularly important here are Maturanzio's references to the operations of the papal fleet under Nicholas' command in the north Albanian waters, which are additionally corroborated by the recently discovered records of the Treasury of the Kotor commune, testifying on June 8 that the bishop of Modruš 'would come these days to visit his hometown with the papal galleys.'<sup>642</sup> The visit to Kotor, however, was no social call. The city was the center of the Venetian territories in the southern Adriatic, in the hinterland of which were situated the duchy of St Sava in Hum (or Herzegovina, i.e. 'duke's land') ruled, at the time, by Vlatko Kosača (r. 1466–1483) and the principality of Zeta ruled by John Crnojević (r. 1465–1490). The two lords were allies connected by marriage relations – John had married Vlatko's half-sister Mary – and though they had only recently, in 1470, recognized Ottoman overlordship, already in 1472, with Mehmed's engagement in Asia Minor against Uzun Hasan, they both again renounced it.<sup>643</sup>

Yet, in order to fully understand the significance behind their actions it is important to consider the expedition of 1472 in its entire context in the Balkans. If we take a look at Croatia, it is precisely in the same year that a joint papal-Neapolitan-Venetian mission was sent there in order to reconcile the once again disunited Frankopan brothers and promise auxiliary troops that would not only help in their defenses but also contribute to an expedition against the Ottoman territories in Bosnia.<sup>644</sup> Following the fall of Bosnia and Stephen Frankopan's alienation from Corvinus in 1464, discussed in the *Prologue* and the beginning of

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<sup>642</sup> App. 1, doc. 37.

<sup>643</sup> For the changing politics of John Crnojević and Vlatko Kosača in relation to the Ottomans during the period of 1466–1474, see Ćirković, et alii, *Историја Црне Горе*, vol. 2.2, 287–296.

<sup>644</sup> The fervent diplomatic activity at the Balkans during 1472 and early months of 1473 was treated long ago by Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1985), vol. 4, 115–117.

*Part I*, Venice acted as the count's strongest supporter in his efforts to stop the incursions of the Ottoman troops from Bosnia. Stephen's rapprochement not only with Venice but with the emperor as well would finally result in a punitive expedition of Corvinus' army in 1469 and the conquest of Senj, which represented a serious blow to the fortunes of the family.<sup>645</sup> However, at the same time as the coalition was trying to prompt the Frankopans and other Croatian lords into invading Bosnia, further east another two players arose who followed these developments with interest. In 1471 Corvinus placated the ambitions of Nicholas Újlaki, potentially most dangerous vassal, by appointing him king of Bosnia and ban of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. Immediately assuming his throne Újlaki recognized the opportunity to expand his domains further south and to this effect developed an active diplomatic network trying to coordinate his actions with Venice, the Croatian lords, the Republic of Dubrovnik, as well as Kosača and Crnojević. Moreover, in order to legitimate his rule, the appointed king of Bosnia would even mint his own coins and later personally travel to Rome to reach a diplomatic *modus vivendi* with queen Catherine, where his visit would be depicted in the cycle of frescoes in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito that portrayed the high points of Sixtus' pontificate.<sup>646</sup> Finally, even further east Vuk Grgurević, a Serbian noble appointed by Matthias as the titular despot of Serbia in 1471, also participated in these diplomatic negotiations, according to which he was supposed to attack the Ottoman territories south of Danube and Sava from his territories in the Banat (Vojvodina). The year 1472, as well as the early months of 1473, therefore led to an intense period of diplomatic activity across the Balkans, which was largely mediated by the Papacy, Venice, and Naples, and which aimed at coordinating basically all the South Slavic political hubs into an expedition against the Ottomans – from the Serbian despot in the east, via the newly appointed Bosnian king, the Frankopans and other lords of Croatia in the west, down south to the Republic of Dubrovnik and the rulers of Hum and Zeta. The plans of the anti-Ottoman coalition thus did not only take into consideration the eastern front under Uzun Hasan and the naval expedition, but also the

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<sup>645</sup> Even though Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 307, states that Croatia and Slavonia 'were, as a rule, spared' during the Ottoman raids of 1465–1474, numerous documentary evidence testify that the Ottoman incursions of 1468, 1469, 1471, and 1472 took a hard toll on the Croatian nobility, leading to a large depopulation of the region. For the increasingly desperate position of the Croatian nobles from 1464 and 1471, Frankopans in particular, see Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 90–106, 171–186.

<sup>646</sup> For Nicholas Újlaki as king of Bosnia, see András Kubinyi, 'Die Frage des bosnischen Königtums von Nikolaus Ujlaky,' *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4 (1958): 373–384; and Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* 380–383; for his depiction in Ospedale di Santo Spirito, see Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 107.

Balkans, in spite of the lack of any direct engagement by Matthias Corvinus to whose sphere of influence the region belonged. Though the players and political conditions had changed from 1463, essentially it was the same plan as that of Pius II: to pincer the ‘Turks’ from both east and west and in this way ‘completely remove them from Europe.’

One has to interpret *De bellis Gothorum* in the light of these diplomatic activities of the Curia in the Balkans and Nicholas’ own role in them. It was a work composed by a prelate who in 1463 rose to the role of the key papal diplomat for Illyria and a participant in the negotiations concerned with drawing the political geography of the ‘post-Ottoman’ Balkans, who would, in the following years, rise to the most prominent position of the Illyrian political-ecclesiastical diaspora, and whose *patria* was now once again about to become one of the main theaters of operations against the Turk. The subtlety of rhetorical manipulations of the Gothic history and challenges of Italian and Greek claims to cultural supremacy all trace the work to the humanist pro-crusading circle centered around cardinal Bessarion and pope Sixtus, where possible anti-Ottoman alliances were discussed and utopian visions of a post-Ottoman world were proposed. Just as Bessarion’s *Orationes* represented a piece of crusade propaganda targeting the most influential figures at the Curia and Italian and the European political elites that would lead to the restoration of a utopian Greece under the remaining Palaiologoi, *De bellis Gothorum* called on the help of the audience *in bellis Gothorum adversus Turcos*.

Therefore, if one considers the fact that Vlatko Kosača was the brother of the Bosnian queen Catherine, and John accordingly her brother-in-law, there can be no doubt that their decision to renounce Ottoman overlordship was partly connected to the arrival of the papal fleet at Kotor under the command of a bishop who, as testified by dedication of *De humilitate*, enjoyed close rapport with her. This reveals that just as in 1464 pope Pius II had, in spite of fervent Venetian protests, included Thomas Palaiologos into his crusading plans in order to mobilize the Greeks against the Ottomans,<sup>647</sup> so now Sixtus and the 1472 coalition hoped to mobilize the Illyrians by sending Nicholas of Modruš to the two lords that represented the potential power base through which queen Catherine, the papal ward, could realize her claims. Therefore, while it propagated the Illyrian cause in general, *De bellis Gothorum* undoubtedly

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<sup>647</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 268–269.

served as the ideological basis to the claims of the Bosnian queen Catherine, the heir to the throne of Tvrtko I, king of Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia and Dalmatia, whom Nicholas himself would later in *Defensio* refer to not as queen of Bosnia but as ‘queen of the Illyrians.’<sup>648</sup> In this context the lavish praises bestowed on the Ostrogothic queen Amalasantha, ‘who either equalled or surpassed all the ancient matrons by the merit of her virtue,’ can be read as the historiographical legitimation of Catherine’s own image, who, as noted, in Rome had become a Franciscan tertiary.<sup>649</sup> Nicholas’ turn to the Gothic narrative should also not be interpreted as his own invention, since it played a role in court propaganda earlier. In 1432 the Dubrovnik ambassadors to Bosnia were instructed to praise king Stephen Tvrtko II (r. 1404–1409, 1421–1443) by referring to his ancestor, ‘Kotroman the Goth, from whom the kings of Bosnia draw lineage and origin’ (*Cotrumano Gotto, dal qual a avuto origine e principio li reali di Bosna*; see App. 9, pl. 14).<sup>650</sup> Finally, one should view *De bellis Gothorum* in the context of increased diplomatic activity of the Bosnian court during these years which tried to secure support from Italian princes in realizing Catherine’s claims.<sup>651</sup> To what extent these negotiations were taken, and if for instance the Frankopans – who since 1464 increasingly stopped looking to the Hungarian court for help –, like Vlatko Kosača and John Crnojević, were connected through Nicholas to the Bosnian court in Rome, it is difficult to tell. What is certain is that Nicholas’ *De bellis Gothorum* from 1471/1472 should be seen in this context, as well as *De humilitate* from 1470, another work composed in the period of fervent diplomatic activity which was also meant to increase Catherine’s prestige.

<sup>648</sup> App. 5, cap 20: *Testantur Illyrici quorum reginam partemque nobilitatis aluit usque ad mortem* (Tr: The Illyrians testify to this, whose queen and part of nobility he (sc. Sixtus IV) supported until death).

<sup>649</sup> DBG, 2.25: *quae priscas omnes matronas uirtutis merito uel equauerit uel superauerit*.

<sup>650</sup> Zdenko Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come: The Counter-Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs* (New York NY: Columbia University Press, 1992), 369.

<sup>651</sup> Testimony to this is the 1470 Bosnian embassy to Galeazzo Maria Sforza duke of Milan (r. 1466–1476), accompanied by Catherine’s letter of presentation that lamented her fate ‘which deprived [her] of [her] husband the king, [her] children and [her] kingdom and possessions’ and forced her to ‘ask for help from other Christian princes; see Thallóczy, *Studien*, 115: *Illustrissime et excellentissime domine tamquam frater honorande salutem. Facit mea adversa fortuna, quae viro rege, ac liberis et regno opibusque spoliavit, ut non solum ad pontificem maximum patrem clementissimum, sed etiam ad alios principes christianos me confugere oporteat pro implorando subsidio. Exponent igitur meam necessitatem viri nobiles comes Miclous et Abraam oratores mei, quos oro gratiose audiat et exaudiat vestra excellentia, ut illam omnipotens et misericors deus in statu felicissimo conservet. Datum Romae, die XXIII. iulii MCCCCLXX. Catherina Regina Bosnae* (Tr: I salute you most illustrious and excellent lord, cherished as my brother. My dire fortune – which deprived me of my husband the king, my children, and my kingdom and possessions – makes me turn to ask for help not only from our most kind father the pope but also from other Christian princes. The noble counts Nicholas and Abraham, my ambassadors, will inform you of my concern, which I beg your excellence to graciously hear and listen to, and may the almighty and merciful God preserves you in your most felicitous rule). These could be seen in the context of the strenuous diplomatic efforts of the Venetians during 1469–1470 to organize an Italian league against the Ottomans; for which see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 299.

Nowhere are the programmatic ideas of the anti-Ottoman wars and their utopian aftermath more clear than in the introductory excursus of *De bellis Gothorum*, where Nicholas introduces all the main players in the ongoing wars although the economy of the work far from necessitates this. While the European *Res publica Christiana* is threatened by the vile Turk, the ‘perfidious Wallachians’ are introduced not only in order to subvert *Romanitas* as the cultural ideal, but also to criticize the ‘indolence’ and double play of the north Italian leaders in the crusades. After all, it is precisely on this account that Nicholas would explicitly attack them in 1480, in his *Defensio*. Even Uzun Hasan, ‘king of Persians and Medes,’ finds his place in the introduction, as the ally of the Christians against whom Mehmed ‘now’ leads his forces. Finally, there are the Huns/Hungarians, whose image as the particularly vile and demonic Scythian nation that subdued the mighty Ostrogoths into a state of ‘miserable servitude’ only through the discord of the latter cannot be taken as anything but a firm rejection of the Hungarian suzerainty over the South Slavic kingdoms. Such denouncing portrayal of the Hungarians represents a reflection not only of the complex political relationship brought about by Pius’ decision to crown Stephen Tomašević in 1461, but can also be considered a criticism of Corvinus’ engagement in Bohemia and of his lack of effort to stop the Ottoman incursions that passed through Croatia and Slavonia into Carniola, Friuli, and Veneto. Indeed, in the description of Italy setting the stage for the Visigothic invasion, Nicholas explicitly condemned the indolence of the ‘Christian princes’ in stopping the ‘Turkish’ incursions into Venetian territories, here unmistakably targeting Corvinus as well, since the *akıncı* troops that passed from Bosnia heavily pillaged Nicholas’ own seat of Modruš in 1468 and 1469.<sup>652</sup> In this sense, *De bellis Gothorum* reflected also the development of the political ideology of the Croatian nobility, that was caused by their increasing self-reliance in defense of their territories, culminating eventually in the dissolution of political ties with the Kingdom of Hungary and the election of Ferdinand of Habsburg as the Croatian king in 1527.<sup>653</sup> Therefore the Huns/Hungarians, but also the Wallachians, the Turks, as well as the ‘Persians and Medes,’ are all introduced into the work in order to serve as the backdrop

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<sup>652</sup> DBG, 1.21: *Nuper quoque per segnitiem Christianorum principum Turci spurcissimi Mahumeti sectatores secundo irrumpentes fines Venetorum circa Aquilegiam populati sunt* (Tr.: Recently too, for the second time, have the dirty Turks, followers of Muhammed, invaded and laid waste to the Venetian territories around Aquileia, all because of the indolence of the Christian princes). For the Ottoman incursions to Croatia in 1468, 1469, and 1471, see Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 175.

<sup>653</sup> For the effects that the inability of the Hungarian kings to resist the Ottoman incursions would have on the political ideology of the Croatian and Slavonian nobility after the fall of Bosnian kingdom, see Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 476–495.

against which the reader is supposed to judge the Goths, who play the role of the Roman *propugnaculum* against the barbarian hordes, and in this way evoke the rhetoric of an *antemurale Christianitatis*, which from this period onwards would permeate nearly all of the works of Dalmatian and Croatian humanists.

Nicholas' presentation of the history of the Visigothic kingdoms, seen in the context of the 1472 expedition, added an important component to *De bellis Gothorum*. It molded the Illyrian plight against the Muslim Turks to the Spanish wars against the Muslim Moors, and in addition contributed to the prestige of the Bosnian royal line by connecting its mythical origins to the Spanish Trastámara dynasty. However, this connection had important ideological consequences, since it endorsed the role of Ferrante I of Naples, member of the Aragonese branch of the Trastámara dynasty, in the 1472 expedition and his possible future role in the same region.<sup>654</sup> Moreover, it effectively evoked an earlier precedent to this, the policy of Ferrante's father, Alfonso V (king of Aragon 1416–1458; king of Naples 1442–1458), who led an active policy in the Balkans, for long time counting amongst his vassals Stephen Vukčić Kosača, the duke of St Sava and queen Catherine's father.<sup>655</sup> Although Ferrante did not pursue an expansionist policy to the same extent as Alfonso, it is clear that he sought to establish a foothold in the Balkans ever since 1466 when following Kosača's death he tried to secure through agents in Dubrovnik and Dalmatia the town of Novi in the Bay of Kotor.<sup>656</sup> The very fact that Oliviero Carafa, the Neapolitan cardinal, and Nicholas of Modruš, the most prominent South Slavic prelate at the Curia, were chosen to lead the papal fleet reveals that the long-lasting connections between the Neapolitan and Bosnian courts were also taken into consideration by Sixtus IV. In this context, the emphasis Nicholas placed on Theodoric's concern for securing an heir turning to a member of the Visigothic dynasty, bound to his own by a common ancestor,<sup>657</sup> strikingly responds to queen Catherine's

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<sup>654</sup> Essentially, in the same manner as century and a half later Martin Rusić's aforementioned epic, dedicated to one of the chief advisors of the Spanish viceroy in Naples, would employ the Visigothic-Ostrogothic connection to legitimize the Spanish imperial pretensions to the Ottoman Balkans; see Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, 204–214.

<sup>655</sup> For the relations between the Balkans lords and Alfonso V of Aragon, see Momčilo Spremić [Момчило Спремић], 'Вазали краља Алфонса Арагонског' [Vassals of Alfonso of Aragon], *Зборник Филозофског факултета Београд* 12/1 (1974): 455–469. For the role of the Republic of Dubrovnik in the Aragonese plans, see Momčilo Spremić [Момчило Спремић], *Дубровник и Арагонци (1442–1495)* [Dubrovnik and the Aragonese (1442–1495)] (Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika SR Srbije, 1971), 7–27.

<sup>656</sup> Spremić, *Дубровник и Арагонци*, 24; and Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 380, n. 279.

<sup>657</sup> DBG, 2.14.

strenuous efforts to raise money from the Italian princes in order to ransom her son Sigismund and her namesake daughter from the Ottoman court,<sup>658</sup> and can therefore be seen as an example of political didacticism that argued for more direct involvement of the Neapolitan court in the Balkans. In sum, in the context of 1472 expedition, *De bellis Gothorum* represented a historiographical platform for the utopian restoration of the kingdom of the warlike but pious Ostrogothic Illyrians that would under the rule of queen Catherine, the new Amalasantha, and under the aegis of the Roman papacy and the fraternal Neapolitan kingdom of Ferrante I, stand as the *antemurale Christianitatis* against the Turks.<sup>659</sup>

Therefore, in spite of the fact that subtle subversions of the Italian historiographical tradition clearly reveal the Italian ecclesiastical-political elite as the targeted audience, *De bellis Gothorum* played mostly to the Gothic ears, as it were, and one can hypothesize whether Nicholas envisioned Ferrante as the dedicatee of his work. In order to pursue this idea further, it would be important to turn back to the bishop's translations of Isocrates' speeches to Nikokles and Demonikos which were introduced into the discussion in *Part I* as testimony to his efforts to master the Greek language. As can be gathered from the dedication letter, the dedicatee was a young prince who started his rule and whose 'ambassadors' were 'connected to [the bishop] by ties of friendship.'<sup>660</sup> These vague references make it difficult to determine the identity of the dedicatee, which leaves open the possibility that the translations were carried out in the period between 1466, the earliest date when Nicholas may have started

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<sup>658</sup> This is testified by Catherine's second letter to Galeazzo Maria Sforza from 1474; for the first see n. 651. Finally, in 1478, on her deathbed Catherine would bequeath her kingdom to her children should they convert back to Christianity, as well as their father's sword which obviously had symbolic meaning; see Pandžić, 'Katarina Vukčić Kosača,' 20–22.

<sup>659</sup> The focus on the Ostrogothic Illyrian nation that *De bellis Gothorum* assumes – a typical humanist articulation of a collective identity as was seen in the course of the chapter – reflected not only Bosnian claims to the thrones of Croatia, Dalmatia and Serbia, but also largely reflected the administrative reconfiguration of the Balkans in the aftermath of the fall of Bosnia in 1463. For, as was shown in the *Prologue*, the fall of the Bosnian kingdom and the subsequent reconquest of its northern parts led to the formation of a unified administration south of the river Drava. While earlier in the fifteenth century the joint banship of Dalmatia and Croatia was, with only a few exceptions, held by a different magnate from that who administered Slavonia, from 1464 Matthias Corvinus would often not only join the two offices but tie them together with the newly created banship of Bosnia, uniting under one administration all of the South Slavic realms under the Hungarian rule.

<sup>660</sup> App. 3, lett. 6: *Cum superioribus diebus ab oratoribus tuis, uiris quidem egregiis tuaque familiaritate dignissimis, mihi autem singulari beniuolentia coniunctissimis, multa tuae indolis preclara facinora didicissem, quantumque digna, adhuc iuuenis, principatus tui ieceris fundamenta, quantoque clariora pubescens tua uirtus polliceatur; spem ingentem concepi te uel maximis principibus parem euasurum* (Tr.: Since in the past few days I learned from your ambassadors – exceptional men worthy of your company and strongly connected to me by ties of friendship – of many great deeds testifying to your talents, of how you, still a youth, have laid the foundations to your rule, and of how your pubescent virtue promises even more glorious deeds to come, I became hopeful that you will turn out to be equal to the very greatest of rulers).



studying Greek under Andronico Callisto, and his death in 1480. Nevertheless, as was the case of *De humilitate*, a likely candidate can be suggested. For if we take into consideration the connections between the Illyrian political-ecclesiastical diaspora and the Neapolitan court in 1471-1472, we can identify the dedicatee as Alfonso duke of Calabria (1448–1495), the crown prince of the Neapolitan kingdom, patron of humanists, and commander of royal armies whose military prowess Nicholas himself came to praise in his *Defensio*.<sup>661</sup> The bishop's reference to 'the many great deeds testifying to [the] talents' of this 'youth,' and the 'foundations [he] laid to [his] rule,' seem to refer to Alfonso who in 1463 at 14 years of age helped quash the rebellion of the Neapolitan barons against his father, and four years later distinguished himself in the campaign against Venice. If the duke of Calabria was indeed the dedicatee of the translations, then they can also be dated to the diplomatic efforts and military preparations that would lead to the 1472 expedition, since Alfonso was then 22-to-23 years old. The fact that virtually no other Italian prince started effective reign so young in the period between 1466 and 1480, let alone to such an illustrious career as Alfonso has to be seriously taken into consideration here. Yet the most important piece of evidence that supports this identification is Nicholas' decision to present Nikokles not as king of Salamina or Cyprus, but as king of Sicily(!).<sup>662</sup> Rather than a historiographical error, this represented a conscious twist that was supposed to further appeal to Alfonso, heir to Ferrante I, who, though nowadays called by convention 'the king of Naples,' officially held the title of, and was recognized as, *rex Siciliae*.<sup>663</sup> If Ferrante was one of the people to whom a complimentary copy of *De bellis Gothorum* was supposed to be presented, if not the designated dedicatee himself, then the translations of Isocrates' speeches were reserved for the crown prince of the kingdom. After all, such an interpretation would comply with Nicholas' strategy of accompanying the dedications of his grand works to the power players with those of his lesser works to the intimates of their inner circles. It was the same strategy he exhibited in 1463 with *Navicula*

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<sup>661</sup> For Alfonso, see Raffaele Mormone, 'Alfonso II d'Aragona, re di Napoli,' in *DBI*, vol. 2 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alfonso-ii-d-aragona-re-di-napoli\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alfonso-ii-d-aragona-re-di-napoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013). For his patronage as duke of Calabria and king of Naples, see Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 80–82.

<sup>662</sup> App. 3, lett. 6: *Complura et sapientiae et eloquentiae suae insignia monumenta reliquit. Inter caetera, regiam uitae institutionem ad Nicoclem Siciliae regem, quam nos Latinam fecimus* (Tr.: He (sc. Isocrates) left many great testaments to his wisdom and eloquence. Among other, the instruction of royal life for Nikokles king of Sicily which I have translated into Latin).

<sup>663</sup> Carlo Marsupini, the earlier translator of the speech (see n. 440), for instance, in 1430 correctly identified Nikokles as 'king of Cyprus' (*Nicoclem Cypri regem*); see Kaeppli, 'Le traduzioni umanistiche,' 64.

*Petri*, and around ca. 1470 with *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum*. This, finally, explains the *fortuna* of Corsin. 127, a composite manuscript comprising the copies of *De bellis Gothorum*, *De humilitate* and the translations of Isocrates, which all can be dated to 1470–1472, and which all thus bear witness to the period of fervent activity of the Illyrian political-ecclesiastical diaspora and its connection to the Neapolitan court.



**Map 5: Possible extent of Nicholas' utopian vision of Ostrogothic Illyria, covering the South Slavic realms in the Balkans: Kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Bosnia, Despotate of Serbia, Duchy of St Sava (Hum / Herzegovina) and Principality of Zeta**

For Nicholas of Modruš, who had by 1471 established himself as the curial prelate for matters Illyrian, the military and diplomatic preparation for the 1472 expedition marked a return to prominence after seven years of appointments in the administration of the Papal States. Just as in 1463–1464 at Corvinus' court when he inserted references to his missions into strategically dedicated work, Nicholas again made sure to use his prominent role in an anti-Ottoman expedition in order to realize his personal career ambitions. In order to shed more light on his actions and expectations, it is important to finally consider in detail the poetry of Francesco Maturanzio (1443–1520), a Perugian humanist who entered the bishop's retinue in the course of preparations of the fleet in Venice, and who remained at Rhodes following the fleet's return to Italy in January of 1473.<sup>664</sup> It is Maturanzio's poems dedicated to Nicholas that, next to their correspondence, present us with a unique insight into the background of the expedition and its aftermath.

The dedication copy of the book of poems Francesco Maturanzio composed in honor of Nicholas of Modruš has not been preserved, but nonetheless can be found as part of a larger collection of Maturanzio's poetry, now Vat. Ottob. lat. 2011.<sup>665</sup> Unfortunately apart from two cycles of poems, one in honor of the Virgin Mary and the other in praise of Nicholas, consisting of altogether 34 poems, we cannot know which other pieces in this manuscript were included in the collection presented to the bishop.<sup>666</sup> The seventeen poems of the Marian cycle can be dated to the period between summer of 1472 and Maturanzio's return to Italy in the summer of 1474.<sup>667</sup> The composition of the encomiastic cycle, however, can in turn be divided into two periods: seven poems that were composed while Maturanzio's was part of Modruš's retinue during the expedition of 1472,<sup>668</sup> and nine in the summer of 1474 upon his

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<sup>664</sup> On Maturanzio, see the standard study by Guglielmo Zappacosta, *Francesco Maturanzio: Umanista perugino* (Bergamo: Minerva Italica, 1970), which also includes a selection of his works and letters. See also Paolo Falzone, 'Maturanzio (Mataratius), Francesco,' in *DBI*, vol. 72 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-maturanzio\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-maturanzio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013). See also first of Maturanzio's letters to Nicholas, datable to the spring of 1473 (App. 2, lett. 2): *Ea extitit tua in me humanitas cum superiore anno tecum in Asiam ex Italia nauigavi, ut nisi te colam obseruemque omnium ingrattissimus merito sim* (Tr.: You have shown me such benevolence when I traveled with you from Italy to Asia last year, that if I would not pay honor and respect to you I would truly be the most ungrateful person of all).

<sup>665</sup> BAV, Ottob. lat. 2011 includes pieces composed in the later period as well, such as those in honor of Niccolò Perotti whose service Maturanzio entered at the end of 1474 or the beginning of 1475.

<sup>666</sup> App. 6.

<sup>667</sup> App. 6, car. 1–18. The Marian cycle of Maturanzio's poems dedicated to Nicholas of Modruš was published by Zappacosta, *Francesco Maturanzio*, 261–284, based on another codex, BAP Perusinus 438 (G 27), which does not include the encomiastic cycle.

<sup>668</sup> App. 6, car. 19–24, 32.

return to Italy and visit to Nicholas, who was, as will be seen in the *Epilogue*, who was residing in Fano at the time.<sup>669</sup> While the dedicatory letter and references in other poems leave no doubt that Maturanzio presented Nicholas with the entire collection upon his visit in 1474,<sup>670</sup> it is highly likely that part of the poems were already presented to the bishop, upon his departure from the Aegean with the papal fleet at the very end of 1472.

If we here focus on the seven encomiastic poems of 1472, it becomes clear that, with the exception of the final one composed on the occasion of the bishop's departure with the fleet, each was specifically conceived to praise a different side to Nicholas' public *ethos*. The first of these presented Maturanzio's entrance into Modruš's service and praised the latter's knowledge of the stars and the sea, portraying him as an ideal admiral:

*Oh great father, the galley that had departed from the city of Vicenza  
Recently touched the ports of the Adriatic.  
It carries the wealth that I have amassed for a long time  
While diligently pursuing my studies.  
Do not ignore it. My only baggage is paper.  
My coffers preserve nothing besides it.  
Lead your companion. When you ascend the high stern of the galley,  
I will follow you and I will gladly come under your orders.  
I will not fear the many storms of the vast sea,  
For no thunders will hurt the galley under your command.  
You know the star that troubles a weary ship.  
And which make the winds and sea carry it.  
Either the rainmaking Hyades rise or the sad Orion,  
Or shine the bright lights of Helen's brothers.  
In your mind you enter the secrets of the heavens, and by your heart show  
Which stars will your eternal spirit inhabit.<sup>671</sup>*

The second of the poems presents him as the successful governor, whose departure is deeply mourned by his subjects, the citizens of Fano:

*As the highest father sends you to the Eastern shores,  
And as you leave the glorious walls of your Fano,  
The young and old come forth from everywhere,  
Both women and men mourn your departure.  
What piety, oh what just rule, what love of righteousness,  
Finally, what faith is in you!*

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<sup>669</sup> App. 6, car. 25–31, 33, 34.

<sup>670</sup> App. 6, car. 1, 28.

<sup>671</sup> App. 6, car. 20.

*The witnesses to this are their tears, and expressions of true sorrow,  
Which they all bear in their silent hearts!  
They watch the galley sailing across the sea away from their shores,  
And already light incense to pray for your return.  
What will they do once you return having defeated the enemy?  
Oh gods in heaven, I pray the day is not far.<sup>672</sup>*

Finally, Nicholas is presented as the commander of the papal forces in the war against the Turks, who comes to relieve Shkodër at the border of Illyria and Albania:

*Sixtus leads war against the savage forces of the Turks,  
With you Nicholas, glory of Illyria, as his commander.  
A great effort is to be made, but love of true religion  
Provides the great strength to do everything.  
Here now you enter the Drin river with a strong fleet –  
A more pressing matter has delayed the set journey.  
For the reports come that the Turkish troops are arriving,  
And are galloping in hostile formation across the wide fields.  
They are destroying the magic Epirus and the neighboring forts,  
And are now already pillaging the Illyrian lands.  
Oh father, bring help to the wretched souls, Shkodër begs you.  
It calls on your arrival with beseeching voice.  
Go, and you will achieve victory in the name of Christ –  
From him who is helped by the name of Christ the enemy will run in fear.  
An evil cause is that of the savage Turk – he leads wars  
Against all right. Your cause is just.  
One who wins in cause, he usually wins in war too,  
For the mind, once aware of its decision, falls into ruin.<sup>673</sup>*

Following these poems that are organized to praise Nicholas of Modruš's *vita activa* continue those that praise his morals and humanist learning. Maturanzio pivots the first of these around the bishop's history of the Gothic wars:

*Oh great glory of Illyria! What kind of bishop brings joy  
To small Modruš famous for its fertile soil!  
Oh the light of Latin eloquence evoking Cato with your righteousness,  
And Numa of the ancients with your piety!  
From your cultured chest a great voice comes forth,  
And words flow as if dense snow is falling.  
For you sing of how once upon a time from the Scythian land  
The vile Goth came and destroyed the Ausonian cities.  
And you do not lack in talent: You either describe fierce battles,*

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<sup>672</sup> App. 6, car. 22.

<sup>673</sup> App. 6, car. 23.

*Condemn what warrants condemnation, or praise the good deeds.  
 Yet, the matter is beneath your learning, and you do not seek appropriate words,  
 But, on the contrary, your concern is to restrain them.  
 How truly blessed are those whom the centuries have brought forth,  
 Although the savage Goths have hardly deserved this honor.  
 The Illyrian land was not content with your works, venerable Jerome,  
 So it brought forth this delight to the world.  
 Thus when finally Nicholas reaches the end of his days,  
 Let God rejoice that he has passed on to heavens.<sup>674</sup>*

We will turn to Maturanzio's comments concerning *De bellis Gothorum* shortly, while now we can proceed to another poem that evoked the humanist prelate, the one dedicated to the history of Brindisi, presented as narrated by Nicholas himself when entering the city's port with his fleet:

*Hail, the city held by the Cretan colonists! The Calabrian land  
 Does not boast another more illustrious than you.  
 My liege, Nicholas, enters your port,  
 And salutes thee from his seat in the high stern:  
 Nicholas, who equals the ancients in virtue and character,  
 Who is the foremost glory of his Illyria.<sup>675</sup>*

Which then introduces the description of the city's history. The final poem fashions Nicholas as the patron of humanists:

*If your head would be crowned by a purple miter,  
 If due honor would be given to you, Nicholas,  
 I would not need you Maecenas, neither you Proculeus.  
 You will be my Maecenas, my Proculeus!  
 You care much for the poets, great lord:  
 Once the laurel wreath adorned your head.  
 Pallas herself commanded to yield to her olive branch,  
 And Apollo allowed to be conquered by this goddess.  
 Whoever is patron to the poets, he shows what kind of honor he was worthy of:  
 To be read about by ages to come.<sup>676</sup>*

It is precisely this poem that provides the framework for the entire cycle, which in Maturanzio's encomiastic stylization fashions Nicholas as the 'light of Latin eloquence' 'Maecenas and Proculeus,' governor, admiral and commander, and therefore a legitimate

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<sup>674</sup> App. 6, car. 19.

<sup>675</sup> App. 6, car. 32.

<sup>676</sup> App. 6, car. 21.

candidate for ‘the purple miter’ – or, as can be found in another poem of the Marian cycle, ‘the red tiara’<sup>677</sup> – that is to say the cardinalate. Such explicit references in the poems, as well as the very decision to sponsor a young humanist – by which for the first time in his career the bishop stepped into the social role of a patron – make it clear that Nicholas saw his role in this military expedition as an opportunity to move up the ecclesiastical hierarchy towards the cardinal’s hat. Encomiastic poetry represented a medium through which Nicholas’ prominent role in the 1472 expedition could be chronicled and the most important aspects of his *ethos* conveniently expressed. Therefore, it can be interpreted as an integral component to his lobbying strategy by which he sought to present his credentials before the curial circles of power. Moreover, rather than solely representing the poet’s act of piety that would please his patron, Maturanzio’s choice of devoting a cycle of poems to the feasts of Virgin Mary could also have been a strategic move suggested by Nicholas himself, since pope Sixtus IV was known to be a particular devotee of the Marian cult ever since his Franciscan days.<sup>678</sup>

The central aspect of this project was the national aspect to the bishop’s public *ethos*, with ‘Nicholas the Glory of Illyria’ repeating in three poems of the cycle together with one in the Marian cycle and the dedicatory one.<sup>679</sup> These references leave little doubt that the bishop of Modruš strove to establish himself at the Curia not only by presenting himself as a humanist prelate, a patron of literature, bishop of high moral worth, but also as the shining star of his *natio*. In this way *De bellis Gothorum* fashioning a legitimate image of the Illyrian nation, stressing the ability of an ethnic ‘barbarian’ to become learned, achieve moral virtue, and enjoy an equal status with the cultured *nationes*, should be also read as the central piece of his own credentials for the cardinalate, especially once one considers the emphasis placed on the Gothic philosophers. Such employment of literary works in the quest for cardinalate was not an uncommon practice in Renaissance Rome. In 1538–39 Pietro Bembo organized a collection of twenty one of his poems in order to display his credentials and thus promote his campaign to win a cardinal’s hat for himself.<sup>680</sup> Yet while Bembo tried to secure the cardinal’s

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<sup>677</sup> App. 6, car. 6: *Ipse precor superet Pyllos pater inclitus annos, / Nicoleos gentis gloria prima suae. / Quem merito summus non fraudet honore sacerdos, / Cui sacrum cingat rubra tiara caput.* (Tr.: I pray that the renowned father lives up to Nestor’s years: / He, Nicholas, the foremost glory of his people. / Let not pope deprive him of his due honor! / Let his head be crowned with a red tiara!)

<sup>678</sup> Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 41.

<sup>679</sup> App. 6, car. 1, 6, 19, 23, 32.

<sup>680</sup> Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 132.

hat by showing his moral suitability and allegiance to the family of pope Paul III (r. 1534–1549), the patriotic motifs permeating Nicholas' *De bellis Gothorum* and Maturanzio's encomiastic poetry suggest that the bishop of Modruš sought to present himself as the candidate for the national or crown cardinal – an institution that largely expanded in the fifteen century, particularly after the pontificate of Eugenius IV who in an effort to garner support from the European rulers against antipope Felix V (r. 1439–1449) created a number of cardinals that acted as representatives of their interests at the Curia.<sup>681</sup> In the following years, aspiring curial prelates often sought to present themselves as legitimate candidates for this role by demonstrating care for the good of their nation through symbolic acts. For instance, as was shown by David Rundle, William Gray put forward his candidacy for the English cardinal by acting as the leader of the English community at the Curia, effectively running the national hospice of St Thomas of Canterbury. In this respect, it seems that the imitative model for Nicholas of Modruš was cardinal Bessarion, in whose circle he actively participated. Like Bessarion, Nicholas styled himself as a humanist prelate, organized a respectable library, in addition to making an effort to master the Greek language under the tutelage of one of cardinal's *familiares*. Yet more importantly, like Bessarion, he was the curial representative of a *natio* threatened by the Turks, acted as a central figure of his national community in Rome, and enjoyed close contacts with titular rulers in the exile. Finally, like Bessarion, Nicholas composed a work that sought to garner support for the crusade against the Turks and the restoration of his *natio*. In this way, just as Bessarion had been long established as the Greek cardinal at the Curia, Nicholas of Modruš, 'the Glory of Illyria,' presented himself as the legitimate candidate for the position of the *Cardinalis Illyricus*.<sup>682</sup>

With such hopes the year 1472 and the first half of 1473 seem to have passed for Nicholas of Modruš. Following the operations along the coast of Ottoman Asia Minor, the papal fleet, him included, returned to Italy in January of 1473, while a new joint expedition was being prepared for the coming spring that was supposed to capitalize on the negotiations of the preceding year in the Balkans, and more importantly, much as in 1472, on the engagement of

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<sup>681</sup> Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 110–112.

<sup>682</sup> Rundle, 'The Pretensions of William Gray.'



Uzun Hasan.<sup>683</sup> The confidence and optimistic mood of the curial elites in this period is perfectly illustrated by the elaborate spectacle that was staged at the beginning of March of 1473 by the new leading figure on the curial scene, Sixtus' cardinal nephew, Pietro Riario.<sup>684</sup> At the cardinal's palace, a selected audience that included foreign ambassadors, cardinals, curial prelates, other Roman notables, and one can imagine Nicholas of Modruš, was presented with a play in which the 'king of Macedon,' Uzun Hasan, triumphed over the Turkish sultan, who was in turn with his followers subsequently converted to Christianity. Not even three weeks later after this spectacle, as the preparations for the second naval expedition continued, the Venetian Senate mandated to its ambassador in Rome to lobby for the bishop of Modruš to be appointed as the admiral of the papal fleet, 'a prudent prelate who is experienced in these sort of matters, who is spirited, very organized, and greatly inclined to our cause.' The extent of the Venetian efforts to secure the appointment for Nicholas is reflected in the further instruction that they were willing to contribute five of their own galleys in the papal fleet should Nicholas be chosen.<sup>685</sup> In addition to all of these preparations, rumors were already circulating at the Curia that Sixtus was about to appoint new cardinals.<sup>686</sup>

However, not only that it was slowly becoming clear that nothing would come out of the joint attack on the Balkans, by the end of March of 1473 Lorenzo Zane was appointed admiral of the papal fleet,<sup>687</sup> while on the consistory of May 7 Sixtus appointed eight new cardinals, passing over Nicholas of Modruš. It is in the light of these events that the bishop's oft-quoted letter sent from Rome responding to two of Francesco Maturanzio's earlier ones from Rhodes has to be considered:<sup>688</sup>

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<sup>683</sup> The ambassadors of the Serbian despot, Bosnian king and Vlatko Kosača were all in Venice negotiating financial support for their active engagement; see Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 116–117.

<sup>684</sup> Angelo Piemontese, 'Le représentation de Uzun Hasan sur scène à Rome (2 mars 1473),' *Turcica* 23 (1991): 191–203.

<sup>685</sup> App. 1, doc. 39: *Verum si citra dignitatem cardinalatus beatitudini summi pontifici(!) de legato classi provideret, querite quantum potestis ut is sit reverendissimus episcopus Modrusiensis prelatu prudens expertus in huiusmodi exercitio animosus et impresie optime dispositus nobisque plurimum affectus, sub quo quum pro impetrando necessarium esset mittere adhuc contentaremur quinque ex nostris triremibus pro honore sedis apostolice.*

<sup>686</sup> See Ammannati's letter to Galeazzo Maria Sforza duke of Milan in Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere*, vol. 3, 1679–1680.

<sup>687</sup> App. 1, doc. 40.

<sup>688</sup> App. 2, lett. 2, and 3.

*I have received your letter and requested the one for you only at this very hour, since I was not able to find any time neither for my own business nor for yours. This letter of reference for the Metropolitan will easily be prepared, if there will be someone to give it to who would send it. The state of my affairs is such as it can be for virtuous there where virtue has no place. Greed and luxury rule over everything, all is given to debauchery and pleasure. Gaius Caligula holds sway. A sense of shame has been banished from the City and fled to the Sarmatians. The religion has been turned into pomp, there is no reward for virtue. Everything is placed in the hand of one person. Blessed are you who does not see what I am forced to watch daily with weary eyes. You had a prophetic inspiration when you embarked on such a admirable undertaking, which would turn you from a skilled into a learned scholar and at the same time prevent you from watching the immoderate fortune of barbers and pimps. So make an effort to*<sup>689</sup>

Maturanzio's response dates the letter to May, precisely to the aftermath of the election of cardinals, and is equally illuminating of Nicholas' expectations:

*On June 13 I have received your letter from which I have easily gathered your love towards me, since as such and so great a man you did not find it unworthy to respond to the insignificant me. I suffer deeply on account of your fate, that there is no place for decency there, and that you, the most learned and most worthy of all, do not receive the reward befitting your virtue. Though I hope that I will soon hear that you have achieved it, still, that what you do not wish for cannot be denied to you. Which when it happens, I ask you to remember me. Even though I am found lacking in other qualities, in fidelity and love I am not. Yet whatever becomes of you, know that I am your fervent supporter and have always been the one most dedicated to you. That Gaius Caligula, who holds sway over everything, does not hear that well over here.*<sup>690</sup>

Just as Maturanzio's poems dedicated to Nicholas, the correspondence of the two sheds light on the high hopes the bishop harbored during 1472 and the winter of 1473. At the same time,

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<sup>689</sup> App. 2, lett. 4: *Hac ipsa hora et redditae mihi sunt litterae tuae et meae ad te postulatae: quo factum est, ut temporis angustia nec mihi nec tibi potuerim facere satis. Litterae commendatitiae ad Metropolitanam facile habebuntur, si erit cui deferendas dem. Mearum rerum talis conditio est qualis esse proborum potest ubi probitati nullus est locus. Auaritia ac luxus omnia possidet, pudendis libidinique dicantur cuncta. Caius Calligula imperium obtinet. Pudor Vrbe eiectus et ultra Sauromatas fugatus. Religio uersa in luxum, uirtuti proemium nullum. In unius manu posita sunt omnia. Te beatum qui non uides quae nos deficientibus oculis quotidie cernere cogimur. Diuinum aliquod numen in consilio habuisti quando tam praeclarum inceptum amplexus es, quo simul et ex erudito doctissimus euaderes et tonsorum lenonumque insolentem fortunam non cerneres.*

<sup>690</sup> App. 2, lett. 5: *Litteras tuas Idibus Iuniis accepi, quibus amorem in me tuum facile perspexi, cum talis tantusque uir meae rescribere paruitati dedignatus non es. Quod nullus istic probitati locus sit, uicem tuam uehementer doleo. Qui omnium doctissimus et optimus dignam uirtute tua mercedem non recipis. Quamquam spero propediem fore ut id te consecutum audiam, quod non optas quidem negari tamen tibi non potest. Quod ubi contiget, te rogo, ut memineris mei. Cui etsi coetera desunt, fides tamen et amor non deest. Quicquid tamen fueris, me tui studiosissimum et semper tibi deditissimum cognosces. Iste Caius Calligula, in cuius manus sunt omnia, ne hic quidem bene audit.*

the paratactic construction of his letter and allusive images to the Rome of Juvenal's *Satires* represent a vivid testimony of his livid reaction to the elections of cardinals. It is not difficult to identify the reasons for the failure of Nicholas' ambitions. On the one hand, the places were limited, while on the other most of the appointed cardinals had strong supporters or were part of Sixtus' inner circle. Philibert Hugonet was backed by the duke of Burgundy, Philippe de Levis by Rene of Anjou the titular king of Sicily, Giovanni Arcimboldo by Galeazzo Maria Sforza duke of Milan, Pedro Lopez de Gonzáles bishop of Sagunto by Henry IV of Castille, while Giovanni Battista Cibò and Stefano Nardini were closely connected to Sixtus himself.<sup>691</sup> In the context of these names, Nicholas stood little chance of reaching his goal, since the popes were, as John D'Amico pointed out, rarely ready to bestow a cardinal's hat onto those that lacked an independent power base or those that were not their relatives or close intimates.<sup>692</sup> It therefore seems likely that *De bellis Gothorum* and translations of Isocrates were meant to secure the support of the Neapolitan court not only for the establishment of the utopian Illyria, but that also, one may imagine through cardinal Carafa, for Nicholas' own candidacy for the cardinalate.

However, instead of being awarded a cardinal's hat as the first *Cardinalis Illyricus*, the patron cardinal of the resurgent Illyrian kingdom under queen Catherine, Nicholas of Modruš, as will be seen in the following chapter, became a *familiaris* of Pietro Riario, no doubt the very same person whom he in the letter referred to as Gaius Caligula, the notorious Roman emperor, and whom in this way he perhaps identified as the one responsible for the unsuccessful outcome of his own candidacy for the cardinalate. Without support from a strong interested party such as the Neapolitan king Ferrante whose fleet in 1472 withdrew from the expedition due to disagreements with the Venetians, with the gradual turn of the papacy to the Italian politics, and after all with Corvinus' renewed engagement on his southern borders after 1473, *De bellis Gothorum* lost much of its political potential.<sup>693</sup> The bishop's heterodox presentation of the Gothic history – by which he, in the same manner as Pius II had done with the Huns/Hungarians, effectively divested the Goths of their Scythianness, repositioning

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<sup>691</sup> Two other cardinals created on the consistory of May 7 1473 were Ausias Despuig, and Giacomo Antonio Venier. For the list of cardinals, and the rulers who promoted their causes, see 'Essai de liste générale des cardinaux: VII. Les cardinaux de la fin du XVe siècle,' *Annuaire pontifical catholique* (1933): 145–164, at pp. 147–151; see also Conradus Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevii*, vol. 2 (Münster: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1914), 16–17.

<sup>692</sup> D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 85–88.

<sup>693</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 2, 317.

them from the Italian master narrative into the papal framework of the European *Res publica Christiana* – would have hardly played to the ears of the Italian elites on its own merits. This is perfectly illustrated by Maturanzio’s comment that ‘the savage Goths have hardly deserved [the] honor’ that they were bestowed upon in this way. Indeed, the very fact that Maturanzio in his encomiastic cycle of poems found a history of the Goths unorthodox while at the same time consistently praised the bishop’s Illyrian origins suggests not only that he was not privy to the entire work and to its intended purpose, but that in 1472 the whole project was, much like the diplomatic activities in the Balkans, still in preparation.

And indeed, it was to remain in this stage. In 1480, in *Defensio*, Nicholas would merely comment on the events of 1471–1472 that the papal fleet, formed under his supervision in Venice, ‘put to sword and flames the entire seacoast of Asia, and in one single summer did more glorious deeds than all other Christian fleets of our age.’<sup>694</sup> Yet Corsin. 127, an *octavo*-sized manuscript comprising the severely truncated working copies of the Nicholas’ writings from this period, alongside the poetry of his client and a few scattered pieces of documentary evidence, reveal in the Illyrian political-ecclesiastical diaspora in Rome great plans were afoot.

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<sup>694</sup> App. 6, cap. 19: *Quae Venetae Regiaeque coniuncta (aderat enim et praefectus classis Regis Ferdinandi cum suis) cunctam Asiae maritimam oram ferro flammisque consumpsit, tot una aestate rebus praeclare gestis quot omnes aliae nostra aetate Christianorum classes non egere.*

## EPILOGUE: THE COURTIER

The Curia of Sixtus IV differed greatly from that of his predecessors.<sup>695</sup> In order to secure support in the College of cardinals, he appointed altogether thirty-three cardinals until his death in 1484, and in the process became the first pope to go against the restriction imposed by the Council of Constance (1414–1418) that limited the College to twenty-four members. Moreover, though nepotism was a common feature of the medieval and Renaissance papacy – of the 820 appointments to curial posts during the pontificate of Pius II, for instance, 14.9% went to his family members and Sienese compatriots<sup>696</sup> – Sixtus IV took it to unprecedented levels. While Paul II waited a few years for the right moment to appoint Marco Barbo as his cardinal-nephew, Sixtus to the consternation of the college appointed two, Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere, immediately upon his ascension to the papal throne. In addition, in organizing his court, the prefecture of Rome was awarded to Leonardo della Rovere, Girolamo Riario became the captain general of the Church with a power base in Romagna, while in the following years four other nephews were invested with the cardinal's hat: Cristoforo della Rovere, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, Raffaele Sansoni Riario, all in 1477, and Domenico della Rovere in 1478.<sup>697</sup> While these men effectively represented the central figures of Sixtus' court, numerous other Rovereschi – members of the Ligurian della Rovere, Riario, Sansoni and Basso families, and other relatives of the pope's – both laymen and clerics, steadily streamed towards Rome throughout Sixtus' pontificate. Aside to contributing to the image of Sixtus as first of the blatantly nepotistic Renaissance popes, in the last few decades scholars such as Egmont Lee have recognized such a policy as a strategic move that

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<sup>695</sup> For the pontificate of Sixtus IV, see Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*; Egmont Lee, 'Iacopo Gherardi and the Court of Sixtus IV,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 65/2 (1979): 221–237; the contributions to the volume Miglio, et alii, ed., *Un pontificato ed una città*; and Partner, *The Pope's Men*, 202–203. Also see n. 200, for studies on Renaissance Rome in general.

<sup>696</sup> Richard B. Hilary, 'The Nepotism of Pope Pius II 1458–1464,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 64/1 (1978): 33–35.

<sup>697</sup> For the cardinals Sixtus appointed during his pontificate, see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 15–20; and 'Essai de liste générale des cardinaux VII,' 145–164.

was supposed to model the papal court on those of the Italian ruling houses.<sup>698</sup> By means of dynastic marriages, elaborate pageantry, and support of humanist bombastic propaganda increasingly mediated through print, Sixtus hoped to achieve two main goals: to impose firm rule over the territory of the Papal States, and to organize the Italian princes into a league that would successfully stand up to the Ottoman advance. It is to both these ends that the della Rovere pope turned two lords previously alienated during Paul II's pontificate, Federico da Montefeltro ruler of Urbino – whom the pope created duke in August of 1474 – and Ferrante of Naples, into his two most prominent allies.

In the very beginning of Sixtus' pontificate, and especially during 1473, the person in charge of papal diplomacy was Pietro Riario cardinal of St Sixtus.<sup>699</sup> To fully grasp the maneuvering space at his disposal, it is enough to mention that during Pietro's two-year-long cardinalate Sixtus invested him with the title of patriarch of Constantinople, three archbishoprics, five bishoprics, and benefices from twenty-seven monasteries which were all set to provide him with the astonishing annual income of 50 000 ducats. Settling after Bessarion's death in November 1472 at the late cardinal's palace adjacent to the Church of SS. Apostoli, Riario used his income to maintain an enormous court of some 500 *familiars*, relying on (the rhetoric of) splendor and opulence in order to further papal diplomatic relations with foreign powers. While such ostentatious display found numerous critics, the reports of various Italian ambassadors that watched the play of Uzun Hasan in March, or that of Eleonora of Naples, Ferrante's daughter, in June, all spared no detail in describing the spectacles that were organized for them, pointing out what honor had thus been done to their governments.<sup>700</sup> The ambitious project taken up by Riario, however, suddenly came to an end on January 5 1474, with his untimely death at the age of 29.

It is in the light of these new directions into which the papal Curia was taken during Sixtus' pontificate that one has to approach the final period of the curial career of Nicholas of Modruš. Rather than achieving his ultimate ambition on the consistory of May 7 1473, with

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<sup>698</sup> Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 33.

<sup>699</sup> For more balanced appraisals of the controversial figure of Pietro Riario, see Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 33–37; and Paola Farenga, 'Monumenta memoriae: Pietro Riario fra mito e storia,' in *Un pontificato ed una città*, ed. Miglio, et alii, 179–216.

<sup>700</sup> For the play starring Uzun Hasan against the Turk, see Piemontese, 'La représentation de Uzun Hasan,' for the feast in honor of Eleonora of Aragon, see Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento: Roma 1450–1550* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1983), 151–164.

Sixtus' reorganization of the papal court, Nicholas was, like a number of other prelates, turned into one of Pietro Riario's *familiares*.<sup>701</sup> True, this may have been a position that many wished to attain. Yet, the bishop's quoted letter to Maturanzio from May of 1473 clearly indicates that it was hardly considered as such by a bishop who had dreamed of the cardinal's hat. In a word, from being a prelate aspiring to set up his own cardinal court, Nicholas effectively became a courtier, and though the period spent as Riario's *familiaris* was relatively short, for the rest of his life he would remain firmly attached to della Rovere's court. Indeed, it is probably the bitter disappointment with the results of the cardinal elections and his position at the court that at least in part explains the fact that from his return from the naval expedition only one single display manuscript, of one of his own works, seems to have been produced for his library. This could also be the reason for his diminishing productivity as an author. Whereas from 1464 until 1472 Nicholas composed three grand works (*De consolatione*, *De humilitate*, and *De bellis Gothorum*), and two shorter ones (*De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum*, and the translations of Isocrates' speeches), from 1473 until his death in 1480, only two shorter speeches were put together, aside to the reference to a work in progress in 1478.

The first of Nicholas' two speeches produced during 1474–1480 was the funeral oration for the deceased Pietro Riario. At the service, the speech was actually delivered by Niccolò Perotti, while Nicholas only subsequently presented his own to the pope, who in turn arranged for it to be printed.<sup>702</sup> Whether this was Nicholas' own decision or the suggestion of the papal

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<sup>701</sup> See the following note.

<sup>702</sup> This is revealed by the comments of Giovanni Battista de Giudici (1428/29–1484) bishop of Ventimiglia who sent his own work on Riario to Sixtus; see App. 1, doc. 42: *De quo cum multi magno et excellenti ingenio viri scripserint, inter quos duo nostra aetate principes eloquentiae, Nicolaus Sepontinus Archiepiscopus et Nicolaus Modrusien. episcopus, orationes refertas clarissimorum auctorum sententiis, alter in contione habuit, alter editam ad te misit, mihi quoque (...) propter longam quae mihi cum Cardinali fuit consuetudinem et propter eius in me singularia merita aliquid scribere visum est* (Tr.: Although many great and talented minds wrote about him (sc. Pietro Riario) – among which one should mention the speeches filled with thoughts of most distinguished authorities by the two princes of eloquence of our time, Niccolò archbishop of Siponto and Nicholas bishop of Modruš, the former holding his during the service, the latter composing his and sending it to you – it seemed to me that, given the long friendship with the cardinal that I had and given his exceptional favors towards me, I should write something too). There are two references in Nicholas' funeral oration that reveal his status as Riario's *familiaris*; see Modrussiensis, 'Oratio in funere.' *Cuius iactura cum uniuersis lugenda sit, tum mihi praecipue atque his infelicissimis conseruis meis, quibus haec crudelis et dira mors tam benignissimum abstulit dominum* (Tr.: His loss should be mourned by all, but especially by me and these wretched fellow servants of mine, from whom this cruel and terrible death took our most kind lord); *Non semel neque solus interfui, cum quosdam familiarium merito obiurgasset, deinde uestimentis et magistratu donauit* (Tr.: It was not once and I was not alone who witnessed that, after deservedly chastizing some of his *familiares*, he immediately had them adorned with robes and offices).

inner circle, it is difficult to tell. What is certain is that the *Oration* represented a huge success for Nicholas of Modruš. In 1474 alone it was published in three Roman editions, one by Johannes Gensberg (see App. 9, pl. 15) and two by Antonio and Raffaele Maffei. All these, together with a German edition that appeared in Rostock in 1476, three subsequent Italian editions printed after the bishop's death, and five more copies of the text appearing in contemporary miscellaneous manuscripts,<sup>703</sup> made Nicholas' *Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis S. Sixti* one of the most popular funeral speeches of Renaissance Italy.<sup>704</sup> According to humanist standards, in order to present the virtues of the deceased, the bishop introduced episodes from his life. However, rather than a mere eulogy, the fact that Nicholas, rather unconventionally, chose to pass over those episodes 'which [he] was able to gather either from [Riario's] parents or from his homeland' and to focus instead on his short cardinalate, reveals that the work represented above all a defense of the cardinal's, and hence the pope's, political methods against the 'envy and insatiable malice' (*invidia et liuor edax*) of detractors.<sup>705</sup> Therefore, though Nicholas was, together with Niccolò Perotti, due to this speech referred to by Giovanni Battista de Guidici as a 'prince of eloquence,'<sup>706</sup> its success was largely due to the papal propaganda machinery that rapidly expanded with Sixtus' arrival to the throne.<sup>707</sup> Taking here into consideration the fact that Gensberg frequently published papal official documents, and the known connections of the Maffei brothers to Pietro Riario and to John Philip de Lignamine, a publisher supported by pope Sixtus, both early editions were no

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<sup>703</sup> For the editions, see respectively ISTC nos. in00049000, in00048800, in00048850, in00049500, in00050000, in00051000, in00052000. For the discussion of the editions, particularly those published by the Maffei brothers, see Bošnjak, 'Dvije značajne knjižice,' 592. For the miscellaneous manuscripts preserving Nicholas' *Oratio*, see App. 7, nos. 3, 4, 6, 12, 15.

<sup>704</sup> See McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 24–25, for the list of the most popular funeral speeches in quattrocento Italy. See also John M. McManamon, *An Incipitarium of Funeral Orations and a Smattering of Other Panegyric Literature from the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1350–1550)* (available at [http://www.luc.edu/history/pdfs/Incipit\\_Catalogue.pdf](http://www.luc.edu/history/pdfs/Incipit_Catalogue.pdf); last accessed March 6 2013).

<sup>705</sup> Modrussiensis, 'Oratio in funere:' *Dicturus igitur de laudibus Reuerendissimi domini D. Petri cardinalis sancti Sixti, cuius miserandum funus hodierna die celebratur; eas laudes quas uel a parentibus uel a patria ipsius colligere poteram hoc loco praetermittendas putaui* (Tr.: Therefore as I am about to deliver praises of lord Lord Pietro cardinal of St Sixtus, whose sorrowful funeral is celebrated today, I will pass over those which I was able to gather either from his parents or from his homeland); Modrussiensis, 'Oratio in funere:' *Absit uero inuidia et liuor edax saltem parcat cineribus* (Tr.: Away with the envy, let insatiable malice spare the ashes at least). For the discussion of Renaissance funeral oratory in general, see McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*.

<sup>706</sup> For Giudici's comments, see n. 702.

<sup>707</sup> As Brian Richardson pointed out, whereas the Italian courts and republics only slowly realized the benefits of printing, the papacy beginning with Sixtus IV was 'quick to perceive value in using the press both as a means of diffusing official documents and as a weapon of propaganda;' see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 27–28.



doubt produced with direct input of the inner circles of the Curia.<sup>708</sup> After all, next to Nicholas', the other most frequently printed funeral speech in Renaissance Italy was that by Francesco da Toledo for Leonardo della Rovere in 1475. Numerous editions of both speeches, all probably appearing during Sixtus' pontificate, clearly reveal that they were either actively used as part of della Rovere's propaganda, or reflected an interest of the general public in della Rovere's Rome, much more than representing testimonies of their authors' eloquence. Whatever the case may be, the *Oratio* was a huge success for the bishop, who in spite of a decade of efforts to establish himself as an author by appealing to a wide spectrum of audiences and influential dedicatees, never saw wide circulation of his works. What he had hoped for from his earlier Roman works, which were all fruits of his own intellectual and political interests, he finally achieved with the eulogizing speech in which, if compared to the oblique references to Riario as Caligula discussed in the conclusions to *Part II*, he lost much of his authorial autonomy.

In spite of the dissolution of Riario's *familia* with his death on January 5 1474, Nicholas remained firmly attached to Sixtus' court, which, together with the success of the *Oratio*, in turn led way to new offices in the Papal States (see Map 6). First, probably not long after seeing his work printed in Rome, the bishop of Modruš returned to the gubernatorial post in Fano, where at the end of the summer of 1474 Francesco Maturanzio visited the bishop on his return from Greece in order to secure recommendation to Niccolò Perotti, the newly appointed governor of Perugia, Maturanzio's home town.<sup>709</sup> Modruš's own return to Fano, however, proved to be only temporary, as he was soon, in February of 1475, transferred to Spoleto in Umbria,<sup>710</sup> where following year Todi and Amelia were added to his governorship

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<sup>708</sup> Farenga, 'Monumenta memoriae,' 214, n. 95 drew attention to the connection between the edition of the *Oratio* and Maffei's relations to Riarios. For more on the Maffei as a typical humanist family in Rome, see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 81–85. On de Lignamine and his connections to the Curia and the Maffei, see Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 99–105; and Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 29, and 163, n. 21.

<sup>709</sup> While Nicholas definitely did return to Fano, the official document of his reappointment to the post of governor is not known. However, in a letter sent to a certain Ulisse of Fano, datable to autumn of 1474, Maturanzio refers to Nicholas as *praeses*, i.e. the governor (see App. 1, doc. 46), while a letter of the camerlengo to the treasurer of the Marches mentions the repairs carried out by Nicholas as governor of Fano on the palace (see App. 1, doc. 51). For Maturanzio's letters to Modruš from Greece, see App. 2, lett. 2–11, and for his efforts to secure Perotti's favor through Modruš; see App. 1, doc. 46, 48; and App. 2, lett. 13, 14. It is on this occasion that Maturanzio presented Nicholas with the book of poems, for which see App. 6, and conclusions to *Part II*. For more on Maturanzio's visit to the bishop, see n. 725.

<sup>710</sup> App. 1, doc. 49.

the.<sup>711</sup> Finally, in 1478, at some fifty years of age, Nicholas was appointed to the last administrative position he would occupy in his life, that of the vicelegate of the duchy of Perugia, nominally under the newly appointed sixteen-year-old cardinal-nephew Raffaele Sansoni Riario, but effectively the person entrusted with nearly all of Umbria.<sup>712</sup>

The successive advancements testify to the increasing standing Nicholas enjoyed at the court, which is also reflected in the number of benefices he managed to secure. While during Paul's pontificate he did not enjoy any, immediately with Sixtus' arrival at the papal throne, on October 7 1471, he was awarded a benefice from the Benedictine monastery of St George in Kotor which was set to provide the bishop with an income of 150 florins.<sup>713</sup> Further increases, however, came with the dissolution of Riario's court. In April of 1475 the bishop received the benefice from the Benedictine priory of San Bartolomeo in Venice providing him with additional 150 florins per annum,<sup>714</sup> while towards the end of 1475, following the death of Fantino della Valle, he received the Dalmatian bishopric of Skradin *in commendam*.<sup>715</sup> Though later, on April 28 1479, Nicholas resigned this benefice, he did retain from it an annual pension of 120 florins.<sup>716</sup> Yet, this was not all. Following the death of Marko Paskvali in 1477, Nicholas additionally received the two benefices formerly enjoyed by his late nephew, from the Kotor church and from San Pietro in Castello.<sup>717</sup> Finally, in December of 1479, he received *in commendam* the Benedictine monastery of St Mary on the Dalmatian island of Mljet.<sup>718</sup> While Nicholas' income during the first part of his career came to amount to not much more than 600 florins per year, under Sixtus IV it eventually doubled through the numerous Dalmatian benefices he managed to secure.

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<sup>711</sup> App. 1, doc. 54. It is at some point during these years, in 1476 or 1477, that Nicholas sent his *Letter to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy*, which was discussed in *Part II* and which testifies to his continuing contacts with his bishopric after the departure from Modruš; see App. 2, lett. 16. During the same period he received a letter from Maturanzio, now member of Perotti's household in Perugia, asking for the bishop's intercession in a dispute in one of the towns under his governorship; see App. 2, lett. 15.

<sup>712</sup> App. 1, doc. 58.

<sup>713</sup> App. 1, doc. 30.

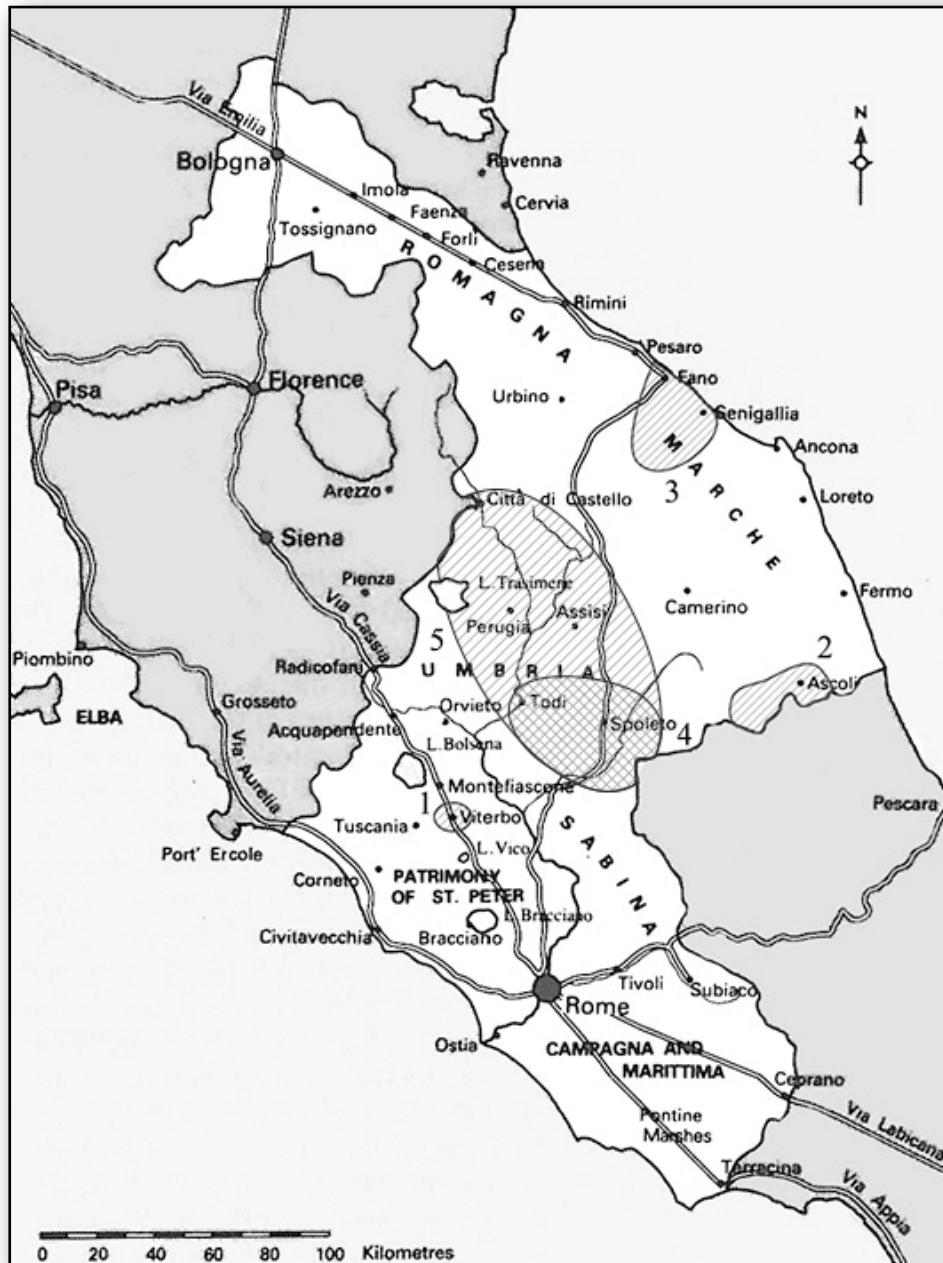
<sup>714</sup> App. 1, doc. 50.

<sup>715</sup> App. 1, docs. 52, 53.

<sup>716</sup> App. 1, doc. 62.

<sup>717</sup> App. 1, doc. 56.

<sup>718</sup> App. 1, docs. 63, 66.



*Map 6: Nicholas' appointments in the Papal States under Sixtus IV, in Spoleto (4), and Perugia (5)*

The benefices as well as the gradual administrative advancements culminating with the position of vicelegate in the duchy of Perugia all testify to the increase of Nicholas' standing at Sixtus' court by 1478. While his appointments to Fano in 1474 and Spoleto in 1475 were probably in part due to the success of his funeral oration, there can be no doubt that subsequent advancements owed much to his administrative competence, especially once one considers the careers of Niccolò Perotti and Giovanni Antonio Campano, two other bishops who rose to gubernatorial positions thanks to their humanist learning. For while the latter two were on more than one occasion removed from their offices either for finding it difficult to

deal with civic factionalism or for lacking diplomatic savvy in contacts with the pope himself,<sup>719</sup> Nicholas enjoyed three successive appointments in Umbria, each adding new territories to his administration. It is, after all, a testament to his ability as a papal official that upon pope's decision to add Todi to his governing, the citizens of Spoleto not only requested for the bishop not to relocate his seat of rule,<sup>720</sup> but also chose to present him with a house in the city and gifts of silver.<sup>721</sup> Another document from Spoleto archives sheds light on Nicholas' administrative practices, providing us with a rare example of his relations to the communal elites. Supposedly, in 1479, Nicholas, now vicelegate in the duchy of Perugia and thus still with Spoleto under his governing, sent a live bear as a gift to the commune, which was kept and fed on public expense.<sup>722</sup> Though it is difficult to untangle the precise symbolic meaning behind this gift and Nicholas' motivation for sending it, it seems that the animal was supposed to act as a live coat of arms of the Orsini, powerful Roman family which originated and enjoyed strong ties with Spoleto.<sup>723</sup> The donation of a house, gifts of silver and references to Nicholas as their *benefattore*, all suggest that such actions were part of the reason behind his reputation as an able administrator, which as career advancements show was clearly recognized and appreciated at Sixtus' court.

However, before proceeding to treat the very end of Nicholas' career, i.e. the role he would play as the vicelegate in Perugia, it is important to bring into discussion the letter he received from Federico da Montefeltro duke of Urbino, which we can date precisely to the time when early in 1478 Nicholas assumed his post in Perugia.<sup>724</sup>

*I have received your letter radiating with your culture and your great affection towards me, which informed me of your arrival there (sc. to Perugia). I find this very dear to me. You have come as a future neighbor to the person who loves you deeply and who also values highly your amazing virtue. I have received a foretaste (praegustationem) of your work, and have read it with such pleasure that*

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<sup>719</sup> For the careers of Perotti and Campano under Sixtus IV, see Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 87–99.

<sup>720</sup> App. 1, doc. 55.

<sup>721</sup> App. 1, doc. 57.

<sup>722</sup> App. 1, doc. 64.

<sup>723</sup> Achille Sansi, *Storia del Comune di Spoleto dal secolo XII a XVII seguita da alcune memorie di tempi posteriori*, 2 vols. (Foligno: P. Sgariglia, 1879–1884), vol. 2, 74.

<sup>724</sup> The literature on Federico da Montefeltro is vast, but good overview is presented by Gino Benzoni, 'Federico da Montefeltro, duca di Urbino,' in *DBI*, vol. 45 (available at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/federico-da-montefeltro-duca-di-urbino\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/federico-da-montefeltro-duca-di-urbino_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); last accessed March 6 2013). See also the recent exhibition catalogue by Marcello Simonetta, ed., *Federico da Montefeltro and His Library* (Milan: Y Press, 2007). For the dating of the letter, see the following note.

*when the end came I was greatly saddened. I would like you to know that I have not read anything in this time that can match your work in elegance or the seriousness of the matter. Therefore I am greatly delighted by this, but even more so that you say that you want to honor (ornari velle significas) me with it. I do not know what could be more honorable or dear to me, as will be discussed with you in greater detail by my scribe Nicola, the courier of the present letter, whom I have sent to see Your Reverend Lordship, to whom I commend myself.*<sup>725</sup>

Federico's courteous praises aside, the letter reveals that upon arriving at Perugia, Nicholas immediately sent drafts (*praegustationem*) of a work in progress he wished to dedicate (*ornari velle significas*) to the duke of Urbino. Which work this was, we unfortunately cannot say, as Federico provides here a fairly generic response. However, it is clear that, as already argued by Giovanni Mercati, Federico was not referring to Nicholas' only work now among the Urbinates, the bishop's *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum*, Urb. lat. 586.<sup>726</sup> This work was not dedicated to the duke, it did not praise him in any way that would elicit such a response, and was after all, as was argued in *Part I*, most likely composed around *ca.* 1470. Urb. lat. 586 therefore represented a separate gift that Nicholas chose to send to Montefeltro, and was produced in pair with a new display copy of the work for his own library, Vat. lat. 995 (for which see App. 9, pl. 16).<sup>727</sup> The choice of sending *De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum* to Montefeltro should not surprise us as well. Of Nicholas' Roman works, *De consolatione*, *De bellis Gothorum*, *De humilitate* were the three larger ones, while the funeral oration was

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<sup>725</sup> App. 2, lett. 17: *Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae humanitatis plenae et amoris summi erga me tui, quibus de tuo istuc aduentu factus sum certior; quod mihi tam gratum est quam quod gratissimum. Venisti futurus uicinus illi qui te uehementer amat quique praestantissimam uirtutem tuam facit multi. Praegustationem operis tui accepi eamque libentissime legi, meque tantopere delectauit eius lectio, ut cum uenerit finis sim non mediocri molestia affectus. Illud uelim certo scias me nihil hac tempestate scriptum legisse quod his tuis aut elegantia aut scientiarum grauitate sit conserendum. Delectauerunt ergo me mirum in modum, sed eo magis quod me illis ornari velle significas: quod haud scio an quicquam mihi uel honestius accidere potuisset uel iocundius, quemadmodum pluribus tecum aget nomine meo Nicolaus praesentium lator, scriba meus, missus ad uisendam Reverendam Dominationem Tuam, cui me commendo.* Although Mercati ('Notizie varie,' 240), argued that this letter can be dated to either 1474 or 1478, the former dating is much less likely. First of all, the fact that in the letter Montefeltro is styled as 'dux,' establishes August 23 1474, the date when he was awarded this title by Sixtus IV, as *terminus post quem*. Though, unfortunately, we do not know when exactly did Nicholas leave Rome to reassume the gubernatorial post in Fano, it seems that it was not long after the death of Pietro Riario on January 5 1474. More evidence is provided by the correspondence of Francesco Maturanzio. In the letter sent from Vicenza on July 19 1474 (App. 2, lett. 12), Maturanzio informed Nicholas of his recent arrival from Greece. Then, upon receiving the bishop's response soon after, the humanist traveled, via Padua (App. 1, doc. 43), south to Fano where he stayed with the bishop for a few days (App. 1, doc. 44, 45), and presented him with the book of poems (App. 6). Taking into consideration that Nicholas wrote his, not-preserved, letter to Montefeltro, immediately upon the arrival to the province under his care, it is unlikely that this happened in 1474, since at the time Nicholas would have arrived to Fano, Montefeltro still would have held only the title of the count.

<sup>726</sup> Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 238–240.

<sup>727</sup> For the descriptions of the two manuscripts, see App. 7, no. 14; and App. 8b, no. 10.

widely available in print. *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum* therefore was perhaps chosen because of the shortness of the text, as it counts only 48 folios of an *octavo*-sized manuscript. It seems that while the bishop worked on a work that he professedly wanted to dedicate to Federico – which he never seems to have finished – a complimentary copy of one of his shorter works was sent as a gift to adorn Montefeltro's library in the meantime.

Yet the important position of vicelegate in the duchy of Perugia brought Nicholas not only into close contact with one of Sixtus' most important political allies, but involved him in the conspiracy that aimed to bring down the Medici regime in Florence.<sup>728</sup> To be sure, the causes that led to the so-called Pazzi conspiracy, and the ensuing war were many. Most importantly, the 1470s witnessed the Medici moving from the position of papal bankers who have sponsored the organization of the 1472 expedition to Sixtus' adversaries, largely due to the pope's intentions to impose firm rule over the Papal States. By 1478 the power plays for the control Imola and Città di Castello put the pope and Medici at complete odds, which in turn gradually led way to a plot to kill the brothers Lorenzo and Giuliano and terminate the Medici regime. The conspiracy eventually came to involve the rival Florentine family of the Pazzi, their cousin Francesco Salviati archbishop of Pisa, generals of the papal troops, Girolamo Riario and Federico da Montefeltro, and was supported by the pope and the Neapolitan king Ferrante. On April 26 1478, on occasion of the visit of the young cardinal Raffaele Sansoni Riario to Florence, the assassins, hidden in his retinue, attacked the Medici brothers during the mass in the cathedral. While they managed to kill Giuliano, Lorenzo managed to escape with only flesh wounds. In the ensuing mayhem, Riario was imprisoned, the Pazzi and other conspirators were hunted down by the pro-Medici mobs across the city, while archbishop Salviati was hanged from the walls of Palazzo Vecchio.

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<sup>728</sup> For the Pazzi conspiracy, see Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot against the Medici* (London: Pimlico, 2004); Riccardo Fubini, 'La congiura dei Pazzi: Radici politico-sociali e ragioni di un fallimento,' in *Italia quattrocentesca: Politica e diplomazia nell'età di Lorenzo di Magnifico*, ed. Riccardo Fubini, 219–247 (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1994); John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 352–361. Recently the documents were uncovered that shed light on Federico da Montefeltro's role in the conspiracy itself; see Marcello Simonetta, 'Federico da Montefeltro contro Firenze: Retrosceca inediti della congiura dei Pazzi,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 161/2 (2003): 261–284.

Taking the execution of Salviati and the imprisonment of Raffaele Riario as pretext, Sixtus excommunicated Lorenzo on June 1, printing the bull three days later and sending it out to the leading princes of Italy and Europe.<sup>729</sup> Though Riario was released soon after, in July the papal troops under the command of Federico da Montefeltro and Neapolitan ones under the command of Alfonso duke of Calabria advanced into southern Tuscany, ushering a year a half long conflict accompanied by one of the first propaganda wars that relied on the heavy use of print. For in order to garner support of the Italian and European political elites in the war, the Medici regime disseminated a number of texts implicating Girolamo Riario and Sixtus IV in the conspiracy that triggered it: the confession of one of the captured papal soldiers; *The Pazzi Conspiracy (De Pactiana coniuratione)*, work by Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo's court humanist, which was modeled on Sallust's *Catilinarian Conspiracy*; *Florentina synodus* by Gentile Becchi bishop of Arezzo; *Excusatio Florentinorum* of the Florentine chancellor Bartolomeo Scala; and at least ten legal opinions on the war commissioned from the most famous professors of law in Italy. It was no different on the other side, as pope not only disseminated the bull of excommunication of June 1 but also other official documents, as well as an anonymous pro-papal treatise *Dispute between Our Most Holy Lord the Pope and the Florentines (Dissentio inter sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam et Florentinos suborta)*.

It is difficult to tell whether Nicholas was privy to the details of the conspiracy by which the Medici brothers were supposed to be assassinated. He was the vicelegate in control of the neighboring duchy of Perugia, enjoying not only the intimacy of the papal court, but contacts with Montefeltro, the other prominent figure in the plot. Moreover, not a week after the failed assassination attempt, he sent a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici presenting the measures undertaken to bring down the tensions (*per non multiplicare inconvenientie*).<sup>730</sup> Even more importantly, on May 10 he was the person whom Sixtus sent as his ambassador to Florence in order to relieve the young Riario imprisoned by the Medici on April 26 (see App. 9, pl. 17).<sup>731</sup> Finally, in the course of the entire war, Nicholas of Modruš remained resident in Perugia,

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<sup>729</sup> For the military operations and the propaganda war which ensued in the aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy, see Martines, *April Blood*, 150–196; Filippo di Benedetto, 'Un breve di Sisto IV contro Lorenzo,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 150 (1992): 371–384; and Tobias Daniels, 'Die Pazzi Verschwörung, der Buchdruck und die Rezeption in Deutschland,' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 87 (2012): 123–134.

<sup>730</sup> App. 2, lett. 18.

<sup>731</sup> App. 1, doc. 59. Nicholas received the Florentine response three days later, on May 13; see App. 1, doc. 60.

where in the winter of 1480 he composed *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*.<sup>732</sup> Therefore if Nicholas was not part of the conspiracy, he certainly played a major role in the ensuing war.

If the purpose of the 1474 funeral oration was to legitimize Sixtus' policy by eulogizing the life of, and the projects undertaken by, one of his key ministers, as it were, *Defensio* represented an even more explicit piece of propaganda. The work was fittingly dedicated to another favorite cardinal-nephew of Sixtus, Raffaele Sansoni Riario, a figure prominently featured in the events of 1478. Yet, *Defensio* was hardly a piece of writing meant only for the eyes of now an eighteen-year-old cardinal. In fact, Nicholas' explicit reference to 'His Holiness and [the] sacred Apostolic Senate,' congratulating them for the military successes that culminated with the conquest of the important Florentine market town of Colle Val d'Elsa in November 1479,<sup>733</sup> reveals that the work was explicitly addressed to the pope and the highest echelons of the Curia as well. Divided into twenty chapters, and couched within the form of a deliberative speech, *Defensio* is a piece of fervent anti-Medicean propaganda – though only rarely mentioning Lorenzo by name<sup>734</sup> – that was, as already pointed by Giovanni Mercati, no doubt meant for the presses.<sup>735</sup>

Nicholas started his work by recounting the causes and outcome of the conflict, pointing to the Florentine attacks on the clergy and ecclesiastical properties, i.e. to the oppression of the ecclesiastical liberty, as the just causes of Sixtus' declaration of war, a war favored by God. Then, by relying heavily on Platina's *On the Lives of the Popes* – a work we know he acquired in the second half of 1479<sup>736</sup> – he devoted chapters 6–12 to historical precedents of

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<sup>732</sup> Maturanzio's letter from Perugia to his brother in Rome, datable to 1479, testifies to Nicholas' presence in Perugia at the time (App. 1, doc. 65). The same is suggested by a comment Nicholas made in *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis*, composed in the winter of 1480; see Ricc. MS 365, fols. 71r–71v: *cum tot interiacentium spatiorum discretus interuallo coram congaudere eius Sanctitati aut sacrosancto Senatui Apostolico uestro congratulari nequeam, conatus sum oris officium calami munere persolvere* (Tr.: since, divided by such a great space between us, I cannot rejoice personally with His Holiness and congratulate Your sacred Apostolic Senate, I have attempted to perform the duty of the mouth with the service of the pen).

<sup>733</sup> Martines, *April Blood*, 186, 189; Najemy, *History of Florence*, 358.

<sup>734</sup> App. 5, cap. 19: *Non contentus ea iniuria Medices euocat ex Venetis Carolum Montoni tyrannum et Tusca edoctum fraude adeo instruit ut nisi Pontifex callidos praesensisset dolos et Perusiam et maiorem partem ductatus Ecclesiae praeoccupasset* (Tr.: Not content with such injury, Medici called the tyrant Carlo Montoni and having taught him the ways of Tuscan cunning instructed him to such an extent that, if the pope had not sensed that sly plans were afoot, he would have taken both Perugia and the greater part of the Duchy from the Church). More often the references such as 'oppressors of the freedom of Florentines' (*a uiolatoribus Florentinorum libertatis*; App. 6, cap. 19) are made.

<sup>735</sup> Titles of the chapters were published by Mercati, as well as some of the passages; see Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 249–258. For the last four chapters, see App. 5.

<sup>736</sup> See App. 7, item 182.



numerous popes who dethroned bad rulers and who waged war for the good of the *Res publica Christiana*. The following four chapters engage in direct polemic with the Florentine arguments that a pope should not lead a belligerent policy, while the final four counter-argue the claim that the Renaissance popes, and Sixtus most of all, have neglected the crusades against the Ottomans. To build his argument, Nicholas constructed his speech by introducing, whether explicitly or allusively, a series of *exempla*, which he drew from a wide range of historical periods, mostly biblical, but also ancient, medieval and contemporary history, making *Defensio*, much as *Oratio in funere*, as one of the testimonies to continuing turn in his intellectual pursuits to historiography and rhetoric.<sup>737</sup> The opening paragraphs thus blend biblical imagery and high style rhetoric, and in order to shed light on this one can adduce the passage describing Sixtus' declaration of war:

*Encouraged by these words and fired up by the flames in the hearts of his brethren, Sixtus took his weapon and his shield, reached to all lands, and spoke: 'If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me!' With him joined the noble king Ferrante, and in imitation of the ancient piety of the most Christian rulers offered his army and his sons for the dignity of, and in honor to, his father (sc. the pope). With him joined Federico duke of Urbino, as the second Judah Maccabee, who, weak in legs but strong in spirit, achieved more glorious feats from his litter than other commanders on their feet. With him joined the closest of the Alemanni (sc. the Swiss), who through divine help destroyed the innumerable enemy troops with only a handful of soldiers. With him joined the Genoese, who broke the chains of the tyrant, and whose piety the Almighty favored to such an extent that one of them pursued thousand enemies, and two forced ten thousand to flee.*<sup>738</sup>

What Nicholas invoked here was the scene from Exodus where Moses, having received the Ten Commandments, returns from Mt Sinai only to find the Israelites adoring the golden calf. Moses' words to his Levites 'If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me' (*si quis est Domini iungat se mihi*; Exodus 32:26) that lead to the slaying of the sinful Israelites were

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<sup>737</sup> This turn is, as was shown in *Part I*, reflected in Nicholas' book collecting practices. In 1470s he amassed a number of works by classical historians, such as Herodotus, Tacitus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Curtius, Strabo, Polybius, Justinus, Eutropius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

<sup>738</sup> Ricc. MS 365, fols. 77v–78r: *His uocibus confirmatus, simul et zelo fratrum suorum accensus, sumpsit arma et scutum atque in omnes fines destinavit, ut siquis est Domini iungat se mihi. Iunxit se ei illustrissimus Rex Ferdinandus et prisca illa Christianissimorum principum pietate arma filiosque pro dignitate ac honore tanti patris exposuit. Iunxit se et fortissimus Dux Urbini uelut alter Judas Macchabeus, aeger quidem pedibus sed animo praeualens, clariora ex lectica edens facinora quam alii duces ex falcatis gesserint curribus. Iunxerunt se finitimi Alemannorum, qui Domino auxiliaribus uicarii sui fauente exigua suorum manu innumeras hostium copias prostrauere. Iunxerunt se ruptis tyranni uinculis Genuenses, quorum pietati Omnipotens usque adeo patrocinatus est ut unus eorum mille hostium prosequeretur et duo fugarent decem milia.*

in *Defensio* placed in Sixtus' mouth. By allusive imagery and heavy reliance on the anaphora (*iunxit / iunxerunt*) in constructing the passage, the bishop of Modruš engaged in an affective mobilization that turned Sixtus into the new Moses, his allies into the new Levites, who purge the corrupted among the Florentines. At a key passage in the work Nicholas introduced one of the cornerstone images of the Renaissance papacy, and he did so precisely around the time that Pietro Perugino and his workshop were commissioned to paint the cycle of frescoes centered around Moses as *typus papae* in the Sistine Chapel, one of the most important architectural projects of Sixtus' pontificate.<sup>739</sup>

Yet, in spite of the more damaging points of Florentine polemic against which Nicholas defended the papacy throughout the speech, it is the military expeditions against the Ottomans, the *bella Asiatica*, that he turned into the rhetorical climax of the work. The last four chapters of the work unfold as a series of wars in which the popes – Eugenius IV, Calixtus III, Pius II, and Sixtus IV – act as a spiritual and unifying power of the European *Res publica Christiana*, successively attempting to mobilize, and govern the actions of, the princes, through the crucial mediation of their legates. Nicholas first described here parallel missions of the papal fleet under the command of cardinal Francesco Condulmer and the crusading army under cardinal Giuliano Cesarini and Polish-Hungarian king Władysław in 1443/1444, before he continued to 1455–1457 in order to present the naval expedition under cardinal Ludovico Trevisan patriarch of Aquileia which, the bishop of Modruš stressed, acted in coordination with the army of cardinal Juan Carvajal and John Hunyadi that defeated Mehmed II before the walls of Belgrade. Yet, while he treated these two expeditions rather briefly, in presenting Pius' crusading efforts of 1463/1464 and Sixtus' expedition of 1472 he slowed down the pace of the narrative in order to usher himself in as a legate who prompted Corvinus to save 'the miserable remnants of the Illyrians,' and who supervised the formation of the papal fleet in the Venetian Arsenal.<sup>740</sup> Expanding his work from a piece of papal propaganda into a presentation of his own *raison d'être*, the bishop of Modruš finally engaged in the *laudatio* of Sixtus IV, the pope who made sure to provide for each person 'of even the

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<sup>739</sup> On Moses as model for Renaissance popes and the cycle of frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, see Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 201–221.

<sup>740</sup> For these passages, see pp. 51–52, 132, and 205, respectively.

least distinguished nobility that was either banished from homeland or escaped the clutches of enemies,<sup>741</sup> before he concluded:

*I have no doubts that there will be some who will call me a flatterer who has written all of this to secure worldly favor, or at least call me a sycophant. But let them know only this: that it is they who are malicious and that I have written nothing but the truth. I beseech you, let excessive love of oneself vanish for just a bit, let unrestrained self-indulgence cease for just a moment. Let each person speak to his consciousness, reach within himself and search his heart for truth, and if he catches me lying let him strike deadly blows upon me. But I know that the guilty find the truth bitter, while the pure scream of pain at the touch of a sore. I am also well aware that I have provoked great hatred at myself by these writings and that I have exposed myself to even greater dangers. However, for truth and honor of the Apostolic See, which I have served ever since my adolescence, I wish to die and have often wished that. I fled no danger so that there are a few regions across the world, a few cities across Italy that do not bear witness to my trails and tribulations. For the greatness and dignity of the Roman Church I have suffered these willingly and gladly, unflinching, on both land and sea, and I will not demur from suffering them for as long as I shall live. I call on the best and greatest God, the sole judge of the human heart, as witness that I have said all of this not so much to secure someone's favor as to educate those ignorant of the authority of the church and its power; and to shut the barking mouths of its slanderers with the bars of truth, so that reminded by this work the present just as much as the future popes find the strength to restrain the boldness of the insolent and by such strength preserve the dignity of the Apostolic See.<sup>742</sup>*

In 1463, in the dedication letters accompanying his earliest works, *Navicula Petri* and *De mortalium felicitate*, Nicholas stressed his diplomatic missions in the service of Matthias Corvinus. In 1470, in *De humilitate* he recalled his mission to the Bosnian court and the

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<sup>741</sup> App. 5, cap. 20: *Nullus ad Urbem uenit uel exiguae nobilitatis aut pulsus patria aut hostium manus elapsus qui uel munera a SIXTO non acceperit uel constituta non gaudeat annona.*

<sup>742</sup> App. 5, cap. 20: *Non dubito futuros non nullos qui me assentatorem appellent istaque omnia ad captandam humanam gratiam scripsisse, appellent certe uel adulatorem. Modo illud cognoscant et se malos esse et me non nisi uera scripsisse. Facessat tamen obsecro paulisper proprius amor et nimia sui indulgentia parumper abscedat. Conueniat singulos sua conscientia et unusquisque intra sese descendens pectus ad purum excutiat et si me mentitum deprehenderit mortiferis appetat telis. Sciebam autem ego amaram esse sontibus ueritatem et ad tactum ulceris male sanos eiulare. Nec ignoro me his scriptis magnam mihi conflasse inuidiam maioribusque me exposuisse periculis. Sed pro ueritate honoreque Sedis Apostolicae cui iam inde ab adolescentia deseruio emori cupio saepeque id concupiui, nulla pericula fugiens ut paucae sint per orbem regiones, paucae per Italiam ciuitates non plenae laborum periculorumque meorum quos terra marique magno constantique animo pro amplitudine dignitateque Romanae Ecclesiae libens uolensque pertuli et quoad uixero perferre non recusabo. Deum autem Optimum Maximumque testor solum cordis humani scrutatorem me haec cuncta dictasse non adeo in cuiuspian gratiam quantum ut ignaros ecclesiasticae auctoritatis potestatisque edocerem et eius detractorum blacterantia ora repagulis obstruerentur ueritatis, simul ut tam praesentes quam futuri pontifices his breuiter admoniti maiores concipiant animos ad compescendam temerarium audaciam et ad tuendam totis uiribus Sedis Apostolicae dignitatem.*

Ottoman invasion of the kingdom. In 1471/1472, in *De bellis Gothorum* he inserted references to his legation to the Hungarian king. Yet, in none of these work Nicholas had ventured to put forward his self so prominently as he did in *Defensio*. Not only that he turned the *bella Asiatica* into the rhetorical climax of the work, but he made sure to introduce Condulmer, Cesarini, Trevisan, Carvajal, Carafa, Bessarion, Borgia, Barbo, and finally himself, as key figures in these wars. The efforts and careers of other notable prelates, all cardinals, provided the backdrop against which Nicholas' audience, 'His Holiness and [the] sacred Apostolic Senate,' were supposed to consider his own achievements in 1463 and 1472, his own 'trials and tribulations' that he had 'suffered willingly and gladly, unflinching, on both land and sea' 'for the greatness and dignity of the Roman Church.' For these merits, at long last, they were supposed to present the bishop with the cardinal's hat of his own.<sup>743</sup>

Much as had been the case with *De bellis Gothorum* in 1472, *Defensio* was a work that fell short of its intended purpose. In spite of the fact that the work was meant for the printing presses, only two manuscripts, Ricc. MS 365 (see App. 9, pl. 18) and Vat. lat. 8092, both dictated to scribes and then personally corrected by Nicholas himself, have been preserved.<sup>744</sup> The reason for this is not difficult to identify. While what ultimately rendered the Gothic history useless was the end of the Neapolitan engagement in the anti-Ottoman expedition and the turn of the papacy towards the Italian politics, with *Defensio* it was the separate peace that Lorenzo de' Medici managed to strike with king Ferrante in March of 1480 that induced the pope himself to consider rapprochement with Florence. The two manuscripts corrected by Nicholas himself were eventually as wide as this piece of vehement anti-Medicean propaganda would get disseminated.

A few months later, probably not much before May 29 when a new bishop of Modruš was appointed, and precisely around the time Sixtus appointed new cardinals,<sup>745</sup> Nicholas, a member of the pope's *familia*, met his death.<sup>746</sup> *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* remained his

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<sup>743</sup> It is revealing that in presenting the victory at Belgrade Nicholas refers only to cardinal Juan Carvajal, making no mention of John of Capistran, a Franciscan firebrand preacher, widely regarded to be the most responsible for the large number of soldiers that joined the crusader army. For more on Capistran at Belgrade, see Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John of Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 27–29.

<sup>744</sup> For the descriptions of the two manuscripts, see App. 7, nos. 2, and 11.

<sup>745</sup> On May 15 1480 Sixtus appointed five new cardinals; see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, 19; and 'Essai de liste générale des cardinaux VII,' 158–160.

<sup>746</sup> App. 1, doc. 67.

swan song, a testament to his role as Sixtus' courtier in the final years of his life, yet also his ultimate and most vociferous attempt to advance the ecclesiastical hierarchy and reach the dignity he so long coveted.

## CONCLUSION

The testament of Nicholas of Modruš has not been preserved; indeed, the fact that his books were immediately transferred to the Apostolic library – where other libraries of curial prelates who passed away intestate found their place – may suggest that he never drafted one in the first place. He was buried in Santa Maria del Popolo, the church where every Sunday Sixtus IV prayed before an image of the Virgin attributed to St Luke,<sup>747</sup> and to which the pope also donated part of his books. As arranged by the late bishop's cousin Francesca, an epitaph was placed on his tomb,<sup>748</sup> where seven years later Pico della Mirandola may have encountered it as he passed through the corridor carrying one of Nicholas' books under his arm. With the first couplet praising the bishop's 'knowledge' and his 'ability of speech,' and the second fashioning him as the new 'St Jerome,' and hope and glory of the 'Illyrian land,' the onlookers such as Pico were introduced to the two central pursuits of Nicholas' curial career that defined his public *ethos*: his humanist learning and his concern for the good of his *patria*. It is these two pursuits of his that the present dissertation subjected to close analysis.

First, the dissertation offered a more nuanced perspective on the somewhat monolithic image of a humanist that Nicholas of Modruš enjoyed in scholarship. Departing from Ronald Witt's understanding of humanism as essentially an imitation of classical literary practices, *Part I* has shown that Nicholas' pre-Roman oeuvre, comprising of *De mortalium felicitate* (1462) and *Navicula Petri* (1463), was in fact defined by pursuit of theological and philosophical topics through the prism of Scotist scholasticism. This was not only in line with the Aristotelian and anti-rhetorical climate in the school of his teacher Paul of Pergola, but also with the Paduan faculty of arts where, it was argued in the *Prologue*, Nicholas undoubtedly continued his education. Thus while his pre-Roman works betray his weak knowledge of classical literature and ancient history before 1464, most visible in erroneous

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<sup>747</sup> Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 41.

<sup>748</sup> App. 1, doc. 68; see the *Introduction*, pp. 2–3.

references to classical *exempla*, his arrival to Rome represents a gradual turn to the humanistic canon of texts and exploration of new topics. His first Roman works, *De consolatione* (1465–1466) and *De humilitate* (1470), but also the more traditional *De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum* (ca. 1470), were all conceived as manuals that targeted wide dissemination by appealing to broad audiences and, in the process, employed a wide range of classical and patristic authorities. The works that followed in the later period of his curial career, *De bellis Gothorum* (1471–1472), translations of Isocrates’ speeches (1471–1472), the *Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis S. Sixti* (1474) and *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* (1480) mark a complete turn to historiographical and rhetorical topics, which, as was seen in the *Epilogue*, found much use at the Curia of Sixtus IV. Yet, while the dissertation treats Nicholas’ increasing turn to classicizing features in writings, the bulk of the discussion of his intellectual pursuits is based on the analysis of his library, as reconstructed from the identified manuscripts and a partial inventory of the books that were following the bishop’s death donated to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo. Approaching the identified corpus of books diachronically and synchronically shows that the library’s most significant aggrandizement can be traced to 1464–1471, the first period of Nicholas’ curial career, during which the bishop collected not only scholastic theological and philosophical writings but also made an energetic effort to assemble a complete collection of canonical works of classical and Christian Latin antiquity. While numerous marginal notes adorning the preserved manuscripts allow us to trace the engagement of the bishop with the *minutiae* of ancient culture, their rich illuminations reveal that they were also supposed to convey to all the visitors of his library the good tastes of their owner. Not only a private *studiolo*, Nicholas’ library thus, much as those of many other curial prelates, functioned as a place for convivial discussions where Nicholas welcomed other members of the circle pivoted around cardinal Bessarion, to which he himself belonged. The Nicholas of Modruš that emerges, therefore, from *Part I* is not a disinterested humanist enjoying his *otium* in the provinces, but a traditionally-educated *homo novus* whose turn to humanism represented a response to the highly competitive field of the Renaissance Curia that regarded classicism as a cultural ideal.

Yet, as presented in the *Prologue*, Nicholas was a Croatian prelate of Dalmatian origin who before coming to Rome had played a prominent role as papal legate in the events surrounding the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. Sporadic documentary evidence shows that upon

his arrival to Rome, in parallel to his engagement with the leading intellectual circles of the Curia and his appropriation of humanist standards, the bishop established himself as the leading figure of the South Slavic or rather, as gradually conceptualized within the humanist circles, Illyrian community. Most light on his role in this community, however, is provided by Corsin. 127, a manuscript comprising Nicholas' personal copies of his *De bellis Gothorum*, *De humilitate*, and translations of Isocrates' speeches. Due to the severely truncated state of these copies, neither the dating of these works nor their dedicatees were previously established, and they were therefore merely referred to as examples of the bishop's antiquarian and philosophical interests. Yet, first, *Part I* identifies the dedicatee of *De humilitate* as Catherine titular queen of Bosnia, who following the fall of her kingdom to the Ottomans in 1463 took up residence in Rome where alongside Nicholas she became the leading representative of the Illyrian community. *Part II* revolves around the bishop's history of the Gothic wars. By shedding light on the negative image of the Goths in Italian humanist historiography on the one hand, and on South Slavic/Illyrian traditions of their own Gothic origins on the other, the analysis of Nicholas' work traces his subtle manipulations of sources that were meant to convince the Italian elite into a positive image of the Ostrogothic Illyrian *natio*. Moreover, by dating the work to 1471–1472 and setting it within the context of the military and diplomatic preparation for the papal-Neapolitan-Venetian expedition against the Ottomans, in which Nicholas himself had an important role, *De bellis Gothorum* is unveiled as a piece of historiographical propaganda that argued for the utopian restoration of Ostrogothic Illyria under queen Catherine. The work was, it is furthermore argued, addressed particularly to Ferrante king of Naples, legitimizing his role in the expedition and possible future involvement in the Balkans, as well as evoking the active policy of his father, Alfonso V of Aragon, who for long had counted queen Catherine's own father as his vassal. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the likely dedicatee of Nicholas' translations of Isocrates' speeches was the crown prince of the Neapolitan kingdom, Alfonso duke of Calabria. Taken together, therefore, Nicholas' works that now fill the fascicules of Corsin. 127, all composed in the context of fervent anti-Ottoman diplomatic activities in 1470–1472, during which he established himself as the leading curial prelate for matters Illyrian, were meant to enhance the prestige of queen Catherine, and secure the involvement of the Neapolitan court and the rest of Italy in restoring the utopian Ostrogothic Illyria under her rule. At the same time, in Nicholas' view of the world, he was for his learning, virtue,



diplomatic and military performance in the expedition, and finally his role in the Illyrian national community in Rome supposed to be rewarded with the cardinal's hat and become the first *Cardinalis Illyricus*. In spite of his bitter disappointment with the unfavorable results of the elections of cardinals in 1473, and the status of pope Sixtus' courtier that he came to enjoy in the years to come, it was a dignity that Nicholas would continue to covet until the very end of his life. Indeed, as this dissertation hoped to show, the life and oeuvre of this truly unique figure of the Renaissance have for too long escaped the attention they deserve.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS AND OTHER RELATED SOURCES

: 1 :

– July 10 1457 –

***The charter of count Stephen Frankopan issued in Modruš which grants certain rights to Martin Oštreherić, and where ‘lord abbot Nicholas, from Kotor by birth’ is listed as one of the witnesses***

*Original Document:* [Original in Glagolitic; transliterated from previous publication]

*Published:* Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed., *Acta Croatica*, vol. 1, 83–85, doc. 64

(...) Ošte k temu za vekše pitvrenje toga našega dara činimo pisati mnoge dobre i visoko počitovane ljudi, pred kimi učinismo dati i odlučiti ta naš dar više rečenomu Martinu Oštreheriću, ki je naiprije pred gospodinam Franciškome modrušaninom, biskupom modruškim i krbavskim, i pred gospodinom Mikulu opatom, ki biše rodome iz Kotora. A zvrhu toga potvrjujeme i dajemo na to naš list otvoren pod naš pečat niže visušti. Pisan v Modrušah v našem stolnom mestu, po letih Božih 1457, meseca ijulija dne 10.

: 2 :

– November 14 1457 –

***Pope Calixtus III appoints Nicholas as the bishop of Senj in place of the deceased bishop Andrew***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 72, fol. 106r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Josip Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1996–2001), vol. 2, 739, doc. 1340

Die Lune, XIII Nouembris prefatus sanctissimus dominus noster, ad relationem reuerendissimi domini, domini cardinalis I., cardinalis de Columpna, de persona domini Nicolai de Catharo, sacre theologie doctoris, Ecclesie Signiensi, tunc per obitum condam domini Andree, vltimi eiusdem Ecclesie episcopi, vacanti, prouidit ipsumque preficit eidem Ecclesie Signiensi in episcopum et pastorem, curam, regimen etc.

: 3 :

– November 14 1457 –

***Pope Calixtus III gives Giovanni Battista Sabelli the monastery of St Lucia in Baška on the Island of Krk in commendam, which was until then held by Nicholas Majin, a former cleric of the Kotor diocese***

*Original Document:* ASV, Regest. Vatic. 450, fol. 137 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Theiner, ed., *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, 430–431

Calistus episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Iohannibaptiste de Sabellis subdiacono nostro, salutem etc.

Romani pontificis providencia circumspecta ecclesiis et monasteriis, que vacationis incommoda deplorare noscuntur, ut gubernatorum utilium fulciantur presidio, prospicit diligenter, necnon dignis benemeritisque personis, sedi apostolice precipue obsequentibus ac generis nobilitate conspicuis, ut statum suum decentius tenere valeant, prout decens et congruum est, de subventionis auxilio providet opportuno. Olim siquidem, ut nuper accepimus, monasterio sancte Lucie de Bescha ordinis Benedicti Veglensis diocesis ex eo vacanti, quod quondam Matheus Monachus tunc illius Abbas ex certis rationabilibus causis ad id animum suum moventibus regimini et administrationi dicti monasterii, cui tunc preerat, in manibus Venerabilis fratris nostri Francisci tunc Veglensis, nunc vero Corbaviensis Episcopi extra Romanam curiam sponte cessit, idemque Franciscus Episcopus cessionem predictam extra eandem curiam duxit auctoritate ordinaria admittendam: Franciscus Episcopus prefatus dictum monasterium sic vacans dilecto filio Nicolao Machin Electo Segniensi, tunc clerico Catharensis diocesis, sub certis modo et forma commendavit, licet de facto, ipseque Nicolaus pretextu commende huiusmodi regiminis et administrationis bonorum monasterii huiusmodi possessionem vel quasi assecutus pacifice extunc monasterium ipsum detinuit, prout etiam detinet de presenti de facto. Cum itaque, postmodum de persona dicti Nicolai Electi ecclesie Segniensi tunc pastoris regimine destitute duxerimus auctoritate apostolica providendum, preficiendo ipsum eidem ecclesie in Ep.um et pastorem, ipsumque monasterium adhuc vacare noscatur, nos commendam predictam, utpote de facto attemptatam, irritam prout est et inanem reputantes, necnon cessionem per eundem Matheum factam ratam et gratam habentes, et tam dicto monasterio de gubernatore secundum cor nostrum utili et idoneo, per quem circumspecte regi et salubriter gubernari valeat, quam tibi, qui, ut etiam accepimus, de Baronum genere ex utroque parente procreatus, ac dilecti filii nostri Prosperi sancti Georgi ad Velum aureum diaconi Cardinalis familiaris continuus commensalis existis, ut statum tuum decentius tenere valeas, de alicuius subventionis auxilio providere volentes, motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate monasterium predictum, cuius fructus, redditus et proventus in Camera apostolica ad Quinquaginta florenos auri taxati existunt, sive ut premittitur, sive alias quovis modo, aut ex alterius cuiuscunque persona vacet, eiusque provisio ex quavis causa ad sedem apostolicam specialiter vel generaliter pertineat, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis tibi tenendum, regendum et gubernandum per te, quoad viveris, auctoritate apostolica concedimus, curam, regimen et administrationem ipsius monasterii, si vacat exnunc, alioquin cum primum illud per promotionem huiusmodi et munus consecrationis eidem Electo impendendum, aut lapsum temporis de consecrandis Episcopis a canonibus diffiniti, vel alias quovis modo vacare contigerit, tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, sperantes, quod

dirigente domino actus tuos prefatum monasterium per tue circumspectionis industriam, et studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Quocirca discretioni tue ac dilectis filiis Conventui et Vassallis eiusdem monasterii per apostolica scripta mandamus, videlicet tu regimen et administrationem predicta sic geras solícite, fideliter et prudenter, quod monasterium ipsum gubernatori provido et administratori fructuoso gaudeat se commissum, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium nostram et sedis apostolice benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis, ac Conventus obedienciam et reverenciam debitas et devotas necnon Vassalli et subditi predicti consueta iura et servicia tibi ad eandem vitam tuam integre studeant atque procurent, alioquin sentenciam sive penam, quam rite tuleris in rebelles, ratam habebimus et faciemus, auctore domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter, observari, Non obstantibus Constitutionibus etc. alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium et preciosorum mobilium ipsius monasterii tibi interdicta. Nulli ergo etc. nostrorum commende, mandati et voluntatis infringere etc. Si quis autem etc.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimoseptimo, XVIII. Kal. Decembris, Pont. nostri Anno Tertio.

: 4 :

– *November 18 1457* –

***Nicholas promises to pay the common service in the amount of 50 florins owed for his appointment to the bishopric of Senj***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 76, fol. 164v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* BarbariĆ, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 1, 441, doc. 834

Die XVIIIa Novembris, reverendus pater dominus Nicolaus, electus Signensis, obtulit personaliter camere apostolice et collegio florenos auri de camera quinquaginta, ad quos dicta ecclesia taxata reperitur, et quinque minuta servicia consueta. Eorundem autem etc. G. de Vulteris.

*Cardinalium XV. Solvit.*

: 5 :

– *March 11 1461* –

***Pope Pius II appoints Nicholas as the bishop of Modruš***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Lat., vol. 562, fols. 66v–68v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* NeraliĆ, ‘Nicholas of Modruš,’ 16, n. 7

Sane ecclesia Segniensis ex eo pastoris solacio destituta quod nos hodie venerabilem fratrem nostrum Nicolaum Modrusiensem episcopum licet absentem a vinculo quo eidem Segniensis ecclesie cui tunc preerat tenebatur, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolventes ipsum ad ecclesiam Modrusiensem tunc pastore carentem duximus

auctoritate apostolica transferendum, proficiendum ipsum eidem Modrusiensis ecclesie in episcopum et pastorem (...). Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo, quinto Idus Marcii anno tercio.

: 6 :

– May 7 1461 –

***Pope Pius II confirms Nicholas' benefice of the Cistercian abbey of Topusko***

*Original Document:* [No information provided]

*Quoted:* Fraknói, 'Miklós modrusi,' 2–3

*Vilmos Fraknói refers to a bull issued by pope Pius II which supposedly confirms Nicholas' benefice of the Cistercian abbey of Topusko, which was secured for him at the request of count Martin Frankopan. The bull also informs that he received this benefice already in 1457 when he was appointed the bishop of Senj (also at the request of count Martin Frankopan), and because of which he was supposed to give up the monastery of St Lucia in Baška.*

: 7 :

– October 8 1461 –

***Nicholas bishop of Modruš relinquishes the tithe owed to the Modruš bishopric by the two churches dedicated to St Mary and St Savior respectively***

*Original Document:* HDA, f. 660, fasc. I, nr. 4 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. 4 (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1769), 108

Nos Nicolaus de Catharo sacrarum litterarum Doctor, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus Modrussien. et Corbavien. universis et singulis has praesentes nostras inspecturis, et quibus expedit, facimus notum et manifestum, quatenus nos videntes devotionem nob. ac spectabilis viri Domini Comitis Laschonis de Cosin, qui quotidie insistit operibus spiritualibus, videlicet largiendo et donando ecclesiis et altaribus maxime dedicatis in honorem gloriosissimae ac beatissimae Virg. Mariae, videlicet primo in ecclesia S. Mariae sita in Busana in villa vocata Pseuich, in qua quidem ecclesia Dominus Comes Laschonus aedificavit altare ad honorem Nativitatis gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae, et similiter aliud altare construxit in ecclesia S. Salvatoris dioecesis Segnen. sub nomine et in honorem Beatissimae Virg. Mariae; quibus altaribus praenominatus Comes Laschonus dedit et donavit de bonis suis temporalibus perpetuis temporibus certas terras, ut in litteris dotalibus latius continetur, roboratis sigillo praedicti Comitis Laschonis; nos autem advertentes bona opera dicti Comitis Lachonis, similiter omnes decimas ad nos pertinentes e praedictis terrenis donatis dictis altaribus, remittimus et relaxamus perpetuis temporibus, ad honorem Beatissimae V. Mariae, pari forma etiam relaxando et remittendo perpetuis temporibus omnes decimas ad nos pertinentes unius sortis, quam nunc tenet Doymus Strilach in uilla uocata Mlichipsuuchi; rogantes Summum Pontificem, et totam curiam Romanam, et successores nostros, ut dignentur hanc praefatam nostram donationem et remissionem habere ratam et firmam perpetuis temporibus ad honorem Beatissima V. M. et similiter manuteneant

Sacerdotem tam praesentem, quam futuros suos successores in libertate dictarum decimarum (...) In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium praesentes litteras jussimus fieri, et nostri pontificalis sigilli appensione muniri.

Datum Modrussiae, in residentia nostra 1461. Indictione 9. die uero 8. mensis Octobris.

: 8 :

– *May 14 1462* –

***Nicholas bishop of Modruš relinquishes the revenues owed to the Modruš bishopric by the Bužana archpresbyterate in favor of the Pauline monastery of St Mary in Novi***

*Original Document:* HDA, f. 652, fasc. I, nr. 4 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga,' 135

(...) Nicolaus Machinensis de Chatharo, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gracia episcopus Modrusiensis ac liberalium arcium et Sacre theologie doctor (...). (...) in domo nostra episcopali Modrusiensi, quartadecima Maii, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo (...).

: 9 :

– *July 10 1462* –

***The letter of Maffeo Vallaresso archbishop of Zadar to John Kurjaković count of Krbava asking for the release of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Barb. lat. 1809, pp. 199–201 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga,' 132–133

Magnifico et potenti domino domino Ioanni, comiti Corbaviensi.

Cum et patris mei studium, et mea cura semper in promptu sita fuerit, non modo ad conservandam, verum etiam ad ampliandam mutuam benivolentiam et amicitiam, quę nobis cum Vestra et genitoris Vestri Magnificentia iustis de causis intercedit, non puto mihi subdubitandum fore rem iustam et honestam ab homine iusto expetere. Cum igitur, de consensu Magnificentię Vestre, reverendus in Christo pater dominus episcopus Modrusiensis manu potentis domini domini Caroli, germani Vestri, captus, et in vincula coniectus, detineatur absque aliqua sua culpa. Idemque dominus episcopus, cupiens se in pristinam vindicare libertatem, missionem a Vobis flagitaverit; Vestre Magnificentię graves condiciones missionis, et pacta quasi impossibilia eidem proposuerunt. Primum videlicet, ut idem episcopus apud Sanctissimum dominum nostrum laboret, ut titulus illius episcopatus Corbaviensis restituatur, vel pro ea portione introituum, quę in Vestro dominio est, separatum indulgeat episcopatum. Deinde, ut pro tanto lesionis Vestre peccato, Vobis absolutionem impertiri procuret. Postremo, ut idem in libertate constitutus iureiurando predicta omnia approbet et confirmet. Quę quidem omnia aduc vellent Magnificentię Vestre mea fide iuramentoque affirmari dictum dominum episcopum inviolabiliter observaturum esse. Et in quantum idem pactis predictis adimplendis deficeret, vel ego ipse carcerem subeam in

modum vadis, vel ipsum episcopum iudicio et potestati Vestre sistendum obliger. Atque(!) pacta breviter sic respondeo, quod quamvis non dubitem prefatum dominum episcopum virum inviolabilis esse fidei, satisfacturumque promissis et pactis inter Vos intervenientibus, tamen quia neque ius pontificum permittit huiusmodi conditionibus(!) acquiescere, iureiurandoque fidem astipulari, neque dignitati meę id conveniens est, neque Illustrissimum Venetiarum dominium id approbaret. Non video quo pacto aut fide iubere, aut vadem me constituere, aut iuramento predicta omnia affirmare queam; firmiter tamen affirmare ac ac Vestre Magnificentię in vera conscientia promittere valeo, quemadmodum per presentes promitto, quod idem dominus episcopus, quantum in eius erit possibilitate, promissa omnia Vobis facta, puro animo et sine ulla fraude adimplere curabit. Ego quoque pro virili mea manibus pedibusque enitar, ut Magnificentia Vestra apud pontificem Maximum predicta omnia vel saltem maiorem eorum partem consequatur. Quare hortor eandem, ac suadeo, ut pro suo honore, quem(!) ego carum habeo, hunc prelatum iam relaxare ac libertati suę reddere studeat, si et Sanctissimo domino nostro et Illustrissimo Venetiarum dominio rem gratissimam, et mihi beneficium sempiternum facere cupit. Non enim cedit ad honorem Vestrum, ut pontificali dignitate viri prediti, violentia domini Vestri oppressa, teneantur in vinculis et carcere; quod in Turchis perfidis ceterisque inimicis Christi reprobare concedimus, nedum in christianis principibus vituperare et abominari. Pluribus verbis hanc rem iustam et rationi consonam a Vestra Magnificentia petendum esse non censeo, fretus Vestra religione ac humanitate, cuius officium semper fuit cum bonis bene agere. Valeat Vestra Magnificentia, cuius beneplacitis me offero atque dedo.

Ex Hyadra, X. Iulii.

: 10 :

– August 12 1462 –

***The instructions of the Venetian Senate to Dominico Stella the Republic's ambassador sent to the counts of Krbava in order to secure the release of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Original Document:* ASVe, Secreta cons. rog., vol. 21, c. 103 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Ljubić, ed., *Listine*, vol. 10, 224–225, doc. 222

MCCCCLXII. die XII augusti. Mense preterito ad instantiam summi pontificis, qui super hoc efficaciter ad nos scripsit, misimus Dominicum Stella secretarium nostrum ad comites Corbavie pro obtinenda liberatione reverendissimi domini episcopi modrusiensis, retenti per ipsos comites, qui per redditum ipsius Dominici nobis referri fecerunt, quod contenti erant ipsum episcopum cum rebus suis sue restituere libertati, cum hoc tamen, quod per litteras nostras patentes eis promitteremus, quod idem episcopus nullo unquam tempore faceret nec fieri faceret contra eos occasione episcopatus Corbavie, aut ob hanc eius capturam et retentionem contra eos non tentabit seu procurabit aliquam novitatem; et antequam ulterius in re ista procederetur, visum fuerit collegio de responso et promissione, quam petunt ipsi comites, dare noticiam romano pontifici, quod sicut per breve suum lectum isti consilio intelligitur, contentus est, quod faciamus promissionem predictam etc. Et complenda sit opera ista, propterea vadit pars, quod prefatus secretarius noster remittatur ad comites Corbavie cum



promissione predicta iuxta breve summi pontificis facienda per litteras nostras, et cum illa commissione circa effectum predictum, que videbitur collegio.

Committatur etiam eidem secretario, quod cum sicut a regimine Jadre facti sumus certiores, in Sibinico sunt debitores nostri exigibiles pro daciis et aliter de libris XIII mille, rem istam diligenter intelligere debeat, et omnimodam operam adhibere apud comitem nostrum ibidem, quod dicte pecunie exigantur, mittanturque si non in totum, saltem in bona parte in Jadram, sicut est maxime necessarium.

Preterea quia bannus Paulus Croatie damna et novitates subditis nostris intulit et infere non cessat, detur etiam sibi circa hoc illa commissio, que videbitur collegio.

De parte 102, de non 0, non sinceri 5.

: 11 :

– August 13 1462 –

***The letter of pope Pius II to Matthias de Baronellis abbot of the monastery of St George of Kopriva concerning the imprisonment and release of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 507, fol. 301r–v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga,' 119

Pius etc. Dilecto filio, abbati monasterii de Choprivnik ordinis Sancti Benedicti Nonensis diocesis, salutem etc.

Sedes Apostolica pia mater recurrentibus ad eam cum humilitate filiis post excessum libenter se propitiam exhibet et benignam. Sane pro parte venerabilis fratris Nostri Nicolai, episcopi Modrusiensis, Nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod dudum inter ipsum et Carolum, comitem Corbavie, nonnullis exortis dissensionibus, ipse Carolus per quosdam familiares suos ad id destinatos dictum Nicolaum episcopum hostiliter persequendo eum ausu sacrilego captivari et captivum aliquandiu detineri fecit et procuravit, absque tamen aliqua mutilatione seu alia enormi corporis lesione, propter quod comes et familiares predicti excommunicationis sententiam aliasque penas, sententias et censuras a iure intales(!) generaliter promulgatas damnabiliter incurrerunt. Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio continebat, dictus episcopus per ipsum comitem pristinae libertati restitutus existat, pro parte ipsius episcopi Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut absolutionem comitis et familiarium eorundem a sententiis, penis et censuris predictis Tibi committere aliasque eis, super hiis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos itaque, attendentes, quod Sancta mater Ecclesia nemini claudit gremium ad se redeunti, huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, Discretioni Tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si est ita, comitem et familiares prefatos omnesque alios et singulos, qui in premissis quomodolibet culpabiles extiterunt, si idem ore humiliter petierint, ab excommunicationibus aliisque omnibus et singulis penis, sententiis et censuris ecclesiasticis et temporalibus, quas premissorum occasione incurrerunt, absolvas auctoritate Nostra hac vice dumtaxat informa(!) Ecclesie consueta, omnemque inhabilitatis(!) et infamie maculam per eos propterea contractam penitus abolendo, interdictum quoque inquascumque(!) civitates, terras et loca premissorum occasione quomodolibet

positum eadem auctoritate relaxes, iniuncta inde eis et eorum cuilibet pro modo culpe penitentia salutari, quodque decetero in similibus non excedant, nec ea perpetrantibus prestant auxilium, consilium vel favorem, et aliis que de iure fuerint iniungenda.

Datum Pientie, anno etc. Dominice M<sup>o</sup>CCCCLXII<sup>o</sup>, Idibus Augusti, pontificatus Nostri anno quarto. A. de Reate. G. de Fuentes

: 12 :

– *December 10 1462* –

***Letter of safeconduct for Nicholas of Modruš, the papal legate, and his retinue of twenty***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 508, fol. 4v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 17, n. 9

Nicolaus episcopus Modrusiensis, legatus vel orator noster pro nonnullis nostris arduis agendis negotiis ad plures variasque partes mundi habeat se personaliter transferri littera passus (...) cum viginti personis (...).

: 13 :

– *December 11 1462* –

***Pope Pius II appoints Nicholas of Modruš as the papal legate in the Kingdom of Bosnia***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 508, fol. 102r–v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 4, 108

Pius etc. Ven. Fratri Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi in regno Bosnae Apostolicae Sedis Legato salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum propter negotiorum, quae ad audientiam nostram continue deferuntur, multitudinem uarietatemque in singulis locis, in quibus de facto fidei agi oportet, personaliter interesse non possumus, opus est, ut Legatos et Ministros nostros ad huiusmodi opera peragenda aptos et idoneos deligamus, qui ubi ad loca ipsa per nos destinati fuerint, commissa sibi negotia diligenter tractent, et ad finem debitum, iuxta rerum exigentiam et uoluntatem nostram, quantocius deducere non omittant. Cum itaque in praesentiarum opus sit pro quibusdam arduis negotiis fidem catholicam concernentibus, nos aliquem prudentem et fidum, atque expertum uirum ad regnum Bosnae, qui ibidem negotia ipsa diligenter et accurate tractare et ad debitum finem reducere sciat, et ualeat, destinare; tuque, de cuius singulari prudentia, et eximia probitate, uerumque experientia apud nos fide digna testimonia facta sunt, ut ad huiusmodi negotia tractanda et peragenda aptissimus, nobis fueris praepositus; nos confidentes, quod ea, quae tuae prudentiae et fidei committenda duxerimus, fideliter, et accurate, et cum debita Apostolicae Sedis honorificentia pertractabis, te ad regnum ipsum dictae sedis Legatum duximus esse destinandum, ut ea, quae in certis aliis nostris litteris expressa sunt, et quae tibi uerbo commisimus, tam apud carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Stephanum regem Bosnae, quam apud dilectos filios nobiles uiros sui regni, et alios circumstantes Principes et proceres, cum exacta fide et diligentia prosequaris. Tu igitur circa

expeditionem negotiorum ipsorum sic te diligentem et studiosum reddas, ut ea fideli et prudenti uiro per nos commissa esse uideantur; tuque post ipsorum negotiorum expeditionem in nostro conspectu exinde non immerito ualeas commendari.

Datum Tuderti anno 1462. 3. Id. Decembris, Pontific. nostri anno V.

: 14 :

– July 14 1463 –

***Nicholas of Modruš in Dubrovnik acting as the legate of pope Pius II in Bosnia and ambassador of the king Matthias Corvinus***

*Original Document: DAD, Cons. Rog., vol. 17, fol. 252v*

Prima pars de dando libertatem domino Rectori et minori consilio respondendi Reuerendo domino Nicolao Episcopo Modruxiensi legato apostolico Bosne et oratori Serenissimi domini nostri Regis Hungarie.

Prout fuit arreatum in presenti consilio per omnes, contra 0.

: 15 :

– October 13 1463 –

***The response of the Venetian Senate to Nicholas of Modruš acting as the ambassador of king Matthias Corvinus and requesting financial support for the king's expedition against the Ottomans***

*Original Document: ASVe, Secr. cons. rog., vol. 21, c. 195 [Reproduced from previous publication]*

*Published: Ljubić, ed., Listine, vol. 10, 278, doc. 283*

MCCCCLXIII. die XIII octobris. Quod reverendo patri domino episcopo Modrussie et Corbavie, oratori serenissimi regis Hungarie, qui nuper ad presentiam nostram se contulit, commemorando magnam benivolentiam et affectionem sue maiestatis erga nos, ac quam prompto et bono animo devenerit nobiscum ad intelligentiam et ligam; successive dixit, quod ex conditionibus, in quibus se repperit, idem rex opus habet pecuniarum, ut melius contra comunem hostem bellum gerere possit. Loquens tamen circa hoc multum modeste etc. sicut per serenissimum dominum duces huic consilio relatum est, respondeatur, quod libenter intelleximus, quantum sua reverenda paternitas solita eius prudentia nobis eleganter exposuit, agimusque magnas et amplissimas gratias regie serenitati Hungarie pro humanissimis verbis suis proque multa affectione et benivolentia, quam gerit nostro dominio, sed nos quoque certissimam esse volumus maiestatem suam, quod sumus sibi singulari amore et immersa(!) caritate affecti, omneque decus et amplitudinem celsitudinis sue non minus quam propriam affectamus. Quandoque his diebus audivimus felices successus suos tam in regno Bossine quam aliter, profecto maximam iocunditatem et letitiam sumpsimus. Et quanto progressus serenitatis(!) sue feliciores et ampliores erunt, tanto siquidem nobis gratiores. Ad ligam et intelligentiam cum sua maiestate devenimus optimo et sincerissimo corde, in qua et in affectione nostra perpetuo perseverare disponimus.

Ad partem favorum pecuniarum vellemus profecto et in hoc et in omnibus regie maiestati complacere posse, sed sicut per oratorem nostrum dici fecimus serenitati sue per ingressum nostrum in bello cum Turco sumus ad presens in expensis ducatorum sexcentorum milium et ultra in anno tam in gentibus armigeris et peditibus ex Italia missis et quos incessanter mittimus contra comunem hostem, quam in potentissima classe, quam continue fortificamus contra ipsum hostem. Hinc est, quod licet voluntas nostra in celsitudinem suam perfectissima sit, tamen non sit nobis possibile facere, quod vellemus; ideoque rogamus maiestatem suam, ut nos habeat supportatos.

Commemoreturque ipsi oratori, quod bellum, quod potenter gerrimus(!) contra hostem, existimandum est maximum presidium rebus sue serenitatis. Commemorentur etiam ea, que impresentiarum per summum pontificem et per alias potentias disponuntur contra hostem fidei exterminandum. Et demum omnibus illis utilibus et pertinentibus verbis, que expedire videbuntur, queratur, quod de hoc iustificato et honesto responso nostro restet bene contentus.

De parte 152, de non 0, non sinceri 5.

: 16 :

– [December 1463] –

***Pope Pius II describes the fall of the Bosnian kingdom in his Commentaries***

*Manuscript used: Manuscript used: [Reproduced from previous publication]*

*Published: Pius II, Commentarii, 557–559*

Bosnense nomen apud veteres non invenimus; novum est a Bosna – ut arbitramur – fluvio receptum, qui regnum Bosnæ interfluens Savum influit. Prouincia vero Bosnensis a Moesia initium capiens occidentem versus media inter Pannoniam et Dalmatiam procurrit. – Rex gentis novus tributum, quod sui maiores iam pridem pendere Turcis consueverant – incertum qua spe fretus –, petentibus recusaverat, et oppidum, quod ad confluentes Savum Bosnamque hostes construxerant Sclavis et Hungaris magnopere formidandum, expugnauerat. Ea contumelia permotus Mahumetes Turchorum imperator, virus, quod in Hungaros aut alios existimabatur concepisse, in hunc regem evomit. Quod cum ille accepisset, moestus ac pavidus accersito Nicolao Modrusiensi episcopo, qui tum forte Romani præsulis in regno Bosnæ legationem gerebat: *‘Tu me,’* – inquit – *‘legate, his mersisti in malis, qui eo usque tuis consiliis perpulisti, ut imperatoris potentissimi, cui uix queat orbis resistere, ausus fuerim oppida expugnare. Aufer, quod intulisti, periculum.’* – Cui legatus: *‘Sine’* – ait – *‘in Hungariam proficiscar: mox adero cum certis et validis auxiliis. Tu modo in fide permanes.’*

Conceditur eundi facultas. Episcopus Hungaros adiit, et Apostolicę Sedis nomine perituris Bosnensibus opem implorat. Hungari exercitum cogunt, Savoque propere transmisso hostem a tergo lacessere statuunt, si forte retrahi ab incepto possit. Utile consilium perfidia interceptit. Unus ex Turcorum ducibus – ‘bassam’ vocant – XIII-o Kalendas Iunias ingentibus præfectus copiis sub oppido Boboaçio, quod regni Bosnæ caput fuit, castra locavit; postridie imperator consecutus est. Radaces – Manicheus olim, deinde Christianum mentitus – oppido præfectus erat; is pretio corruptus hostem intra mēnia recepit, suasitque custodibus arcis, ne Turchis rerum dominis resisterent. Tradita est arx munitissima, quę facile poterat biennio defendi nulla

re indigens. Imperator præter opinionem potitus oppido ad persequendum regem cum parte copiarum bassam mittit. XXX milibus passuum rex aberat in oppido, quod Iazi vocant; eo nanque Turchorum aduentu percepto cum thesauris confugerat Dalmatiam petiturus. Bassa cum venisset Iazi, abiisse regem inuenit; eumque magnis itineribus consecutus in castello Cluzio clausit, et arcta cinxit obsidione. Ille quarta demum die fame et siti coactus sese cum omni thesauro, quem quinque reges tot annis congregauerant, fidei bassæ credidit; quem imperator ad se ductum multa spe demulcens facile induxit, ut oppida, quæ in sua potestate restauerant, redii iuberet, plura et meliora a se denique expectaturus. Scribitur præfectis arcium: claves munitionesque tradant. Parent omnes atque ita octo ferme dierum spatio amplius LXX-ta natura et arte munitissima oppida et auri amplius quam decies centena milia nummum ex Christianis opibus in manus hostium pervenere, quamvis non tam re, quam nomine Bosnenses Christianum sibi nomen usurpavere. Raptæ matronæ atque virgines, templa sanctorum diruta, viri religiosi omni contumeliarum genera affecti, nobilitas omnis ad servitium in Asiam missa; regi paucis post diebus caput abscisum, et cum eo alti sanguinis plerique necati.

Post regem secundum in Bosna caput dux Stephanus fuit, subditorum numero atque auro potens, verum Manicheorum infectus heresi. Filius eius, cum patris imperium ferre non posset ad Turchos defecit, quorum armis adiutus patrem bello persequi cæpit, eumque viribus imparem ad insulas Dalmatiæ fugere compulit. At ubi regem Bosnæ contra fidem necatum animadvertit, veritus Turchorum sevitiâ patri reconciliatus est, et cum eo ad munitiora loca se contulit. Regina Bosnæ, dum perditio regno viroque capto ab hostibus furorem Turchorum fugitat, in manus Pauli cuiusdam, Sclauoniæ bani pervenit, a quo, tanquam hostis esset, captiva retenta est, quamvis ad eum quasi hospitem declinasset. Ipse vero non multo post, dum Turchis agrum suum vastantibus occurrit, cum quingentis nobilibus circumventus ab illis occiditur, atque ita violati hospitii pœnas persolvit. Bacchari undique per Bosnam Turchi, abdita quæque scrutari, nihil intactum relinquere, vicinas regiones incursare atque prædari. Prope rex Hungariæ aderat cum copiis, qui ubi per transfugam insidiari sibi Turchos accepit, insidias contra tetendit, Turchorumque ducem quendam cum quatuor milibus militum circumvenit, congressusque vertit in fugam, ac persecutus trucidavit fere omnes. Hoc tantum solamen post amissum Bosnæ regnum Hungaris datum.

: 17 :

– *September 18 1464* –

*Nicholas of Modruš is appointed castellan of Viterbo*

*Original Document: ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 544, fol. 186r*

*Quoted: Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 222*

*No text quoted.*

: 18 :

– August 25 1465 –

***Nicholas of Modruš is confirmed as the castellan of Viterbo at the request of cardinal Ammannati***

*Original Document:* [No information provided]

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 222

*Mercati indicates that the breve informs that Nicholas was confirmed in his duty ad instantiam Rmi d. Papiensis.*

: 19 :

– October 14 1466 –

***Juraj Matejev, cleric of the Šibenik diocese, acting on Nicholas' behalf promises to pay the common service in the amount of 70 florins owed for the latter's appointment to the bishopric of Modruš***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 84, fol. 31v [Reproduced from previous publication]

Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 2, 752, doc. 1365

Die quartadecima mensis Octobris, venerabilis uir dominus Georgius Mathei mansionarius Sibinicensis, ut principalis et priuata persona, ac uice et nomine reuerendi in Christo patris et domini Nicolai, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Ecclesia Reginensis(!) ad Modrusiensem translati, obtulit Camere Apostolice et Collegio reuerendissimorum dominorum cardinalium pro communi seruitio dicte Modrusiensis Ecclesie ratione perfectionis de persona sua eidem Ecclesie auctoritate apostolica per bullas sanctissimi domini Pii pape Secundi, sub datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, quinto Idus Marcii, anno suo tercio facte, florenos auri de Camera centum triginta tres vno cum tercio vnus floreni, ad quos dicta Ecclesia taxata reperitur, et quinque minuta seruitia consueta. Eorundem autem etc. Ciriaco Lodestoy, eiusdem Camere notario.

*Cardinales XVII. Soluit.*

: 20 :

– October 15 1466 –

***Nicholas pays the common service in the amount of 70 florins owed for his appointment to the bishopric of Modruš***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 79, fol. 132v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 1, 472, doc. 891

Berardus etc. Quod reverendus in Christo pater dominus Nicolaus, episcopus Modrusiensis, pro totali solucione suorum comunis et minuti seruiorum, in quibus etc. racione translacionis sue de ecclesia Signensi ad ecclesiam Modrusiensem florenos auri de camera septuaginta, solidos quadraginta unum, denarios otto nobis etc. per manus honorabilis viri

Petri Cosme de Medici et sociorum, Romanam curiam sequencium, die date presencium solvi fecit realiter et cum effectu. De quibus etc. In quorum etc. Datum Rome, XV Ottobris MCCCCLXVI, pontificatus ut supra.

*Florenus I, grossi II.*

: 21 :

– *October 27 1467* –

***Pope Paul II allows for the construction of a small church of Santa Maria della Quercia in a breve to Nicholas of Modruš***

*Original Document:* [No information provided]

*Quoted:* Giuseppe Zippel, ed., *Le Vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi* (Città di Castello: Coi Tipi dell'editore S. Lapi, 1904), 157, n. 4

*No text quoted.*

: 22 :

– *January 17 1468* –

***Carlo bishop of Assisi appointed as Nicholas' successor at the position of the castellan of Viterbo***

*Original Document:* [No information provided]

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 222

*No text quoted.*

: 23 :

– *February 5 1468* –

***Nicholas of Modruš appointed as the governor of Ascoli, Arquata and Farfa with the monthly salary of 50 florins***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 542, fols. 203v–206v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 223, n. 2

Rever. pater d.<sup>us</sup> N. Episcopus Modrusiensis habuit bullam super gubernio civitatis Asculi eiusque comitatu et districtu, necnon praesidatu Farfensi terraque Arquate et eius adiacentiis, ad beneplacitum S. D. N. cum salario L flor. de camera in quolibet mense sub dat. Kal. (*sic*, Mercati) febr. 1468. (...) qui opere potens es et sermone; quem in magnis expertum et arduis eximia probitate et fidelitate rerumque gerendarum experientia et precipua prudentia et integritate comprobatum habemus (...). Mandamus nichilominus ne Iudeis aliquam gratiam, concessionem aut remissionem quovis modo facias, prout per tuos in gubernio prefato predecessores fieri consueverat; et si secus feceris, id totum irritum et inane ac nullius momenti fore decernimus. (...) Mcccc l xvii<sup>o</sup> Non. febr. pont. nostri anno quarto.

: 24 :

– January 20 1469 –

**Letter of provision addressed to Marko Paskvali referring to him as the nephew of  
Nicholas of Modruš, governor of Ascoli**

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Lat., vol. 699, fols. 271v–272v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Neralić, ‘Nicholas of Modruš,’ 15, n. 3

(...) Marco de Pasqualibus (...). (...) Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis pro nobis et Sede apostolice in civitate Asculana gubernatoris deputati nepos (...).

: 25 :

– [1470] –

**Nicholas recalls his mission to the Bosnian court in his *De humilitate***

*Manuscript used:* BANLC, Corsin. 127, fol. 70r

Tertio siquidem Pii pontificis maximi anno cum legatione apud regem Bosnae fungerer unius nostrorum qui Turcho regnum illud inuadente forte captus est Scytha quidam e mercenariis ipsius militibus ardentissima cupiditate post abreptum uoratumque dentibus nasum cum auriculis cruorem uniuersum expatefactis ausit praecordiis non minore uoluptate auditateque quantum ex gestu atque uultu conici poterat quam si suauissimum fuisset merum.

: 26 :

– October 31 1470 –

**Nicholas of Modruš appointed as the governor of Fano, Senigallia and Montefiore with  
the annual salary of 600 florins**

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 543, fol. 67v

*Quoted:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 224; Fraknói, ‘Miklós modrusi,’ 11

*No text quoted. The information concerning the salary comes from Fraknói.*

: 27 :

– January 11 1471 –

**Sassoferrato with its territory added to Nicholas’ governorship**

*Original Document:* ASV, Armar., XXXIX, 12, fol. 74r

*Quoted:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 224

*No text quoted.*



: 28 :

– Rome, February 5 1471 –

***Pope Paul II sends a breve to Nicholas of Modruš concerning the damages suffered by the citizens of Fano at the hands of the soldiers of Ferrante king of Naples***

*Quoted:* ASV, Armar. XXXIX, vol. 12, fol. 92r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 224

Ven.<sup>li</sup> fratri N. Episcopo Modrusien. Gubernatori Ciuitatis nostre Fani.

Ven.<sup>lis</sup> frater, salutem etc. Accepimus litteras tuas sub dat. XVI proxime elapsi mensis, ex quibus intelleximus damna, que a Gentibus Regiis in comitatu Fanensi hibernantibus, dilectis filiis Fanensibus inferuntur; operam quoque a te adhibitam ad huiusmodi damna prohibenda Fanensesque ipsos, ne in predatores erumpant, cohibendos: quod itidem Fanenses per suas litteras nobis significauerunt. Laudamus prudentiam et diligentiam tuam. Difficile caueri potest quin milites amicis et inimicis damna inferant. Qui enim castra sequuntur maximos labores militie sola licentia et immodica libertate tolerare facilius solent. Nobis tamen molestissime sunt iniurie subditis nostris quomodocumque illate, presertim Fanensibus, quorum fidei erga nos et Sanctam Ro. Ecclesiam sinceritas propensioem amorem et caritatem merentur. Ordinauimus statim scribi per oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Sicilie regis illustris apud nos agentes efficacissimas in hanc rem litteras, speramusque procul dubio quod et damna et iniurie omnes penitus in Fanenses nostros cessabunt. Quos tu pro tua prudentia nostro nomine consolaberis et bene in omnibus sperare iubebis, cum nobis maxime sint curo et cordi.

Datum Rome apud S. Petrum die V februarii 1471 anno septimo.

: 29 :

– July 26 1471 –

***Nicholas of Modruš appointed as the acting governor of Cesena during the sede vacante following the death of pope Paul II***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 544, fol. 46v

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 225

*No text quoted.*

: 30 :

– October 7 1471 –

***Nicholas of Modruš petitions for the Benedictine monastery of St George in the Kotor diocese to be given in commendam, with its annual income estimated at 150 florins***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 672, fol. 161r

*Quoted:* Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 18

*No text quoted.*

: 31 :

– October 20 1471 –

***Pope Sixtus IV sends a breve to Nicholas asking him to release a certain old man from prison***

*Original Document:* ASV, Armar., XXXIX, 14, fol. 3r

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 225

*No text quoted.*

: 32 :

– December 5 1471 –

***Nicholas of Modruš receives the 300 florins he spent on soldiers and other expenditures as the interim governor of Cesena***

*Quoted:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 487, fol. 133v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 2, 447, doc. 841

V dicti, prefatus dominus thesaurarius, de mandato, ut supra, soluit reuerendo patri domino Nicolao, episcopo Modrusiensi, florenos de camera trecentos pro parte in deductionem maioris summe per ipsum exposite in gentili armigeris et aliis rebus occurrentibus, dum esset gubernator Cesene, sede vacante. Patet mandatum factum prima presentis.

*Floreni CCC. Docuit A. de Spiritibus*

: 33 :

– December 9 1471 –

***A breve pope Sixtus IV sends to Nicholas is addressed also to 'his successor in governorship'***

*Original Document:* ASV, Armar. XXXIX, 14, fol. 72r

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 225

*No text quoted.*

: 34 :

– January 30 1472 –

***Nicholas of Modruš receives 108 florins he spent on business for the church during his governorship of Fano***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 487, fol. 147v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 2, 447, doc. 842

XXX dicti, dominus thesaurarius, de mandato et per manus, ut supra, soluit domino Nicolao, episcopo Modrusiensi, florenos similes centumocto, obolos XXII, reditori certe summe pecunarium per ipsum exposite pro statu Sancte Romane ecclesie, dum esset gubernator Fani.

*Patet mandatum factum 28 dicti. Floreni CVIII, XXII. Docuit A. de Forliuio.*

: 35 :

– April 4 1472 –

***Pope Sixtus IV sends two breve to Orlandino de Maffeis, certain exile from Verona, referring to Nicholas of Modruš as his commisarius in Venezia***

*Original Document:* ASV, Armar. XXXIX, 14, fol. 210v

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 225

*No text quoted.*

: 36 :

– May 4 1472 –

***Nicholas of Modruš receives the loan of 7 000 Venetian ducats from the Medici bank approved by cardinal Oliviero Carafa***

*Document used:* BNCF, Fondo Principale, Naz. II.V.13, fol. 140r–v

/ + 1472. Sostòssi et addi septem passati | partinci di Roma.

/ Jesus

Ego Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis fateor hoc presenti chirographo me habuisse ac recepisse ducatos septem milia Venetos a Petro Francisco et Juliano de Medicis Veneciis uigore unius littere ausamenti date Rome die 29 Aprilis 1472 a Laurencio et Juliano de Medicis ad instantiam Reverendissimi domini Neapolitani,<sup>749</sup> in cuius fidem et testimonium presentes manu nostra propria conscripsimus et nostri parui sigilli impressione communiuimus, die IIII Maii 1472.

(SPD)

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<sup>749</sup> ad... Neapolitani *add. in marg.*

: 37 :

– June 8 1472 x July 12 1472 –

***The documents of the Treasury of the Kotor Commune testifying to the payment of money to a certain ser Marin that would cover for the expenses of a gift for Nicholas of Modruš who ‘would come these days to visit his hometown with the papal galleys’***

*Original Document:* BAK, Miscellanea I, p. 3 [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Brajković, ‘Pokloni Ivanu Crnojeviću,’ 107–108

Item (di 8. zugno) per lo presente se farà ala presentia de mosignor Nicholò, nostro citadin dignissimo, veschouo de Modrussa, vignerà cum le galie de papa questi ziorni visitar la sua patria; per parte de tal prenominata spesa, hauemo dato e contato alo dicto ser Marin e compagno, perperi 50, a grossis 90.

Item a di 9. Iulo per comandamento de rezimento e conseio pizulo, dessimo ali diti ufficiali, zoè ser Marino e compagno per la spessa soranominata, zo che il mancava, val ducati 4 d’oro e perperi 4 de munida.

Item di 12. Iuio, per ordine del dicto rezimento et conselio, ali dicti ser Marino e ser Michiel per la dicta spesa, dessimo d’oro ducati tre, val ducati 3.

: 38 :

– [Winter 1473] –

***Domizio Calderini dedicates his Commentarii in M. Valerium Martialem to Gurello Carafa, referring to the discussions taking place within the Bessarion’s academy, with Nicholas of Modruš referred to as one of the hosts***

*Published:* Domitius Calderinus, *Commentarii in Martialem* (Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1474), fols. 268v–269r

*Quoted:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 231, n. 2

Non potuimus assequi id quod uel tu optabas, Coreli, uel studiis nostris maxime consentaneum erat, ut Martialis interpretationem sine ulla animorum contentionem absolueremus. Nam qui partim nuper coeperat inuidere partim odio habet iandiu, nullum detrahendi et insectandi finem facit; quod quandiu intra parietes ab eo actum est apud te, Theodorum, Nicolaum praesulem Modrusiensium, uiros plane bonos et doctos, aequissimo animo iniuriam tuli aut certe dissimulaui. Sperabam enim magnopere fore aliquando ut cum suae aestimationis ac dignitatis rationem haberet tum ueteris obseruantiae meae. Nam etsi fidem in eum, beniuolentiam, pietatem nunquam ipsi uni quod uideam probare potui, tamen officio meo plurimum delectabar, cuius fructum uel ex eo capiebam maximum quod sapientissimorum uirorum consilii Nicenique in primis uoluntati, in cuius eram familia, me satisfacere intelligebam.

: 39 :

– *March 19 1473, Venice* –

***The Venetian Senate instructs its ambassador in Rome to lobby for Nicholas of Modruš to be appointed as the admiral of the papal fleet against the Ottomans***

*Original Document:* ASVe, Secr. cons. rog., vol. 26, fol. 5r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Enrico Cornet, ed., *Le guerre dei Veneti nell'Asia 1470–1474* (Vienna: Tandler & Comp., 1856), 91

Ser Federico Cornario oratori nostro in Curia. Ommissis etc.

Ceterum ut mentem nostram intelligatis circa declarationem quam petitis per vestras litteras diei XI instantis circa quinque triremes nostras oblatas casu quo summus pontifex armaret XII galeas et legatum designaret reverendissimum dominum cardinalem neapolitanum, dicimus quod armante beatitudine antedicta galeas X ut dicitis sub legato cardinali sumus contenti ut quinque ex nostris triremibus id faciant quid requisitum et semel a nobis oblatum est. Verum advertite et querite ut cardinalis designatus sit quam vacantior suspitione possibile sit. Verum si citra dignitatem cardinalatus beatitudini summi pontifici(!) de legato classi provideret, querite quantum potestis ut is sit reverendissimus episcopus Modrusiensis prelatus prudens expertus in huiusmodi exercitio animosus et impresie optime dispositus nobisque plurimum affectus, sub quo quum pro impetrando necessarium esset mittere adhuc contentaremur quinque ex nostris triremibus pro honore sedis apostolice, sed hoc tenete apud vos et non manifestate nisi pro obtinendo fuerit necessarium.

De parte 138. De non 3. Non sinceri 0.

: 40 :

– *March 28 1473, Venice* –

***The Venetian Senate reports to the ambassador in Rome that they are content with the appointment of Lorenzo Zane archbishop of Split as the admiral of the papal fleet***

*Original Document:* ASVe, Secr. cons. rog., vol. 26, fol. 6v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Cornet, ed., *Le guerre dei Veneti nell'Asia*, 91–92

Ser Federico Cornario oratori nostro in Curia.

Gratisissima nobis cognita fuit electo reverendissimi archiepiscopi spalatensis ad legationem classis pontificie, de quo si nos nullam feceramus mentionem in causa fuit quia credebamus illum ab Curia abesse in legatione perusina et non aspirare ad id classici muneris. Et si de episcopo Modrusiensi vobis scripsimus fuit quum inter Jenuenses quosdam et peregrinos nominatus, iudicatus a nobis fuit longe ceteris illis aptior et fidelior. Verum de presenti electione contentissimi sumus et nemini potuisset legatio ipsa obvenire nobis gratiori acceptiorive sicut et scribimus per alligatas et vos per introclusum exemplum videbitis quas ei reddite et secum nostro nomine gratulemini et sollicitate ut citissime omnia curet et expediat cogente tempore ut classis ipsa citissime sit in ordine. – Summo pontifici et pro classe deliberata et pro legato designato gratias agite et reverendissimo domino cardinali sancti Sixti declarate quantum nobis fuerit grata et accepta opera reverendissime paternitatis sue in hoc

negotio. Cui similiter gratias agite cum verbis pertinentibus. Hoc idem facite cum ceteris cardinalibus qui vobis videantur servato cum unoquoque decore sed assidue et indefesse cum omnibus, sed presertim cum cardinali sancti Sixti sollicitate expeditionem rerum omnium.

Omissis etc.

: 41 :

– July 17 1473, Rome –

***Pavao Petrić, presbyter of the Hvar church, resigns the benefice in St Peter's Basilica in Rome, while Anton Jurjev resigns the benefice in the Hvar church, in order to exchange the two benefices, with Nicholas of Modruš, Fantino della Vale, and the Split archpresbyter acting as executors***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Lat., vol. 770, fol. 200r–v

*Quoted:* Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 52, n. 122

*No text quoted.*

: 42 :

– [Winter 1474] –

***Giovanni Battista de Giudici bishop of Ventimiglia dedicates his Dialogus de migratione Petri cardinalis S. Sixti referring to Nicholas' funeral speech to Pietro Riario***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3624, fol. 3r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 228, n. 3

Accidit interim lugubris casus viri clarissimi Petri tui, cardinalis Sancti Sixti, quem Romanae Curiae delicias possumus appellare, et quem amabas maxime, et ab eo pariter amabare. De quo cum multi magno et excellenti ingenio viri scripserint, inter quos duo nostra aetate principes eloquentiae, Nicolaus Sepontinus Archiepiscopus et Nicolaus Modrusien. episcopus, orationes refertas clarissimorum auctorum sententiis alter in contione habuit, alter editam ad te misit, mihi quoque (...) propter longam quae mihi cum Cardinali fuit consuetudinem et propter eius in me singularia merita aliquid scribere visum est. (...).

: 43 :

– [Summer 1474], Padua –

***Letter of Francesco Maturanzio to his brother Angelo referring to the letter of Nicholas of Modruš he received in Venice***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 89v–90r

Angelo fratri.

Patauium ueni ubi dies aliquot commoratus sum. (...) Venetias cum uenisset principis mei Nicolai Episcopi Modrusiensis benignissimas litteras apud Magistrum Antonium nostrum

offendi, quas nostris inclusas ideo ad te mittere uolui, ut cognoscas me non falso illius in me beniuolentiam praedicare solere, nec deese mihi in quo spem bene et honeste uiuendi reponere et collocare possim. Has Bartholomeo Ruffato ostendas et legas, uehementer rogo. (...)

: 44 :

– [Early Autumn 1474], Fano –

***Francesco Maturanzio's letter sent from Fano to a certain Gurello in Rome (possibly Carafa?), in which Maturanzio asks for his help in securing the patronage of a cardinal***

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 93v–94r*

Corellio.

Existimaui pro tuo in me amore meaque item in te obseruantia mei esse officii simulatque Italiae incolumis redditus sum, de aduentu meo certiolem te facere ut saluum me uenisse gauderes; et eum me in te esse ac fore cognosceres, qui semper fui. Illud a te uehementer peto ut de statu tuo omni ad me scribas, et si qua in re adiumento mihi esse potes (potes autem plurimis), studium tuum et fauorem non deneges. Cupio istic uiuere et cuiquam cardinali industriam meam quantulacunque est dedicare et condonare. Vnum est quo haud mediocriter deterreor quod necessaria ad cultum corporis comparare mihi minime possum. Quod si tantum consequi possem quantum ad hanc rem mihi sufficeret, libenter conditionem acciperem. Si quid tantisper fortuna arrideret expectans, Fani nunc sum. Sed propediem Perusiae ero. Illuc te rogo ad me scribas. Bene uale.

: 45 :

– [Early Autumn 1474], Fano –

***Letter of Francesco Maturanzio to Bartolomeo della Rovere bishop of Ferrara referring to his sojourn at Nicholas' place in Fano***

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 93r–v*

Bartholomeo Episcopo Ferrariensi.

Saepenumero admiratum te minime dubito, quod ut ueterem et fidelem seruulum facere conueniebat, postquam ad illam dignitatem qua nulla sanctior, nulla maior est in terris Beatissimus Dominus noster merito ascitus est. Nec adierim te unquam nec de statu meo certiolem reddiderim, cum et res esset tantae gratulationis et nihil me hoc agere deterrere posset. Immo inuitarent et hortarentur multa. Antiqua illa, quae mihi Ferrariae tecum intercessit familiaritas, incredibilis humanitas et mores probatissimi, sed quo minus hoc egerim multa impedimento extiterunt, quae ne te prolixus obun- / dam narrare nunc omitto. Illud praecipue fuit in causa, quod in Graeciam me pro captando ingenii cultu illo ipso tempore nauigare contigit. Scribere uero distuli, quod uenire ipse et praesens gratulari semper optaui. Nuper incolumis e Graecia redii. Dies aliquot Fani apud Praesulem Modrusiensem, qui me tam benignis semper prosecutus est officiis, et relaxandi animi et reficiendi corporis gratia

commoratus sum. Propediem, ut spero, Perusiae ero. Te quantum in me est rogo ut mei memor esse uelis; qui haerere tibi si qua in re usui esse possum paratus sum. Saltem ad me Perusiam quid mihi agendum statuas scribere non dedigneris. Bene uale.

: 46 :

– [Autumn 1474], [Perugia?] –

***The letter of Francesco Maturanzio to Ulisse of Fano, asking him to ask Nicholas of Modruš to recommend him to Niccolò Perotti***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 95r

Ulyssi Fanestri.

Frater carissime, bene iuuante Deo Fanum proficisceris, Archiepiscopum Sipontinum illic inuenies, cui litteras meas reddes. Praesidem Modrusiensem ut Sipontino non uulgariter me commendaret, rogabis. Quod si Fani Sipontinus non fuerit, da operam ut illuc ubicunque acceperis litterae ad eum perferantur. (...)

: 47 :

– [Autumn 1474], [Perugia?] –

***Letter of Francesco Maturanzio to Gurello referring to the previous letter (see doc. 44) that he had sent to him via Marko, kinsman of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 95r–v

Corellio.

Fani cum essem Marco Episcopi Modrusiensis propinquo qui istuc proficiscebatur litteras ad te dedi. Is facturum se recepit, ut propediem ad me scriberet, et de te et de quodam negotio meo, quod istic per eum agi oportune poterat, nihil interim litterarum missum. Quare te rogo, ut conuenire Marcum non pigeat, ubi in Vrbe habitat, exploratum mihi non est. Tantum ab eo accepi, cuidam Petreio humanitatis studioso contubernalem esse; pergratum mihi erit si tua opera aliquid ad me scripserit et quo pacto negotium meum peregerit certiolem me reddiderit. Vale.



: 48 :

– [Late 1474 x Early 1475], [Perugia] –

**Letter of Francesco Maturanzio to his brother Angelo referring to his teaching in Perugia and the growing favor he is enjoying from Niccolò Perotti**

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 96r

Angelo fratri.

Doleo temporis angustia impeditum me quo minus ordine ut uolueram et de me et de rebus nostris quo in statu sint ad te scripserim. Sed multa erant quae uelut inclusum tenerent, cum iamiam discessurus tabellarius si quid istuc scribere uellem postulauit. Nam et publice illo ipso die mihi legendum erat et in laudes liberalium artium pro incohandis studiis oratio habenda. (...) Ego propediem discessurus hinc sum, et uel ad Episcopum meum rediturus, uel Romam profecturus, nisi fortasse urbis meae praeses Pontifex Sipontinus, qui non secus atque Modrusiensis meis litteris fauere coepit, hic me retinere uoluerit. Bene uale.

: 49 :

– February 25 1475 –

**Pope Sixtus IV appoints Nicholas of Modruš as the governor of Spoleto, San Gemini, ‘ac terrarum Arnulphorum et castris Richardi, Collis marchionis’**

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 656, fols. 144v–146v

*Quoted:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 234

*No text quoted.*

: 50 :

– April 13 1475 –

**Nicholas of Modruš petitions for the Benedictine priory of San Bartolomeo in Venice, which has been vacant since the death of its last prior, another cleric from Kotor, and which was designated to provide him with an annual income of 150 florins**

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 718, fol. 5v

*Quoted:* Neralić, ‘Nicholas of Modruš,’ 18

*No text quoted.*

: 51 :

– April 18 1475 –

***The letter of camerlengo to the treasurer of the Marches concerning the reparations of the governor's palace in Fano conducted on Nicholas' orders***

*Original Document:* ASV, Armar., XXXIX, 37, fol. 72v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 234

Dno. Barth.<sup>eo</sup> de Ruvere S.D.N. pape nepoti Marchie etc. thesaurario.

Magnifice vir etc. salutem. La R.<sup>da</sup> p.<sup>ta</sup> del vescovo Modrusiens. già governatore di Fano come sapete ci scrive haver speso certa somma de denari in reparatione del palazzo di quella città. La qual somma perchè prese de maleficii del vicariato voria mo che fosse admissa nelli soi conti come per la sua lettera quale mandamo inclusa vederete. Habiamo diferito di darli resposta deliberando aspectare da voi informatione. Si che fate de intender la verità del factò, et datecene subito aviso, accioche sappiamo come li respondere debitamente. Valetè. Ex urbe die 18 aprilis 1475.

: 52 :

– December 20 1475 –

***Nicholas of Modruš receives the bishopric of Skradin in commendam after the death of Fantino della Valle***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Lat., vol. 758, fol. 46r–v

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 235; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 185–187

*No text quoted.*

: 53 :

– February 17 1476 –

***Marko Paskvali acting on behalf of Nicholas of Modruš promises to pay the 100 florins of common services owed for the appointment to the diocese of Skradin***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol., vol. 84, fol. 264v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* BarbariĆ, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 1, 514–515, doc. 989

Die XVII Februarii, dominus Marcus de Pascalibus, canonicus Catarensis, ut procurator et procuratorio nomine reverendi patris domini Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis ac perpetui administratoris ecclesie Scardonensis de cuius mandato constat mediante publico instrumento, facto in civitate Spoletana, die VII Februarii MCCCCLXXVI, indictione VIII, per discretum virum Scipionem ser Mariani, publicum imperiali auctoritate notarium, obtulit camere apostolice et sacro collegio reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalium pro communi servicio dicte ecclesie Scardonensis, racione administracionis sibi concesse per bullas domini Sixti, sub data Rome etc., 3 Nonas Novembris, anno quinto, florenos auri de camera centum, ad

quos dicta ecclesia taxata reperitur, et quinque minuta servicia consueta. Eorundem autem etc. Io. Aquilone, notarius.

Dicta die, de mandato dicti domini mensarii bulle dicte ecclesie Scardonensis sunt date dicto procuratori, qui dicto nomine procuratorio promisit et se in forma et sub penis predictis obligavit hic in Romana curia medietatem dictorum centum florenorum infra sex menses proxime futuros absque aliqua excepcione, residuum vero dictorum centum florenorum post alios sex menses a die habite possessionis dicte ecclesie computando, in eadem forma et sub penis eisdem solvere promisit. Io. Aquilone, notarius.

*Cardinales XIII. Ad sex menses dimidium, alios vero residuum...*

: 54 :

– [1476, before May] –

***Pope Sixtus IV adds Todi and Amelia to the governorship of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Original Document:* [Not indicated]

*Quoted:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 235–236

*No text quoted.*

: 55 :

– May 2 1476 –

***The citizens of Spoleto request for Nicholas not to relocate to Todi calling the bishop their benefattore***

*Original Document:* ASS, Riform., An. 1476, fol. 89

*Quoted:* Sansi, *Storia del Comune di Spoleto*, vol. 2, 74

*No text quoted.*

: 56 :

– May 19 1477 –

***Nicholas of Modruš petitions for the benefices of the Kotor church and the Church of San Pietro in Castello in Ascoli previously held by his nephew Marko Paskvali who died***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 751, fol. 205r–v

*Quoted:* Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 15, n. 3; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 167–168

*No text quoted.*

: 57 :

– 1477 –

***The citizens of Spoleto donate Nicholas with gifts of silver and a house in the city***

*Original Document:* ASS, Riform., An. 1477, fol. 126

*Quoted:* Sansi, *Storia del Comune di Spoleto*, vol. 2, 74

*No text quoted.*

: 58 :

– January 1478 –

***Pope Sixtus IV appoints cardinal Raffaele Riario as the Papal Legate in Perugia with Nicholas of Modruš as the Vicelegate***

*Original Document:* ASV, Regest. Vatic., vol. 657, fols. 114v–119r

*Quoted:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 236–237

*The territory under control included Perugia, Spoleto, Todi, Foligno, Assisi, Città di Castello, Amelia, Trevi, etc.*

: 59 :

– May 10 1478 –

***The summary of the speech Nicholas of Modruš delivered in Florence as the papal legate***

*Original Document:* ASF, Signori, legazioni e commissarie: Risposte verbali di oratori forestieri, vol. 2, fol. 53v

Die X<sup>mo</sup> Maij 1478.

Nicolaus episcopus Modrusiensis a Perusia, ubi gubernatoris uicem gerebat, a Summo Pontifice iussus Florentiam uenit; cum magistratum salutatum uenisset, primum benedixit magistratum et senatum; demum graui dolore affectum Summum Pontificem et cardinalium collegium asseveravit et execrari ab his istam crudelissimam cedem et turbationem ciuitatis; si opus sit, omnes ecclesiae facultates ad status et libertatis conservationem presto esse dixit. Egit demum gratias, quod Raphaellem cardinalem<sup>750</sup> pontificis nepotem e<sup>751</sup> faucibus popularis furoris liberauerimus; uenisse se Perusiam reducat in suam legationem. Responsum est paucis pro tempore et in tertium diem producta consultatio. Ita demum responsum est. Scriba responsum legit. Demum ita petente legato exemplum lecti responsi datum.

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<sup>750</sup> *post cardinalem del. suum*

<sup>751</sup> *post e del. faciu*

– May 13 1478 –

*The summary of the response given to Nicholas of Modruš*

*Original Document:* ASF, Signori, legazioni e commissarie: Risposte verbali di oratori forestieri, vol. 2, fol. 54r–55r

Die XIII<sup>mo</sup> Maij 1478.

Risposta facta al vicelegato di Perugia; fu consultata ex consuetudine ciuitatis et in haec uerba, hancque sententiam.

La venuta vostra Reuerendissimo Padre et alla Signoria et alla città come vi fu decto, è stata a conforto et a consolatione, et ha facto il Sancto Padre ufficio di buon pastore, il quale in tanto gravi et dolorosi affanni s'è ricordato de' suoi obseruantissimi figliuoli con sì clemente et accomodata legatione; et siamo certi che et la Sua Santità et quel sacro Collegio et tucti e' prelati et Signori di quella corte et ciascuno finalmente, come dite, s'è commosso et ha preso dolore et indignatione de' casi nostri pe- lla loro inaudita et nuova et tanto crudele et tanto immane scelerateça; et alla Santità Sua debba essere questo nostro caso più molesto et piu grave non solamente pe- llo ufficio et vicariato suo di Christo nostro redemptore et salvatore, ma perché dalle sue genti, et da chi per li oblighi et per ogni respecto credavamo dovere essere difesi, siamo stati cavalcati et predati et offesi non altrimenti che epsi fussino stati non solamente conscij, ma primi et capi di questa nefandissima coniuratione, come anchora pe- l meço del nostro oratore a Roma habiamo facto intendere alla Santità Sua et speriamo, secondo la sua risposta, chi harà errato n'arà dalla Sua Santità merita punitione.

E' fauori che ne offerite, in<sup>752</sup> conservatione et augumento dello stato et libertà nostra per parte della Santità Sua et di quello sacro collegio, cisono tanto più grati et più accepti; questo, per le sopradecte cose, 'intende che è più necessario che e' suoi cognoschino quale sia lamente della Santità Sua inverso di noi et della nostra / città, immerita certamente, per la fede nostra et observantia constantissima et perpetua inverso Sancta Chiesa et inverso la Santità Sua, d'essere stati cosi crudelmente assaltati et trucidati da chi, come è decto, per ogni buono respecto dobiavamo essere favoriti et aiutati et difesi.<sup>753</sup>

Habiamo molto caro, se 'èe facto cosa alcuna per noi grata alla Santità Sua nello havere conservato salvo dal furore el Reuerendissimo cardinale legato, suo nipote, al quale certamente habiamo facto et facciamo et faremo tucti quegli buoni tractamenti che a una città tanto fedele et devota a Sua Santità si conviene.

Et habiamo dispiacere non potere liberamente in questa parte di presente, salvis rebus et dignitate nostra, aconsentire, perché ci è necessario prima intendere quale sia il parere de' nostri collegati e' quali, et per li oblighi et per lo mutuo amore et benivolentia nostra, hanno estimado e' casi nostri communi a loro come per manifeste experieçe s'è veduto et vede. Insino a qui non s'è atteso per noi ad altro che alla defensione nostra: in priuato, che non siamo cosi crudelmente trucidati; in publico, che lo Stato et libertà nostra non uengha in mano

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<sup>752</sup> in *correxi ex ni*

<sup>753</sup> *post difesi del.* habiamo

di tanti scelerati proditori et parricidi. Questa è la prima cosa che viene in consultatione libera, laquale, come è decto, non ci pare da fare sença il parere di queglii, con chi il bene et il male nostro per la amicitia et confederatione nostra è commune. Né debba di questo al parere nostro pigliarse alcuna admiratione da alcuno, quando saranno bene pensate et examinate le cose facte et il modo con che sono state facte, et meçi e' fundamenti et gli effecti che si cercavano; de' quali, et la Santità Sua et la vostra Reverendissima Paternità et noi et ciaschuno già può sapere il vero. Preghiamo dunche la Vostra Reverendissima Paternità, che non gli sia molesta questa breve dilatione / così necessaria al parere nostro, come è sopradecto. Né dubitiamo che la Santità Sua pe' lla sua divina sapientia non approvi questa nostra deliberatione, perché intenderà che in effecto tende a firmamento delle cose mosse per questo scelerato machinamento et obviare che il male, che ha havuto così gran principio, non vada più inançi, maxime sentendo pure che a Roma si fa per qualche uno male parole et dimostrationi, ma interamente, per quanto si può, si posi et habbi fine.

: 61 :

– June 1 1478 –

***The bull of pope Sixtus IV excommunicating Lorenzo de' Medici which includes a reference to the unsuccessful mission of Nicholas of Modruš to Florence***

*Original Document:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 237, n. 2

(...) et dum venerabilis frater Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis, noster et eiusdem Sedis Nuncius ad hoc specialiter destinatus, praedictos Laurentium, priores, vexilliferum ac complices, ut Raphaelem et legatum praelibatum in sua libertate reponerent, nostro nomine requisivisset, illud negare et eundem cardinalem dimittere nolle non dubitarunt. (...)

: 62 :

– April 28 1479 –

***Nicholas resigns the benefice from the Skradin diocese in favor of a Franciscan professor of theology, Pietro Marzio, retaining from it an annual pension of 120 florins***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Lat., vol. 800, fol. 79r–v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Quoted:* Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 18–19; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 254–255

(...). Nos tibi, ne ex cessione huiusmodi nimium dispendium patiaris, de alicuius subventionis auxilio providere specialemque gratiam facere volentes, motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, pensionem annuam centum et viginti florenorum auri de Camera super fructibus, redditibus et proventibus mense episcopalis Scardonensis, qui scilicet colliguntur in terris dominio Venetorum subiectis, per eundem Petrum electum, cuius ad id expressus accedit assensus et successores suos Scardonenses episcopos pro tempore existentes tibi quoad vixeris vel procuratori tuo ad hoc a te specialiter constituto, pro una videlicet in Sancti Johannis Baptiste

et alia medietatibus pensionis huiusmodi in domini nostri Jesu Christi nativitatum festivitibus annis singulis persolvendam auctoritate apostolica reservamus. (...).

: 63 :

– December 22 1479 –

***Pope Sixtus IV grants to Nicholas of Modruš the Benedictine monastery of St Mary on the island of Mljet in commendam***

*Original Document:* ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 597, fols. 172v–174r

*Quoted:* Neralić, ‘Nicholas of Modruš,’ 19

*No text quoted.*

: 64 :

– 1479, Spoleto –

***Document testifying that Nicholas donated a live bear to the citizens of Spoleto***

*Original Document:* ASS, Riform., An. 1479, fol. 189r

*Quoted:* Sansi, *Storia del Comune di Spoleto*, vol. 2, 74

*No text quoted.*

: 65 :

[1479], [Perugia] –

***Letter of Francesco Maturanzio to his brother Angelo in Rome referring to the latter’s service in the household of Thomas James bishop of St Pol de Léon, castellan of Castel San Angelo from the very end of 1478 or the beginning of 1479***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 124r–125v.

Angelo fratri.

(...) Debeo ego et tuo et meo nomine principi mansuetissimo Episcopo Leonensis molis ipsius Adriani custodi plurimum, qui ab illa opinione tua huc accedendi, in quam dolor intestinus te praecipitem agebat reuocare uoluit. Romam quidem ad te proficisci uehementer cuperem atque optarem nec aliqua aeris intemperie aut itineris difficultate deterreri possem. Sed assiduae occupationes meae communi utriusque nostrum desiderio satisfieri non permittunt. Publice, ut scis, profiteor. Discedere ab officio sine damno et dedecore meo non queo. Primis tamen feriis principem tuum, / qui idem meus est, salutaturus accedam, cui cum haesisse te et in tam honorifico contubernio in mole Adriani esse, tum ex tuis litteris, tum ex multorum sermone intellexi, coepi, medius fidius, resipiscere et me ipsum colligens a lacrimis ac dolore mentem cogitationemque reuocare. Nihil mihi Modrusiensis Episcopi inditio aut testimonio opus est. Non me latet qualis Episcopus Leonensis sit, quantumque apud

Pontificem Maximum et illustrissimum principem Hieronymum gratia et auctoritate ualeat.  
(...)

: 66 :

– January 19 1480 –

***Ivan Sepia, cleric of the Zadar diocese, pays in Nicholas' name the common services owed for the benefice of the monastery of St Mary***

*Original Document:* ASV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol., vol. 84A, fol. 70r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Barbarić, et alii, ed., *Camera Apostolica*, vol. 2, 771, doc. 1395

Die XVIII eiusdem mensis, venerabilis vir dominus Iohannes Sepia, clericus Iadrensis diocesis, ut principalis et priuata persona ac vice et nomine reuerendi patris domini Nicolai, episcopi Modrusiensis, commendatarii monasterii Sancti Benedicti insule de Melede, Ordinis eiusdem sancti, Ragusine diocesis, obtulit Camere Apostolice et Collegio reuerendissimorum dominorum cardinalium pro communi seruicio dicti monasterii ratione commende de eodem sibi auctoritate apostolica facte per bullas domini Sixti pape IIII sub data XI Kalendas Ianuarii anno nono, florenos auri de Camera octuaginta, ed(!) quos dictum monasterium taxatum reperitur, et quinque minuta seruitia consueta. Eorundem autem etc. Io. de Aquilone, notarius.

*Cardinales XIII.*

Dicta die, bulle dicti monasterii de mandato dominorum de Camera fuerunt date spectabili viro Iohanni Gallo, ciui Romano, qui promisit et sub dictis penis obligauit soluere, hic in Curia, communia et minuta seruicia omniaqua alia iura per dictum dominum episcopum commendatarium ratione dicti monasterii soluenda, hinc ad VI menses proxime futuros, absque exceptione aliqua, presentibus quibus supra etc.

*Soluit.*

: 67 :

– May 29 1480 –

***Pope Sixtus IV appoints Christopher of Ragusa as the new bishop of Modruš, referring to Nicholas as a former familiaris***

*Original Document:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3478, fols. 12v–13r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Neralić, 'Nicholas of Modruš,' 19, n. 21*

Hodie Sanctissimus dominus noster dominus Sixtus divina providentia papa IV. in suo consistorio secreto ut moris est ad relationem reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Iohannis Baptiste, tituli sancte Cicilie transtiberim presbiteri cardinalis Melfiten. de consilio reverendissimorum patrum dominorum cardinalium ecclesie Mudrusien.(!) per obitum bone memorie Nicolai illius ultimi episcopi prefati Sanctissimi Domini nostri familiaris apud Sedem apostolicam defuncti pastore carenti de persona venerabilis viri domini Christophori decretorum doctoris presbiteri Ragusini providit ipsumque eidem ecclesie



Madrusiensis preficit in episcopum et pastorem curam, regimen et administrationem cuius in spiritualibus ac temporalibus sibi plenarie committendo in quorum fidem presentem cedulam fieri et mani(!) propria subscriben. soliti nostri parvi sigilli missimus impressione communiri. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum die Lune XXVIII Maii MCCCCLXXX(!), pontificatus sanctissimi domini nostri anno nono. R. ep(iscopu)s Portuen. car(dina)lis Valentin. S.R.E. vicecan(cellarius).

: 68 :

– [1480, after May] –

***Funerary inscription for Nicholas' tomb in the Convent of Santa Maria del Popolo, located 'on the left-hand wall of the corridor leading to the sacristy' ('nel convento, nella parete sinistra del corridojo che mette alla segrestia') and commissioned by his cousin, Francesca of Dubrovnik, a third-order Franciscan***

*Published:* Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, vol. 1 (Rome: Tipografia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1867), 368, nr. 1421

DEO OPT. MAX. // QVEM NVLLVM LATVIT STVDIVM / VIS NVLLA LOQVENDI //  
VRNA TEGIT CELEBREM / QVAMTVLA NICOLEVM // HIC MERVIT POST TE  
CERTAS / HIERONYME LAVDES // ALTER HONOS ET SPES ILLYRIS / ORA TIBI //  
OCCIDIT AN VIVIT PRESVL PAR / CA IMPROBA VIVIT // NON TIMET VT RAPIAS /  
PARVA MODRVSA DECVS // FRANCISSA CONSOBRINO B. M. / TERTII ORD. S. F.  
RAGVSEA F.

: 69 :

– [1480, after May] –

***Inventory of 210 books that belonged to Nicholas of Modruš donated by pope Sixtus IV to the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo***

*Manuscript used:* AGA, Inventory of Santa Maria del Popolo from 1480, no information provided on the shelfmark of the codex, fols. 31r–35r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis bibliothecis,' 281–287

Inventarium librorum qui a Sixto pontifice maximo monasterio donati sunt de libris reverendissimi quondam domini domini episcopi Mendruxiensis.

*After this follows the list of the books which can be found in App. 8a, with the items identified.*

: 70 :

– June 18 1480 –

***Raffaele Riario borrows from the Apostolic library a manuscript of Horace's Odes that once belonged to the library of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3964, fol. 19v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Maria Bertòla, ed., *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Codici Vaticani latini 3964, 3966* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1942), 20

Reverendissimus dominus R(aphael) cardinalis Sancti Georgii accepit mutuo a domino Platyna bibliothecario Odas Oratii ex libris reverendi episcopi Modrusiensis habitas ex membranis in pavonatio, accipiente et deferente domino Francisco Noxeto eius suae reverendissimae dominationis secretario, die XVIII iunii 1480.

: 71 :

– October 4 1480 –

***Cornelio Porcari borrows from the Apostolic library an incunable 'liber de instrumentis bellicis' that once belonged to the library of Nicholas of Modruš***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3964, fol. 39v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Bertòla, ed., *I due primi registri*, 38

Ego Cornelius Porcius Romanus acepi a domino Platina bibliothecario librum de instrumentis bellicis impressum, quem mihi daret vicecamerarius B(artholomeus) episcopus Castelli, presentibus domino Falcone auditore Camere ac nonnullis aliis, ex mandato S. D. N. ipsi iussit, quoniam liber iste fuerat comodatus reverendo episcopo Modrusiensi cuius biblioteca ad S. D. N. post eiusdem episcopi obitum devenerat et ubi opus esset restituere ego Cornelius supra dictus eidem Platine restituere polior, a die IIII octobris 1480. Et ita est. Cornelius manu propria.

: 72 :

– [post 1484] –

***Entry in the list of unreturned books that Raffaele Riario did not return the borrowed manuscript of Horace's Odes***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3950, fol. 102v [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Bertòla, ed., *I due primi registri*, 120

Reverendissimo domino Raphaeli de Riario cardinali Sancti Georgii tempore Syxti IIII dati fuerunt commodo duo libri, videlicet Odę Horatii et Epitomę L(ucii) Flori ex eadem bibliotheca.

***In his work De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis Regis Mathiae dedicated to John Corvinus Galeotto Marzio includes a chapter on the scheming of the papal legate Nicholas of Modruš in Buda in the winter of 1464***

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), 12–14, cap. 13

Nicholaus Madrusiensis episcopus missus in Hungariam a Pio pontifice adiit regem Mathiam. Et his peractis, quorum causa venerat, desedit Budae per totam hiemem regis humanitate pariter et liberalitate fretus. Sed episcopus non is erat, quem sese fronte ostendebat. Erat enim decora facie, eloquentia miti, gestu blando et qui sub agnina pelle lupum celaret, qui quidem simulatione et palatinis artibus fallacibusque blanditiis non sine viperino complexu et osculatione Iudae omnes fere Hungariae principes fefellit excepto rege. Nam cum rex Mathias esset eloquio blandus, ingenio versutus et sagax, diu inter huiusmodi viros exercitatus, par pari referebat Nicholao ita, ut non minus blande rex Nicholaum, quam Nicholaus regem alloquebatur. Iuvabat praeterea regis solertiam et exercitationem astrorum cognitio et physionomiae scientia, quas a doctissimis largissime acceperat. Accessit etiam ad regis perfectionem, quod eius genitor Iohannes, quem Itali Blanchum nuncupant, nati sui versutia cognita, cum ipse esset Latinae linguae expers, in arduis negotiis cum pontificum legatis pertractandis nullo alio usus interprete quam filio ita, ut tener adhuc Mathias arduorum negotiorum cognitionem imbiberit. Sed inter omnia physionomiae peritus non modo huius, sed multorum primo conspectu hominum mores solertissime iudicavit. Unde primo congressu, qua esset condicione Nicholaus, apprehendit, sed nunquam se aperuit; artium enim palatarum et simulationis ac dissimulationis principes fere omnes habent peritiam. Apud hunc Nicholaus episcopus aggressus est rem non episcopo et legato pontificis, sed vilissimo nebulone dignissimam; nunc hos, nunc illos Hungariae principes criminando in gratiam sui regem trahere conabatur. Rex annuebat fingens se omnia credere. Et, ut iste criminator liberius loqueretur, interdum se maxime mirari quosdam simulabat, quibus multa rex beneficia contulisset, dicebatque rex: ‘Vix possum adduci, ut, malo erga me sint animo, putem, cum nulla malivolentiae apparens causa intercesserit.’ Hoc autem faciebat, ut magis Nicholaum excuteret. Posteaquam ex hac tam intima familiaritate animum mentemque regis se tenere putavit, factus est audentior et suas criminationes vertit etiam in eos, qui de Nicholao fuerant bene meriti et a quibus honorem et munera acceperat, ita, ut iam nullus neque magnus neque parvus sive sacer sive profanus (de principibus loquor) a morsibus huius pessimae viperae erat immunis; omnibus detrahebat, cunctos in odium regis rapere conabatur. Considerans rex Mathias huius viri nequitiam pariter et ingratitude, excogitavit humano generi salubre exemplum, ut fallacibus et detractoribus finem, quoad ut fieri posset, imponeret, sicque ait ad Nicholaum: ‘Ea, quae tu dudum narrasti de principibus Hungariae, non videntur verisimilia; nam cum honeste et liberaliter secum egerim, non apparet ulla ratione probabile, quod tu argumentis et eloquentia persuadere tentasti.’ Tunc ille ardentius instare et se in eorum faciem dicere paratum asseverabat. Rex his auditis rogavit episcopum et legatum, ut tales artes deponeret saltem in Hungaros, ad quos nomine pontificis venerat. Ille adhuc in sua nequitia persistens, amicitia et favore regis propenso tumefactus credens se regem, quocumque vellet, impellere posse in incepto perseverabat dicens nihil ad se hoc

pertinere, sed in medium velle omnia adducere propter affectum, quo regem prosequeretur. Nam multis de se bene meritis regis salutem anteponebat et ob hanc rem omnia dicitasse narrabat. Rex expectavit aliquandiu, ut Nicolaus poenitentia ductus livorem hunc suum exueret, cogitans non esse magnanimi principis credulitatem et aures detractoribus habere patentes et angebat eum episcopi et legati et docti viri erubescencia. Interea habitum est concilium principum Budae, ubi nunc sedes regia est, congregatisque principibus supervenit Nicolaus nihil suspicans, immo credens animo regis suas illas criminationes inhaesisse. Tunc rex seorsum vocans Nicholaum sciscitatur, an adhuc esset illius sententiae, ut in faciem principum insidias in se exprobraret. Annuit Nicolaus putans hoc nunquam futurum. Apprendit rex episcopum manu duxitque in principum congregationem. Cunctis assurgentibus et Nicholao blandientibus ‘Iam’ inquit ‘tempus est efficere, quod tantopere concupiscis; iam palam loquere, quod mihi saepe insusurrasti; nudentur insidiae et prodiones, quas tu in istis principibus cognovisti.’ Episcopus videns tot principum venerandas facies ac de se bene meritas, a quibus et munera et honores acceperat et nihil unquam mali audierat, animo confusus coepit toto corpore contremiscere et insertis pectinatim manibus demisso vultu obmutuit. Tunc rex ad eum: ‘Nisi me summi pontificis reverentia contineret, ostenderem profecto non convenire legatis seminare discordiam et innoxios principes in periculum capitis adducere. Vade et e regno meo discede! Quod nisi per biduum feceris, tale dabo de te exemplum, quo totus orbis intelligat huiusmodi nequitas et improbitates Mathiae regi semper displicuisse.’ Discessit ille sine mora.

: 74 :

– *March 13 1487* –

***Giovanni Pico della Mirandola borrows from the Augustinian library a manuscript of Gerard of Siena’s Commentary on the First Book of Sentences which can be identified as one of Nicholas’ (now Ang. lat. 551)***

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 3966, fol. 60r [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Gutiérrez, ‘De antiquis bibliothecis,’ 290

Die XIII martii 1487. Dominus comes de la Mirandola habuit primum librum Gerardi de Senis heremitarum.

: 75 :

– *January 29 1519* –

***António d’Aguiar, acting on behalf of Miguel Sílvia, Portuguese ambassador to the pope, borrows from the Apostolic library a manuscript of Celsus that can be identified as one of Nicholas’ (now Vat. lat. 2372), which he returned on March 13 1520***

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Bertòla, ed., *I due primi registri*, 103

Ego Antonius Daguiar, die XX nona ianuari 1519, acepi a Romulo custode bibliotece palatini, vigore mandati sanctissimi domini nostri pape infra scriptos libros, scilicet: Ieronem De

mensuris et agrecultura ex papiro in nigro, extractum ex quarto armario, numero 139 et Cornelium Celsum ex membranis in rubro extractum ex 2 banco bibliotece comunis, pro domino Michaeli Silvio serenissimi regis Portugaliae oratore, et reliqui pro pigonore tondos 2 argenteos. Ita est. Antonius supra dictus. – Restituit utrumque, die 13 martii 1520.

## APPENDIX 2: CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence of Nicholas of Modruš includes altogether 18 letters, the sole exceptions being are the papal bulls of appointments that have been included in *Appendix 1*. The correspondence includes one letter from Maffeo Vallaresso archbishop of Zadar (1), one from Federico da Montefeltro (17), one by Nicholas to the Modruš clergy (16), one to Lorenzo de' Medici (18), one to Francesco Maturanzio (4), and thirteen of Maturanzio's letters to Nicholas (2–3, 5–15).

: 1 :

– Zadar, July 10 1462 –

**Maffeo Vallaresso to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lukšić, 'Zatočeništvo Nikole Modruškoga,' 127–128.

Ad reuerendum patrem dominum Nicolaum episcopum Modrusiensem.

Littere Paternitatis Tuę exulceraverunt mihi dolorem, quę iam pridem Tui captura inflixerat. Quid enim acerbius accipere possem, quam vinculis detineri eum virum, cuius pontificatum nec Corbaviensis neque Modrusensis meretur provincia? Quid molestius accidere mihi potest, quam pontificem de Ecclesia Dei benemeritum compedibus barbarorum coherceri? Petulantia ovium pastorem invadi? Nequitia filiorum patrem optimum opprimi? Duram profecto conditionem proposuerunt; ut lesus, a quo lesionis culpa expostulari deberet, is potius ledentium in se culpam peccatumque recipiat, et quasi ipse deliquerit, laborare cogatur apud maximum pontificem, ut tam indigni facinoris absolutio tribuatur facinoris auctori. Pretereo cęteras conditiones non minus turpes et absurdas, ut videlicet absque iussio fideiussione dimittere nolunt, et iureiurando. Hęc etsi a ratione longe aliena videantur, hortari tamen possum Paternitatem Tuam, ut equo animo conditionibus propositis, quantum sua interest, perficiendis faciat, prestetque fidem; primum scilicet conari et laborare, ut Sanctissimus dominus noster culpam ignoscat, absolutionis beneficium tribuat; titulum episcopatus commutet, aut alium de novo creet. Quod ego quoque procuraturum me offero ac spondeo, dum interim Tua Paternitas relaxetur, et pristinę libertati restituatur, quemadmodum latius ad Magnificum dominum Ioannem scripsi. Illud vero neque dignitati meę convenit, neque Illustrissimo Venetiarum dominio approbatum iri certo scio, ut me vadem pro Tua salute sistam; quod facere, si facere expediret, non dubitarem. Hęc enim causa quasi seminarium quoddam maximę discensionis, pacisque violande inter Senatam nostrum et comites istos nostro imperio finitimos esset, et sapienti pauca. Ego enim, quod ad meum attinet officium, nihil pretermittam, quod Tuę saluti Tuęque relaxationi conducibile fore intelligam; nunquam conquiescam, donec reverenda Paternitas Tua pristinę libertatis dignitatisque gradum sibi vendicet. Res ipsa, potius quam verbis Tuam oppressionem sublevandam esse, curę mihi est. Plura in presentiarum scribere, quę dolorem Tuum leniant, quęve officium meum insinuent, neque tempus postulat, neque abitus nuncii properantis patitur. Velim tamen, ut illud Plautinum animo Tuo succurrat, ut videlicet in re mala, bono utare animo. Dabit enim Deus his quoque finem. Vale in Domino.

Ex Hyadra, die X. Iulii MCCCCLXII.

: 2 :

– *Rhodes, [Spring of 1473]* –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 68r–68v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Ea extitit tua in me humanitas cum superiore anno tecum in Asiam ex Italia nauigauit, ut nisi te colam obseruemque omnium ingrattissimus merito sim. Quare id in primis officii mei esse ratus sum, quod etiam cum hinc abisti me facturum recepi quotiens occasio esset de statu meo omni certiore te reddere. Rhodi sum. Quo minus in Cretam nauigauerim in causa id fuit, quod mari ingens cum ad profectionem parata mihi essent omnia tempestas incubuit, ut ne in portu quidem satis tutae naues essent; ea triduum totum tenuit, quo tempore in aliquorum ciuium non imperitorum amicitiam incidi, qui me ut hic consistere persuaserunt. Quantum Graecis litteris iam profecerim, certe non me poenitet. Communem linguam ita iam loquor, ut in Graecia natus educatusque uidear. Multum librorum iam congeffi, quod si pecuniae mihi suppeterent pulchram eorum mecum suppellectilem reportarem. Hic quo adules ero; in te spes omnis mea inclinata recumbit, tecum uiuere, tibi quicquid in me est ingenii, industriae dedicare et condonare cupio. Quare te rogo ad me scribere non dedigneris, ut et quid agendum mihi statuas et quo pacto res tuae sese habeant cognoscam. Fratrem meum si te adierit tibi commendo, ut si qua in re usui illi esse poteris (poteris autem plurimis) studium tuum homini non neges. Quem, cum intus et in cute (ut aiunt) cognoueris, complecti non poenitebit.

: 3 :

– *[Rhodes], [Spring of 1473]* –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 68v–69v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Etsi Marso nostro ad te litteras dedi quae de statu meo omni ut par fuerat te erudirent, amicum tamen et fidelem nactus tabellarium, iterum ad te scribere non praetermisi. Id quotiens erit occasio in posterum<sup>754</sup> facturum, etiam si meum hac in re studium aspernari te manifeste intellexerim, quamquam tale aliquid<sup>755</sup> te suspicari tua in me superiori anno beneficia minime<sup>756</sup> patiuntur. Quibus humanitatem tuam incredibilem et mores probatissimos cognoui, non fictum quod de te acceperam prius plene in me ipso expertus ueterem te Atheniensium morem semper imitari, quos auctor grauissimus Thucydides inquit εὖ ποιῶντας οὐ πάσχοντας κτᾶθαι τοῦς φίλους,<sup>757</sup> hoc est dando non accipiendo amicos

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<sup>754</sup> in posterum] imposterum *cod.*

<sup>755</sup> *post* aliquid *del.* quod

<sup>756</sup> *post* minime *del.* me

<sup>757</sup> Cf. Thuc. 2.40.4.



possidere. Sed non datur nunc laudandi locus. Tempus fortasse erit si uita supererit, cum illam incredibilem humanitatem tuam, inauditam continentiam, eloquentiam admirabilem, caeterasque non humanas sed diuinas potius uirtutes etiam cum ingenii mei periculo minime tacebo. Nam si pro dignitate minus dixero, pronum tamen grati animi studium laudem merebitur. De Persarum imperatore foeliciores in dies nuntii afferuntur: ii procliuem in Christianos animum, prudentiam illi admirabilem, magnitudinem alii exercitus, robur et innatam militi uirtutem praedicant. Euphratem traiiecisse satis constans fama est; situm in ripa fluminis Amorreorum oppidum operibus ex natura loci munitissimum expugnasse, impium Turcharum regem in metu esse non mediocri nuntiatur, et ingenti exercitu uenienti hosti iamiam occurrurum. Caetera quae non satis certa explorataque sunt ad te scribere omisi. De me autem sic habeto in Graecas litteras uehementer me incumbere. Praeceptore utor in primis erudito Metrophane Rhodio Archiepiscopo; hoc ei oneris Magnus Magister meis adductus precibus adiecit. Nihil in me erudiendo studii, nihil diligentiae relinquit, quod si ei me per litteras uel tu uel Cardinalis quispiam tua causa commendauerit, multo est libentius facturus. In multis et magnis difficultatibus, quas dies noctesque substineo, maxime Aeschylus me consolatur: ἐν τῶν πονῶν<sup>758</sup> τίκτεσθαι ἀρετάς.<sup>759</sup> Sed quae nunc pati durum est, meminisse aliquando dulce erit. Illud te iterum atque iterum rogo, ut ad me de statu tuo omni scribere digneris, et si quid est quod efficere pro te paruitas mea possit hic. Bene uale.

: 4 :

*Nicholas of Modruš to Francesco Maturanzio*

– *Rome, [Second half of May of 1473]* –

*Manuscript used:* BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 74v–75v

*Published:* Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 227–228.

Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis Francisco suo salutem.

Hac ipsa hora et redditae mihi sunt litterae tuae et meae ad te postulae: quo factum est, ut temporis angustia nec mihi nec tibi potuerim facere satis. Litterae commendatitiae ad Metropolitam facile habebuntur, si erit cui deferendas dem. Mearum rerum talis conditio est qualis esse proborum potest ubi probitati nullus est locus. Auaritia ac luxus omnia possidet, pudendis libidinique dicantur cuncta. Gaius Calligula imperium obtinet. Pudor Vrbe eiectus et ultra Sauromatas fugatus.<sup>760</sup> Religio uersa in luxum, uirtuti proemium nullum. In unius manu posita sunt omnia. Te beatum qui non uides quae nos deficientibus oculis quotidie cernere cogimur. Diuinum aliquod numen in consilio habuisti quando tam praeclarum inceptum amplexus es, quo simul et ex erudito doctissimus euaderes et tonsorum lenonumque insolentem fortunam non cerneres. Proinde da operam ut tanto libentius coepto operi incumbas quanto nihil tibi nunc diligentius cauendum est quam ne his tristissimis fascibus Hesperiam adeas. Res uiolenta diuturnitatem praestare non potest. Quo fit, ut sperent non nulli, et non quidem iniuria prope diem statum rerum mutatum iri. Qui si mutabitur, ex

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<sup>758</sup> πονῶν] *correxi ex πόνων*

<sup>759</sup> Cf. Aesch.

<sup>760</sup> Cf. Iuv. 2.1

tristissimo laetissimus sperandus est. Quamobrem te interea talem compara, qui dignus eo esse possis. Vale. Romae.

: 5 :

*Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš*

– [Rhodes], [July or August of 1473] –

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 69v–74v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Quamquam longe antea quam nostrae tibi litterae redderentur multi nuntii fama res in Oriente gestas auditurum te minime dubitabam, ne tamen aliqua in re negligens in te cui omnia debeo fuisse deprehenderer, breuiter ueluti quaedam aestatis huius commentaria ad te uolui perscribere, certa atque explorata colligens quae uarie fortasse istuc et non una omnium uoce perlata sunt. Christiana classis et numero et apparatu longe admirabilis circiter Kalendas Iunias huc applicuit. Post uero tertium quam uenerat diem in Ciliciam discessit, Corycum obsedit urbem uetustissimam, quo nomine et portus quondam fuit, et celebratum hostoriis et poetarum carminibus antrum; iuxta mare est, non procul abest a Tarso, olim maxima et florentissima nunc pene diruta, etsi magis arcis quam oppido similis est, arduo colle sita, loci natura et operibus non mediocriter munita; eius e regione est insula, quam Eleusam ego ab antiquis apud probatos auctores appellatam comperio, et ab Archelao habitatam ac regiam factam. Hinc Corycum tormentis demoliri imperator coepit, quae cum minus proficerent (longius enim insula distat), propius inde non sine magno periculo ad arcem est accessum, et non procul a muris collocata tormenta. Quare oppidani territi, cum nulla subsidii aut com meatuum spes ostenderetur, quod a Carmanii militibus, qui erant pedites decem milia, equites supra mille, itinera omnia obsidebantur, hac sese duci conditione dederunt, ut in sinum Issicum cum uxoribus liberis et uasis omnibus tuto discedere fas esset. Accepta a duce conditio, seruata fides, receptum oppidum Carmanio duci, cui olim Otomanus interceperat redditum. Exemplum Sancile et Seleucia urbes secutae, non expectarunt obsidionem, sed sponte sua in deditionem uenerunt. Est Sancile a mari distans oppidum stadiis prope uiginti, situ ipso quidem munitissimum. Est enim in colle positum. Seleucia maritima et ipsa est flumine magno et nauigabili, cui Calicadno quondam nomen fuit, a Cleopatra olim et Amynta habitata. Et haec Carmanio cuius ante fuerat oppida sunt reddita. His rebus ita gestis tantus Thurchis iniectus est terror, ut, ubi Christianum nomen audierint, omnes in altissimos montes et in specus abditissimos sese recipiant. Nostris uero incruenta hac uictoria sed clara et memorabili tantum animorum est additum, ut nihil sit quod non ausuros et se facile consecuturos confidant, et Deum optimum maximum, quem iratum prius experiebantur, respicere tandem Christianam rem publicam persuasum certumque habeant. Macium deinde Cariae oppidum, pyrratarum receptaculum, uicinis Christianorum insulis sed Rhodo praesertim infestissimum, omnium natura loci et ingenio ualidissimum, rediens in Aegeum classis de improviso adorta est. Situm est in monte molliter arduo, in exciso lapide, murorum pars dimidia naturalis, quae nulla tormentorum ui<sup>761</sup> frangi debilitariue unquam posset; portum habet ingentem et commodum, agro est fertili et plano, fontibus et fluminibus irriguo,

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<sup>761</sup> *post ui deleui ui*

qui ad alendum continue exercitum comparatus a natura facile uideatur. Expositi in terram pedites, simul et equites militari arte supra fidem praestantes (hos Graeci stratiotas nuncupant; sunt autem circiter quingenti quos secum classis nostra uehit) intentos in agris operi et nihil tale opinantes sternunt. Capiunt omnia, ferro ignique populantur. Irruunt in continentem equites ad stadia centum et quinquaginta, uillas uicosque incendunt. Onerati ingenti et corporum et aliarum rerum praeda ad classem redeunt. Oppidani interim undique uexantur, sed fortiter stant pro moenibus missilibus nostros deturbant. Nec ullum telorum cessat genus. Nostri conniti admouere oppido tormenta, cum uix unus, et is quidem arduus, et perdifficilis esset aditus. Quod murorum erat manu factum, tormentis disiectum. Turres quoque prostratae, quarum ruina magnus oppidanorum numerus obtritus. Venire interim subsidium a speculatoribus nuntiatur. Hic stratiotae, robur Macedonicum, nihil a maioribus suis degenerantes, quos bellicosos semper fuisse legimus, rem memoratu dignam omnium linguis monumentisque celebrandam, aggrediuntur, iure iurando sese astringunt, aut uiriliter morituros aut gloriosam de hostibus uictoriam reportaturos. Qui terga daret, eum pro hoste futurum. Audaces fortuna iuuat; facto cuneo in equites supra ducentos et pedites CCCC faciunt impetum; fugant, sternunt circiter CLX ex hostibus; equites caesi, pedites saluti consoluerunt, quibus euadere periculum haud difficile fuit, quod regionis minime<sup>762</sup> ignari in uicinos specus confugerunt, quos insequi nec pediti integrum fuit, nec equiti. Is enim oppidi oppugnationi, ille uel caedendo hostium equitatu uel aliis custodiendis itineribus, ne quauis de improviso adoriretur, erat intentus. Alacres nostri uno tantum amisso in castra redeunt, occisorum capita ut mos est contis affixa prae se ferentes. Nouem quidam eorum, quos solus ipse laeto dederat, capita imperatori obtulit. Gratum Christianis omnibus spectaculum. Omnes pro contione imperator laudauit. Suum cuiusque praemium<sup>763</sup> pro capitum numero tributum. Destituti spe oppidani, uel timore quod proprius uero est compulsi, quod retro suam fortunam fluere cernerent, praeter omnium spem et opinionem (Quis enim non infecta re hos discessuros credebat?) imperatori se dediderunt, cum et tolerare diutius obsidionem possent et minime deessent<sup>764</sup> qui pro moenibus pugnarent. Viri circiter trecenti, quorum pars maior ex duabus biremibus, quae praedas haud multo ante ab insula Rhodo abegerant, timore nostrae classis illuc confugerant. Sed illud est, quod antea dixi, respicere in populum suum benignissimus Deus tandem incipit. Concessum est, ut postulauerant ab imperatore ut cum uxoribus, liberis et se mouentibus, quantum quisque auferre posset, discederent; ne quis uiolaretur, ne quis laedaretur per praeconem imperator edixit. Missi ex principibus classis, qui multitudinem tutam educerent. Sed defendi a periculo non potuit. Tantus nostrorum ardor, tantus furor fuit in pyratas praesertim, ut exeuntes oppido pene omnes uiriliter sexus fuerunt trucidati; de nostris, quod minus audientes dicto fuerint, nullum sumptum est supplitium. Quia, quod a multis peccatum inultum est, spes est, crede mihi, magnarum rerum in posterum<sup>765</sup>. Quod nisi ii, penes quos rei summa est, cupidiores paulo essent, nisi asperius quam conueniret militem haberent, non dicerentur Dalmatae tui imbelles qui semper habiti sunt bellicosi. Cum post captum Macium nostra classis pars maior curandis sautiis, reficiendis corporibus Rhodi conquiesceret, allatae sunt Assambei Persarum imperatoris litterae, quibus

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<sup>762</sup> minime] *correx* ex nimime

<sup>763</sup> praemium] *correx* ex proemium

<sup>764</sup> et minime deessent *add. in marg.*

<sup>765</sup> in posterum] *correx* ex imposterum

classem nostram Corycum accersit<sup>766</sup>, multa<sup>767</sup> illuc equitum et peditum milia missurus, quae nostros oratores qui in Cypro sunt adhuc excipiant et tutos ad se perducant, de communi etiam bello cum nostris per nuntios suos consultaturus. Sunt qui totum fingi a Venetis negotium opinentur, ut hoc praetextu, Cyprum insulam occupent; quos libuerit praeficiant, quos minus fideles suspicantur eiiciant. Rex enim nuper e uita discessit. Mihi uerisimile non fit. Iam enim insulam Veneta regina ita tenet, ut ne minimum quidem aut periculi aut prodicionis uereatur. Rex ipse, paucis ante quam moreretur diebus, condito testamento, uxorem, si foetus in utero relictus non uiueret, heredem esse uoluit. Summae rerum sex principes fecit, non secus atque sibi fuerant, fideles uxori futuros. Graeci omnes mansuros se in fide in reginae manus iurarunt. Vt misera et infoelix Carola, olim a fratre eiecta, quae hic est omni mihi spe destituta uideatur. Sed redeo iam ad Asambeum. Is negotiatorum et litteris et nuntiis in Pyssidiam et Bithyniam impetum fecisse nuntiatur. Traiectis cum uxoribus et liberis fluminibus, incensis demum pontibus ut spes reditus suis eripiatur, ut in animi robore spem sibi omnem positam collocatamque intelligant. Exercitus tantus esse numerus affertur, ut imperiti rerum, quibus nulla est antiquitatis cognitio, commentum esse opinentur rideantque, si tale aliquid quispiam dicat. Quod profecto haud facerent, si quae de Xerxe scribuntur non ignorarent, si Iuliano exspectato<sup>768</sup> imperatore longe maiorem Persarum multitudinem uenisse in Graeciam uel legissent uel audissent. Sed non longe exempla petantur. Nonne Tarbellianus pene aetate nostra innumerabili exercitu in foelicem Graeciam inuasit? Vt non fuisse mendaces Graecos oratores, deprehensum sit, a quibus scribitur altos olim defecisse annos epotaque flumina Medo prandente. Asambeus igitur simulatque in hostilem agrum irrupit, omni imbelli multitudine in monte collocata, relictisque praesidiis, ipse magnis itineribus in Otomanum contendit. Filius cum exercitu suo alia uia Alebium Otomani ducem inuadit, fundit fugatque ad quadraginta Thurchorum milia occisione occisa. Persarum haud magnus numerus cecidit. Alebius ipse grauiter uulneratus uix euasit, laetus ad principem reuertitur minaturque, si ab incepto desistat, pro hoste sibi futurum. Ante annos animumque gerit; curamque uirilem Cyro illi Xenophontis similis est, qui adolescens uel potius puer, nunquam prius arma indutus, et primus in bellum atque confertos hostes sese coniecit, et ultimus aegre cum ab Astyage auo reuocaretur, inde pedem retulit. Asambeo, cum dierum septem itinere a Prusiade abesset, Otomanus occurrit cum ueteranis legionibus et omni regni sui robore. Hic Perses callido utitur stratagemate; fingit terga hosti dare, conuersis uelut in fugam suis; quicquid est in agris fructuum iubet incendere. Robur equitatus et peditatus in insidiis relinquit, fugientem sublatus inani spe Otomanus insequitur. Cumque tres quattuorue dies progressus esset, in eum locum delatus, deceptum se esse et circumuentum animaduertit, nec referre pedem tuto potest, et penuria rerum omnium laborare incipit; a suis deseritur, qui ad Persem transfugiunt. Ex insequente igitur fit fugiens, et qui terrere credebat, is terretur. Multis amissis uix Prusidam se recipit, propediem cum hoste structa acie manum conserturus. Quid sit futurum, scit deus. Persem uictoriae compotem fere omnes sperant. Quod si eueniret, actum de Otomano omnino esset. Aliquando tantae immanitatis poenas dabit. Mihi si coetera omnia deessent, haec ut credam magno argumento est. Quod munitissimis Ciliciae oppidis, quae non sine sanguine ipse parauit, et in expugnabili, ut prius opinio erat, Lyciae arcu Macio in tanto discrimine ne minimum quidem subsidii misit. Quod enim ante dixi, non a rege missum est. Sed subitarius exercitus proximis locis collectus fuit. Sunt qui afferant nihil pene in Lesbo esse praesidii

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<sup>766</sup> accersit] *del.* accessit

<sup>767</sup> *post* multa *del.* et

<sup>768</sup> exspectato] *correx* *ex* et spectato

facileque, si illuc classis nostra accedat, Mythilenem recipi posse. Castella uero illa munita, quae in angustiis Hellesponti sunt, nullo pene negotio prehendi, quod qui ferre arma poterant omnes imperatorem in Bithyniam secuti sunt. Habes aestatis huius commentaria. Quae deinceps gerentur, nisi studium a te meum hac in re contemni sensero, omnia ut spero ad te perscribere conabor. Alii plura fortasse uel scripserunt uel nuntiarunt. Quae explorata ego habui, breuius quam negotium exigebat perstrinxi. Litteras tuas Idibus Iuniis accepi, quibus amorem in me tuum facile perspexi, cum talis tantusque uir meae rescribere paruitati dedignatus non es. Quod nullus istic probitati locus sit, uicem tuam uehementer doleo. Qui omnium doctissimus et optimus dignam uirtute tua mercedem non recipis. Quamquam spero propediem fore ut id te consecutum audiam, quod non optas quidem negari tamen tibi non potest. Quod ubi contiget, te rogo, ut memineris mei. Cui etsi coetera desunt, fides tamen et amor non deest. Quicquid tamen fueris, me tui studiosissimum et semper tibi deditissimum cognosces. Iste Caius Calligula, in cuius manus sunt omnia, ne hic quidem bene audit. Gaudeo abs te propositum laudari meum, quod tam praeclarum inceptum (sic enim scribis) amplexus sum. Quia tantisper insolentem impudicorum fortunam non uideo, quamquam nihil me ipsum fallo. Nam si is status rerum esset, quem boni omnes optandum ducerent, quid mihi istic spei proponere possem, plane non uideo. Homo pauper paruo natus ingenio, mediocri rerum experientia, industria perexigua, et qui ab omni assentatione alienus penitus sum. Victurus istic uelut mancus, et extinctum corpus non inutilae dextrae. Satis mihi erit, si quando istuc accessero, Philomenam imitari meo me cantu oblectare. In paruo tigurio, nisi et illud deerit, pauperem uitam degere. Quod si uni tibi placere contigerit, sublimes sidera uertice. Da operam quanto citius fieri potest, litterae illae ad metropolitam perferamur. Cardinali Papiensi, si non molestum est, me commenda. Reuoca illi in memoriam me illum esse, qui tria ei, nunc secundus annus agitur, epigrammata Perusiae obtuli, cum stranguria laboraret. Bene uale. Da operam praeterea, nisi molestus uideor, alicuius primarii Cardinalis familiares pro me litteras impetres, quae, si quid peregrino mihi accideret, adiumento esse possent. Iterum uale.

: 6 :

– [Rhodes], [August 26 1473] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 75v–76v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Nosti superioris temporis res gestas et qui de Perse afferuntur nuntii. Accipe quae deinceps sunt consecuta et haec non minus certa et explorata, quae te et omnem Christianam rem publicam efferre gaudio merito debent. Classis nostra, Asambei, ut ante scripsi, litteris accersita Corycum discessit, Phoenicem uicum opulentissimum qui in medio ferme itineris inter Chelidonias insulas, et Atteliam occurrit (est autem in agro Lycio), incolis nihil tale expectantibus inuasit, dirripuit, incondit. Magna corporum et aliarum rerum abacta praeda, dum ociosa Coryci Asambei nuntios praestolatur. Aliae ab illo afferuntur litterae, quae a duce classis per expeditam triremem Corcyram missae sunt, ut illinc ad senatum Venetum huic destinata, officio biremis perferat. Multi ex diuersis locis in oppidum sancti Petri, quod est

Rhodiorum in Caria, ubi inclyta urbs Halicarnasus quondam fuit, mancipia confugerunt. Quae huc aduecta captam omnem ab Asambeo Trapezuntem uno ore praedicant. Anchoram uero Phrygiae oppidum, ubi Cappadociam attingit, ab illius filio combustam ex litteris et nuntiis multorum cognouimus. Maomethes primus Otomani dux, cuius ductu et auspicio gesta quondam ab Otomano praeclare sunt omnia, pestilentia decessit. Alebius alter dux cum magna ueteranorum manu ad Persem transfugit. Recepta a Perse sunt omnia Carmanii oppida, quae in Pisidia, Lycaonia et uicinis locis sunt. Ingens fames, pestilentia semper ferme comites in Otomani exercitu incubuerunt, et ita crassantur, ut in dies decrescat exercitus. Quo factum, ut manum conferre et congregi cum hoste nunquam Asambeus post illa tempora, quibus dolo Otomanum circumuenit, animum induxerit. Veritus ne suus quoque inficiatur exercitus. Otomanus desperatis pene rebus retro pedem tulit. Quicquid deinceps afferetur noui, ad te perscribam, priores illas litteras ad te mitto. Tabellarii importunitas, ut negligentior in locorum descriptione fuerim effecit. Adde quod ita me Graecis litteris dedidi, ut ne unum quidem Latinum librum mihi reliquerim. Nam et Strabonem illum, quem mecum attuleram, (simulatque emptor inuentus est) uendidi; scripsi quod memoria suggessit. Quae plerunque in temporis praesertim angustia minus fidelis esse consueuit. Ptolomaeum, deinde Strabonem, Plinium inspexi, quos huc uenales nuper attulerunt, quod uitiose posueram correxi. Nihil a me nunc perperam aut temerare scriptum reor, de quo etiam rationem reddere non possim. XVIII<sup>o</sup> Kalendas septembris summi pontificis classis huc appulit, tantam tarditatem nullus est qui non accuset. Cum com meatibus careret, Chium illic acceptura relicto hic cum duabus triremibus legato, profecta est. Classem Venetam Coryci hyematuram dicunt, descensurum illuc Asambeus exercitum. Bene uale.

: 7 :

– [Rhodes], [September of 1473?] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 76v–77r*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Iacobus, uir optimus et suauissimus, qui dies aliquot hic est commoratus et mecum familiarissime uersatus, de statu omni et ualetudine mea diligenter te erudiet. Hic est Cardinalis Neapolitani et tuae praedicator et quidam quasi buccinator uirtutis. Cuius tantum et tam pronum in Christianam rem publicam et uos studium non mediocriter probandum est: dat quod habet, maiora daturus si posset. Hunc meis litteris uacuum discedere non sciui, quamquam per magni Magistri tabellarium, qui istuc profecturus propediem erat, et de me et de rebus omnibus inter Otomanum et Asambeum gestis prolixè ad te scripturus fueram, quoniam, ut opinor, omnia, quae uarie nunc et non uno ore narrantur, certiora fortasse erunt. Ego transacta hyeme, si Deo placuerit, quem ut mihi adsit et gressus meos dirigat semper rogo, nauigare in Cretam statui. Mansurus illic quoad libros aliquot quibus mihi praecipue opus est comparauero. Illinc simulatque negotium confecero Venetias profecturus. Ita futura aestate me expecta; ad te, nisi oneri futurus sum, ueniam. Tu pro tua humanitate tui studiosissimo non deeris, nec dedignaberis hominem complecti cuius in te spem omnem positam collocatamque tuo pristino beneficio tu esse uoluisti. Mirum me desiderium tenet

Italiae, incredibile meorum, sed in primis tui. Adde quod tantum iam uideor profecisse, ut remansisse in Graecia poenitere me in posterum<sup>769</sup> nunquam possit. Interea litteras illas, de quibus ad te ante scripsi, ad me mittas uehementer rogo. Bene uale.

: 8 :

– [Rhodes], [September of 1473] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 77r–79r*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Accepisti superioribus litteris, quas VII Kalendas Septembris ad te dedi, quo stratagemmate Perses Otomanum in insidias coniecerat quantamque rerum omnium penuria Otomani iam premebatur exercitus. Cognosce nunc posteriora quoque pacto hostis callidus, qui adeo ut opinor in Christiani nominis perniciem seruatur, dolo dolum repulerit. Simul exploratum certissimumque esse intelliges, non qui plures numero fuerint, uictoriae compotes fieri, sed ingentem multitudinem etiam a paucis consilio et sapientia ferme semper superari. Praesertim si ab imperatoris prouidentia perturbatio omnis abfuerit, qua cogitatio ipsa distrahi et<sup>770</sup> quibusdam quasi inuolueris tegi atque obumbrari consuevit. Simulatque circumuentum se fraude Otomanus ab hoste animaduertit, in editum<sup>771</sup> et suapte natura munitissimum collem cum omni peditatu et equitatu sese recipit, selectos ex omni exercitatus robore circa latera sua collocat, fore sperans, ut aut nullo pene negotio quod post modum ex sententia successit insignem de hostibus uictoriam reportaret, aut quando patientissimus algoris et inediae miles nihil a prisca Romanae disciplina militiae, qualem apud Liuium cognoscimus, discrepans. Semper ferme in bellis educatus, famem diutius tolerare non posset, ultro ipse Asambeum inuaderet. Collem quem dixi nouo ualli genere connexis in uicem mulis et camelis circumdat, et ita undique interius omnis generis tormenta disponit et collocat, et muri speciem prae se ferret. Infirmiorem tantisper militem emittit, qui cum hoste cupido pugnae congregiatur semper in leuibis certaminibus, quae ἀκροβολισμούς Graeci appellant, superior Perses euadit. Crescit illi audatia fitque ex adumbrata hac, ut sic loquar, uictoria insolentior, et quod plerunque consuevit accidere ad cauendum negligentior, Otomanus formidinem haud mediocriter simulans, ter de pace legatos misit, ter erumpere uelle et in fugam conuerti simulauit, donec tantam consequendae uictoriae Asambeo spem obiecit, ut diuisis ille parum mature et pene tumultuarie copiis propius ad montem accesserit, non cum quam callido sibi hoste futura res esset, satis animo reputans non in manibus fere uictoriam sibi esse cognoscens, si in eo tantum esse occupatus, ut quem uelut obsessum tenebat, erumpere non sineret. Cui deficientibus com meatibus aut turpiter exercitu amisso necesse erat, aut miseris conditionibus, quales solent a uictore imponi uicto in deditioem uenire. Parum etiam explorato castrorum apparatu in quaeuis nulla armorum aut corporum aditum habere aut irrumpere unquam potuisset, cum omni tormentorum genere apprime munita undique essent.

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<sup>769</sup> in posterum] *correxi ex in posterum*

<sup>770</sup> distrahi et *add. in marg.*

<sup>771</sup> in editum] *correxi ex ineditum*

Error tantae haud mediocris accessit audaciae<sup>772</sup> uel dicam temeritati potius, quod primos Asambeus praemisit camelos, animal timidum et imbelles ferendis tantum oneribus idoneum. Quod simulatque excusa sunt tormenta strepitu exercitum consternatumque effusa fuga retro in suos uerso perturbauit ordines. Consecuti tormenta Otomani milites integri uiribus et recentes Persem et loco motum et mente alacres aggrediuntur, una pene hora tantam multitudinem, cui nec flumina ad bibendum nec quod terra parit quodque educat aer ad uescandum satis erat, fugant caeduntque. Montes et nemora saluti fugientibus fuerunt, ingens numerus tormentis obtritus, multi capti, multi trucidati. Qui cladi superstites fuerunt, haud itinerum ignari, clam noctu ad ducem suum redierunt. Qui amissis territoriis uix fugiens in minorem Armeniam se receperat, ubi uxores et liberos reliquerat, cum parte impedimentorum et thesauri, quem Persico more secum attulerat, nuntios ad maiorem natu filium, qui in superiori est Armenia, misisse dicitur, ut comparato exercitu et collecta undique multitudine ad sese ueniat, primo uere resarcitis (ut ita dicam) uiribus cum hoste, cuius calliditatem et robur non sine damno et dedecore perdidicit, iterum manum conserturus. Otomanus equitare ad urbem haud magnis itineribus nuntiatur, illic relicto filio bellicarum artium peritissimo, ubi Persem fudit fugauitque, ut profligato hosti, si quid coactis reliquiis forte moliri tentaret, terrori sit et uelut moles quaedam sese obiciat. Sunt tamen qui afferant de pace et affinitate, quae pacis uinculum sit, per caduceatores ultro citroque missos inter utrumque imperatorem agi, quod si contigerit propediem aspera bella et Tiberim multo spumantem sanguine cerno. Sed ut falsus sim uates et miseris atque afflictis Christianorum rebus benignissimus Deus subueniat. Quamquam eiusmodi sunt ii penes quos rerum summa est ut succensere nobis merito Deus possit. Crudelis et impius Otomanus grauiora certe in dies moliri in nos meditabitur, susceptas superiori anno per classem Christianam iniurias, quamquam mediocres fuerunt, abire inultas non sinet. Barbarus est. Χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κύνα γεῦσαι, Syracusanus ait poeta.<sup>773</sup> Ego, nisi aliquid impedimento fuerit, peracta hyeme in Italiam nauigare statui. Pergratum mihi feceris, si litteras illas de quibus ad te ante scripsi ad me miseris. Bene uale, spes mea.

: 9 :

– [Rhodes], [Autumn of 1473] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 79r–79v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Priores litteras, diu antequam naus solueret, et scripseram et plicaueram, quae pene egressa portum, cum sese ad profectionem accingeret, retenta a creditoribus distulit discessum. Haec tantisper per regiam triremem quae e Cypro huc appulit nuntiata sunt: quattuor a Cyprio Rege institutos insulae gubernatores extrema uoluntate, cum e uita ille discederet, Idibus Nouembris Andream Cornelium Venetae Reginae patrum insidiis circumuentum, Gentilem Moedicum Cypro oriundum, Marcum Bembum Reginae consobrinum ex ipsius Reginae, ad quam confugerat, ereptum gremio aliosque non nullos

<sup>772</sup> audaciae] *correxi ex audatiae*

<sup>773</sup> Cf. Theoc. 10.11.



crudeliter trucidatos esse. Causas caedis non satis certas exploratasque adhuc accepimus. Sunt qui affirmant, omnia Regis Ferdinandi consilio gesta esse, ut insulam ipse occupet, in qua et maior et potior pars Hispanorum est. Illud non nihil suspicionis afferre potest; quod simulatque regiae illuc triremes accesserunt, quod supra scripsi, patratum est facinus. Quid de ipsa Regina actum sit et de infante filio quem postumum peperit sane dubitatur. Vides initia discordiarum et bellorum in Italia, quae nisi Deus auertet miseris Christianorum rebus exitium prope adest. Bene uale.

: 10 :

– [Rhodes], [Winter of 1474] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 79v–80v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Quamquam nihil ferme argumenti ut ad te scriberem mihi in praesentia suppeditabatur (quid enim totiens uel meam in te obseruantiam et fidem commemorarem, uel uerbis me tibi absens dederem dedicaremque, qui prius me amare incepisti quam nosceres), fidelem tamen et amicum in primis nactus tabellarium, litteras ad te dare non praetermisi, qui tamen etiam sine meis litteris diligenter de me erudire te potuisset. Est enim ex Agro Perusino, et quem communis patriam amorem peperit, ipse ex quo hic sum non consuetudine solum sed crebris quoque auxit officii. Ego quemadmodum ad te ante scripsi propediem in Cretam nauigaturus fueram, et fortasse cum haec leges illic ero. Proxima aestate in Italiam ad te uenturus, nisi quid me pecuniarum inopia remorabitur, dum enim Graecis libellis colligendis nimium intentus studeo, quicquid ex laboribus meis consequor lucri omne illic effundo. Quare te iterum atque iterum rogo, ut meae si fieri potest necessitati subuenias tantumque ad me pecuniarum mittas quantum sufficere ad reditum existimabis. Quod si impudens fortasse et molestus flagitator tibi uidebor, cum praesertim nullum in te meum extet officium quo tale aliquid a te petere uel possim uel debeam, non quid ipse merear sed quid innata tibi liberalitate in omnes tu facere consueueris animaduertas quaso. Nec te illud Euripidis sapienter dictum fugiat: ὄνομα γὰρ ἔργον δ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ φίλοι οἱ μὴ ποὶ συμφοραῖς ὄντες φίλοι.<sup>774</sup> Ego tantum tibi habeo polliceri fore ut, immemori aut ingrato beneficium non colloces. Quod si quando istuc incolumis rediero, quicquid doctrinae Graecae literaturae assecutus fuero, id omne tibi et inauditae benignitati tuae acceptum referam. Quo pacto si quid misurus es, transigi negotium possit ex tabellario perdisces. Nuper ex diuersis locis, sed ex Chio praecipue, negotiatorum allatae sunt litterae, quas et ipse legi. Hae ictum inter Otomanum et Asambeum foedus et initam beniuolentiam affirmant, ingentem uero classem ab Otomano apparari, ut Mesiae sibi infestam gentem terra marique aggrediatur. De Cypri rebus idem tabellarius diligenter te erudiet. Bene uale.

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<sup>774</sup> See Eurip., *Orestes*, 454–455.

– [Rhodes], [Winter / Spring of 1474] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 80v–82r*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Vide quantum de te mihi audeam polliceri, qui non mea solum sed amicorum quoque negotia tibi soleam commendare, eorum praecipue qui id uirtutis specimen prae se ferunt, ut magnorum uirorum qualis tu es auxiliis commendandi merito uideantur, quod non temere profecto facio, quippe qui naturam tuam optimam et mores probatissimos apertissime cognosco. Tu enim, si quispiam alius eos in quibus uirtutis uestigium aliquod apparet, et complecti et fouere omni opere consueuisti. Frater sanctus Ripanus ordinis heremitanorum praestans ingenio et doctrina populum proxima quadragesima ex more docuit, et ita docuit ut admirationi multis, omnibus pene exemplo et saluti fuerit. Hic dulcedine linguae, dexteritate morum et naturae, uitae sanctimonia, praeceptis monitisque saluberrimus omnium in se animos conuertit, omnes in sui amorem traxit. Ego, quanquam parum doctus et prope rudis, bonarum tamen artium et uirtutis studiosus ac cultor, simul atque cum uehementer disputantem, apte colligentem auditorum animos quocunque uoluit impellentem, unde autem uoluit deducentem, uidi et contemplatus sum. Non expectaui in hominis consuetudinem et beniuolentiam incidere, sed functus, ut uideor, officio ultro ueni. Non mediocris inter nos, etiam primo congressu, ortus est amor, qui mutuis deinde auctus officiis eo usque creuit ut simul uixisse semper uideamur. Huius negotia omnia, non secus atque mea, curae mihi sun, et esse debent ὅτι τῶν φίλων κοινὰ πάντα. Hic prouinciae huius, quae Terrae Sanctae uocatur, minister cum generalis potestate missus, ut est optimus, et seuerissimus pro officio suo, pro ordinis et sacerdotii honore omnia quae pene concussa et labefacta offendit reformare et in debitum statum reducere contendit, et ita contendit ut monasteriis non mediocri utilitati extiterit, populos uero ad religionem a contemptu reuocauerit. Sacerdotes perperam et luxuriose uiuentes puniens, et ita puniens ut et debitus iustitiae tenor seruaretur et uolentibus redire in uiam, ratio bene uiuendi ostenderetur in posterum. Nam malefacta impunita augentur in peius, et oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae, ut oderunt peccare boni uirtutis amore. Tantum autem conflauit nominis, ut non humanus, sed diuinus, non ex Italia, sed ex coelo missus a populis orientis existimetur. Quo factum est, ut ii in quos iuste ab eo animaduersum est locum uindictae quaerentes Generalem adierint, et in primis frater Memmus, nescio quis factionum auctor et discordiarum caput, sanctum hunc meum uirum optimum atque integerrimum eorum insimulantes criminum, quibus ipsi ut a capite aiunt ad pedes foedati sunt. Quibus, a Generali ideo absque dubio est habita fides, quod eorum uitia ignorat, cum enim pessima sint, id agunt ut boni uiri esse uideantur. Adde quod ille maioribus impeditus curis quae in Oriente aguntur, haud facile cognoscere potest. Quod si affuisset sanctus et praesens causam suam dixisset, uiros impudentissimos, qui haec tam temere et audacter comminisci ausi sunt, facile mendacii arguisset. Accepisti argumentum et uelut apices causae. Caetera quae oportuna uidebuntur, ut patronus optimus ipse comparabis et dispones. Nunc illud a te maiorem in modum peto, ut patrocinium suscipere uelis: Generalem hortaris et moneas, ut impurissimum et pessimum fratrem Memmum e prouincia auocet, ne si in ea diutius manserit, et ipsi et religioni maiori quam fuit hucusque sit dedecori. Hanc rem pro suo in me amore meaque item in te fide tibi commendo et trado, teque unum Sancto meo

patronum uoco atque adopto. Sunt alii qui tanti uiri fauent uirtutibus. Τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα, κἄν κακῶς λέγηι, τὸ σὸν πείσει; λόγος γὰρ ἔκ τ' ἀδοξούντων ἰὼν καὶ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτὸς οὐκ αὐτὸ σθένει.<sup>775</sup> Fac intelligat sanctus me non falso tuam in me beniuolentiam praedicare, et hoc uelut cumulum tuis in me meritis adiicito. Bene uale, spes mea.

: 12 :

– *Vicenza, July 19 1474* –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 82r–85v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Cum ex tam longa peregrinatione Dei optimi maximi benignitate incolumis nuper Italiae redditus restitusque sim, non fore ab re opinatus<sup>776</sup> sum consiliorum atque actionum mearum altius paulo rationem repetere, ut non sine causa remansisse me iam in Graecia intelligas, nec frustra citius quam fortasse necesse uidebatur discedere inde uoluisse. Tu igitur, qui optimus omnium patientissimusque et habitus es semper, et fuisti pro tuo in me amore meaque item in te obseruantia et fide paulum temporis publicis curis et negotiis modestissimae ac sanctissimae gubernationis tuae subripere et uelut subtrahere donec epistolam perlegas, moleste non feres. Quod nisi uereberis ne te obtundam, haud profecto difficile tibi erit. Cum sic publica obire soleas munera, ut clausas sibi mitissimas aures tuas fuisse nullus iure unquam conquestus sit, sic in studia omnium pene rerum sedulo incumbas, ut omnia ex tuo pectore uelut ex thesauro quodam percontantibus depromas, manifestes, declares. Quantum enim diurni temporis publicae intercipiunt occupationes, tantum somno nocturnis lucubrationibus subducis. Sed nunc quod instat agamus. Ego cum Graecas litteras quarum studiosus et cupidus ab ineunte aetate semper fui ita in Italia didicissem, ut melius et conducibilis non didicisse iudicarem (nam in teneris consuescere multum est, cum nec recte enuntiare nec congrue a minus eruditis hoc est nostris praeceptoribus mihi offensum esset), nactus illam, quam mihi omnium humanissimus fecisti, commoditatem tecum in Asiam nauigandi remanere statui. Quod nec tu prohibuisti cum posses (tibi enim me totum dedideram dedicaramque) et litteris postmodum consilium probasti meum, Rhodi cum constitissem in aliquorum haud imperitorum, ut ad te illo ipso tempore scripsi, amicitiam incidi, qui cum Michaellem Apostolium clarum ducendi Magistrum, proficisci in Cretam uellem, me, commoditate discendi apud se et proficiendi ostensa, ut mutarem consilium persuaserunt. Horum studiis et uoluntatibus quod incumbente Thurcharum metu minus periculosum Rhodi quam in Creta deprehendi opinabar, haud inuitus moram gessi. Metrophanem Graecum Archiepiscopum uirum sanctum et haud mediocriter doctum audiui. Hunc ab initio, ut mei erudiendi cura susciperet, nullis precibus nulla proposita mercede adducere potui, quod se undique laboribus quasi inclusum et circumuentum diceret, ut respirare interdum uix liceret. Sed cum desyderium meum Magno Magistro aperuissem, qui semper humaniter et gratiose se adeuntem et salutantem me excepit, uocatum ad se archiepiscopum, et hortatus est et orauit, ut hunc sui causa summeret laborem, et sibi quicquid

<sup>775</sup> Cf. Eurip. *Hecuba*, 293–295; Aul. Gell. 11.4.

<sup>776</sup> opinatus] *correxi ex opimatus*

mihī conferret utilitatis ascriberet, se pro me debiturum. Principis sui precibus Metrophanes<sup>777</sup> refragari nec debuit nec potuit, itaque docere me benigne et diligenter coepit. Tantis autem inter nos breui conflatus est amor, ut simul uixisse se nuper uideamur, ut indigne ferret, si quando diem intermitterem, quo eum non adirem. Quantum duobus annis profecerim, certe me non poenitet. Multum librorum congressi. Cunque mihi ex laboribus meis plenos reportare loculos liceret, pleno potius librorum scrinio redire uolui. Accipe nunc breuibus quae me rationes citius quam fortasse debuissim uenire compulerunt. Ingens Thurcharum in primis metus qui magis magisque in dies augebatur, mortuo praesertim Assambeo uel certe icto inter utrunque imperatorem foedere. Nam de Persarum aduentu in Graeciam, nihil plane afferebatur, ita illorum extincta fama, ut coepisse nunquam descendere uideretur. Meorum deinde desyderium, sed tui praecipue, tanti enim te facio, quanti facio neminem, quanti autem facere debeam, omnes qui meum ex Italia tecum discessum audierunt, minime ignorant. Esse autem me tui studiosissimum certissimis signis argumentisque tu cognoscere potuisti. Adde quod uereber, ne si diutius in Graecia morarer, iure mei mihi succenserent, cum tempus iam uideretur appetere, ut quicquid in me est ingenii, industriae, exercitationis, uel tibi uel cui tu statueres, condonarem dedicaremque, dum patiens laborum corpus, dumque integer aevi sanguis solidaeque suo stant robore uires. Sed illud omnium potentissimum, quod hoc meum remanendi in Graecia consilium, si in tanta rerum perturbatione tantisque periculis incolumem redire me contingeret, probaturos omnes non dubitabam. Si contra accideret, omnes improbaturos, quod unus ex omnibus studiosis tam infoelici tempore, tam miseris et afflictis Graecorum rebus pro captando ingenii cultu nauigare in Graeciam ausus essem. Reditus nunc seriem cognosce. Pridie nonas Maias Venetam nauim haud paruam conscendi, e Rhodio portu eodem die soluimus foelici nauigatione et prosperis uentis Diam usque, quae ante Cretam parua insula est, peruenimus. Illinc uis uenti et tempestatis non sine periculo retro cursum tenere nos compuli. Noctem totam errauimus sole oriente uix stationem tenuimus, quae Sancti Ioannis in petra appellatur. Abest autem ab oppido Creta stadiis prope ducentis et quinquaginta fuimus illic dies quattuor, non sine magno timore. Nam septem Thurcharum biremes paulo citra stationem uicum insulam inuaserant direptumque incenderant magna corporum aliarumque rerum abacta praeda. Ego cum nulli flarent uenti, ueritus ne in tranquillo opprimeremur iminens periculum effugere uolui Cymbam ingressus, quae illinc honusta lignis Cretam properabat, in oppidum perueni. Sequenti die nauis quoque subsecuta est. Cretae totos decem dies fuimus. Vbi Aeschili ego Tragoedias tris, Aristophanis comoedias duas, quae non adeo sunt in manibus, Suidae Aethymologias emi, pridie Idus Maias Cretam discessimus. Ad Maleam celeriter peruenimus, ubi tanta maris tranquillitas nos deprehendit, ut non Thurcharum biremes, quae consistere illic et insidiari praetereuntibus consueuerunt, timuerimus, sed ne etiam Cybariam deesent, quae Methone accipere decreueramus, dum consilii inopes inter spem metumque positi solliciti sumus. Ecce propitius a puppi flare uentus coepit. Quare mutata consilio nauarchus duraturum diutius uentum sperans Methonem attingere uoluit; uentus Strophodas usque, quae in mari Ionio ante Peloponesum uerius scopuli quam insulae sunt, nos tulit. Hic Aetesiae flare uehementer coeperunt, aduersus nauigantibus in Italiam uentus. Vix in stationem Zacynthi uenimus, ubi dies octo morati sumus. Hic Nauarchus et nauicularii more suo et Deo et uentis maledicere coeperunt. Solent autem nautae, quod et Cicero ait, properare quaestus sui causa e statione aduersis et merito indignantibus abeunt uentis, qui nos in altum perferunt, unde agitati et pene naufragi, uix

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<sup>777</sup> Metrophanes] *correxi ex Motrophanes*

contra fluctuum et uenti impetum Cephaleniam adepti sumus. Rursus secundae arrident aerae, quae cum Saxonem usque insulam, initium ea Adriatici maris est, haud procul ab Aulone distans, nos pertulissent, derreptae mutatae sunt. Et ecce Aetesiae subeunt, quae retro nos fugere etiam inuitos coegerunt. Ericusae insulae, quae parua ante Corcyram est, stationem ingressi sumus. Et hic octos integros consumpsimus dies. Tandem secundo usi uento et prosperam nacti tempestatem sinum Adriaticum ingressi bellissime dies quattuor nauigauimus. Sed suae consuetudinis sinus Phlanonicus obliuisci non potuit, ad quem cum proxime accessissemus, tantam uim uenti emisit, ut quinquies uno die uela complicare nobis necesse fuerit. Et iactis duabus anchoris in medio pelago consistere, nisi uellemus cum periculo Picentum littori applicare. Venetias tandem peruenimus; nauiculariorum cum nauarcho rixas et contentiones omitto. Quibus nihil infantius, nihil magis nauigantibus timendum. Illud affirmare possum, mortem manifestam oculis meis saepe obuersatam, non minus me ipso trepidis et formidantibus nautis, qui pene in mari nati, educati certe sunt. In terram cum descendissem, omnium primum ratus sum, summo et omnipotenti Deo, quod me Italiae incolumem reddidisset, gratias agere. Quod feci, simul atque in celebrem ciuitatis locum ueni. Perusinus quidam occurrit notus mihi nomine tantum. Is optimam et carissimam matrem uitam cum morte commutasse mihi renuntiauit. Quo nuntio ita sum confusus, ut hoc infoelice mihi reditum e Graecia putarim, quod tanti me doloris et calamitatis certiore fieri necesse fuerit. Amisi uitae meae solatium, et quanquam maturam senectutem, bonis moribus et pudicitiae gloria florens impleuerit, ego tamen tanquam iuuenis, et robustissima decesserit, doleo. Quod si Consolationem tuam in manibus haberem, quae ita grauius et sapienter a te est scripta, ut Crantorem uel Ciceronem legere se existiment, quicumque in manus sumpserint, aliqua fortasse ex parte intestinus hic minueretur dolor. Longa uero et difficili nauigatione fractus debilitatusque ne in grauem aliquam aegritudinem inciderem, ueritus sum. Vicentiam igitur secessi, multorum illic in me amore et necessitudine fretus. Iam ualidior factus sum. Illud a te maiorem immodum peto ut quid mihi agendum statuas ad me scribere non graueris. Expectabo tuas litteras. Bene uale.

Vincentiae. IIII X Kalendas Augusti MCCCCLXXIII.

: 13 :

– [Perugia], [Autumn of 1474] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 94r*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Perusiam incolumis ueni. Domum meam et matris et fratris funere concussam et pene labefactata offendi. Itaque diutius quam uoluisssem morari hic compellar. Archiepiscopus Sipontinus istuc profectus est; ei ut me non uulgariter commendes, uehementer te rogo. Fac intelligat et uirtutis studiosum me esse et non mediocriter a te amari. Proderit mihi plurimum commendatio tua, si eiusmodi extiterit qualis ex ore tuo qui omnium optimus es et doctissimus pro amicis proficisci consueuit. Vale.

: 14 :

– [Perugia], [Autumn of 1474] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fol. 95v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi.

Superioribus diebus breues litteras ad te dedi, quibus rogavi ut Sipontino Archiepiscopo urbis praesidi meae quam diligentissime negotia mea commendares. Quod tamen te facturum tua sponta pro tua in me beniuolentia non dubitabam, nihil te praetermissurum quod ad mei conducat commendationem Ulysses Fanestris tui studiosus et in primis eruditus mihi rettulit, scio te meae satisfacisse uoluntati. Quod si idem postquam istinc Sipontinus discesserit per litteras egeris, nihil erit quod amplius hac in re desyderare possim. Ego domesticis negotiis ita districtus sum. Omnia enim perturbata offendi, ut interdum respirare uix possim. Pietas res mihi carissimas sic abire non sinam me monet. Quod si Angelus frater adesset, qui et aetate superior est et dignitate praestat, non tantum mihi oneris sustinendum esset. Spero tamen propediem fore, ut omni molestia liberatus, in Musarum sinum me recipiam. Tu tantisper cogita quid agere me uelis; tuus sum, tuus moriar, in te solo spes mea posita et collocata. Bene uale.

: 15 :

– [Perugia], [1475 x 1477] –

**Francesco Maturanzio to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used: BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, fols. 63v–64v*

Nicolao Episcopo Modrusiensi Praesidi Spoletino.

Tua in me, praeses integerrime, beneficia quae praedicare ego nunquam desino Perusinis omnibus nota iam sunt. Iidem Franciscum tuum esse mancipium, me tam utilem, tanquam praeclaram seruitutem, minime aut dissimulante aut detractante probe norunt. Quo fit, ut me pene quotidie adeant plurimi et ex me quaerant. Tanta ne rerum omnium in pontifice Modrusiensi cognitio sit, prudentia, aequitas, continentia, vicinitas autem prouinciae, quicquid istic a te geritur rerum, nobis obscurum esse patitur. Nec dies est, quo honorifici de te ab illis, qui istinc ad nos ueniunt, non habeantur sermones. Quid sciscitantibus respondere ipse soleam, malo te ex aliis intelligere. Illud certe ex efficio, ut quam de incredibili uirtute, et bonitate tua acceperunt opinionem, hanc constanter retineant, et tueantur. Unum est in quo errare me uehementissime non inficias, eo quod te quantum res postulat et ego opto laudare nequeo. Te tamen pro humanitate tua, et mansuetudine, quicquid ab animo tibi deditissimo fit, in bonam partem decet accipere. Sed si miraris fortasse cur nullas ad te litteras do, illud in causa esse scito quod uereor ne tibi praesidi occupatissimo et assidue tot prouincialibus ius dicenti molestus sim. Et ne nunc quidem scripsissem, nisi ii quibus omnia debeo amici scilicet facere compulissent. Qui ducti mea in te obseruantia (tibi enim me dedicatum condonatumque iam pridem norunt esse) spem conceperunt, non dubiam fore ut meis apud te precibus locus sit, et foeminam et uiduam, inopem, solam, quod pro tua aequitate sponte facturus fueras, si te

adiisset a me rogatus, quantum licet, adiuues, et ab his molestiis in quibus est tandem liberus. Ea est Rosata Perusina Baldi olim uxor, cui Cassiae quod castellum prouinciae tuae est cum Iacobutia quadam lis est. Neminem omnino habet a quo peragantur negotia. Quam uero probae foeminae in iudiciali foro uersari honestum sit, latere te non debet, quare eam tuis litteris Cassiano praetori, uelim, commendes diligentissime, horterisque ut cognita summarie ut dicunt causa. Quod ius atque aequitas postulat, pronuntiet et decernat. Ne forensibus misera dilationibus amplius crucietur. Quod si, ut spero et opto, per te fiet, mihi in primis gratum erit. Amici enim tantum in te spei me non frustra collocasse dicent, cum mea commendatione incitatum, inopi foeminae fauere uoluisse intelligent. Bene uale et foelix, unicum pontificum decus, addo et eruditorum.

: 16 :

– [Spoleto], [1476 x 1477] –

*Nicholas of Modruš to the Modruš Chapter and Clergy*

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Damjanović, *Slovo iskona*, 237–239.

Mikula, Božjej volji i Stola apostolskoga milostiju biskup modruški i krbavski, Špurlita i Tolde i Amerie i pročaja gubernatur, pišem kapitululu i kleru crkve modruške. Spasenje va vsih spasiteljno!

Smete se va mnje srce moje i tisnu se va mni utroba moja svrhu brige ljudi mojih. Najdoh gorka i žestoka suprotivnika, ki od tolika vrimenta ne presta briže i mantraje sriće i telesa vaša. Tolikoje govorim da je žestoka i divja ruka turačka po tolikih smrteh i brigah i raspeh, i po toliki prolitiji krvi nevoljnih ljudi, dar i rez'zališće, ku ste poznali. Da ča je veća žalost, da se najde veće žestok i krudel obiteljanin, njeprijal znanac, i domaći moj, s nami kupno jide kruh, ki – ne vim ke oholosti ali smenosti duha nemilostivoga nadahnut – smel jest smesti misli i srca vaša, mir crkveni razlučuje i običaj crkveni nepravadnu smenostju ispravljaje, a neću reći smučuje, govoreći da oblast svetih služab našega jazika otačaskoga od crkve katoličaske ni potvrjena. Kako da bi on vsih naukov i naredab vere hristjanske ali svetih otac plni nauk držal, da ni vsih stvari naukov popisanih v Dunati i v Doktrinali. Ni samo knjige gramatikov mogoše vsu mudrost ovoga svita imati. Mnoge stvari udržaše za se meštri ko se govore kožmografi, četiri meštri ki se govore aštrulozi, peto ko se govore filozofi, izlagajuć likare i zakonov učitelje, od kih ni jedan v svojej meštiji gramatiku dopusti imjeti mesta, nego samo v govorenji, a vele manje Svetoga pisma knjižnici, kih ako bi taki koli je Svetoga pisma i taki čtac ali bi je čtal, ali bi je ljubeznivo procinil, zaisto bi našal do ono ča je od svetih otac pohvaljeno, od toliko vikov nastojećim ljudem narejeno, ni jednih listov, ni jednih bul i ni jednoga novoga potvrjenja ne potribuje. A navadna je sveta Rimska crikav vse nauke i naredbe vsih svetih, navlastito presvitlih četirih doktorov svojih, častno prijeti, i prijamši stanovito braniti. A po tom otci – budući skupljeni v koncili – razlike običaje crikvene, ke su naredili sveti biskupi, i njih prominuti ne smiše, pače pod veliku penu prokletstva narediše da vsaki svoje crkve navadne običaje ima savršeno obdržati i da ih nima prez dopušćenja papina nikakože prestupiti. Kakono je crikva Vstoka svoje običaje i svoje služenje udržala je mnogo različno ot crikve Zapadne, i kakono v Galiciji mnogo osebjuna jesu dopušćena, takoje Ermaniji ča se govore Nimci, i Panoniji, Iberiji i Angliji, tolikoje u mnogih inih vladanjih nika

crikve vlašće službe i običaje crkvene vele različno držu preza vsakih bul i pisam i potvrjenja Stola apostolskoga, i kakono Rimska crikav raduje se o narejenji svetoga Grgura i inih otac svojih, takoje se raduje Istočna crikav o narejenji Grkov svojih, i tako se raduje Mediolanska crikav o narejenji svetoga Ambrozija v služnji mis i v službi korizmenoj, ča mnogo jest različno od crikve Rimske. I takoje mnogim crikvam po Hrvatih i Dalmaciji običaje i uredbe od svetoga Jeronima narejene sveta mati Rimska crikva jest vele časno prijela, i po ni jedno vrime od nikogare ni v tom smetenija prijela, ča je on, od svetih dokturi poglavitiji, nadahnut Duhom svetim na utešnji nenaučenih ljudi razumno jest naredil, nasljeđuje svetoga Pavla apostola, koga knjige biše čtal pokle.

: 17 :

– [Urbino], [Winter of 1478] –

**Federico da Montefeltro to Nicholas of Modruš**

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Federico da Montefeltro, *Lettere di stato e d'arte 1470–1480* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1949), 69–70.

Federicus Dux Domino Nicolao episcopo Mandruensi.

Reuerende in Christo pater et domine, pater honorande. Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae humanitatis plenae et amoris summi erga me tui, quibus de tuo istuc aduentu factus sum certior; quod mihi tam gratum est quam quod gratissimum. Venisti futurus uicinus illi qui te uehementer amat quique praestantissimam uirtutem tuam facit multi. Praegustationem operis tui accepi eamque libentissime legi, meque tantopere delectauit eius lectio, ut cum uenerit finis sim non mediocri molestia affectus. Illud uelim certo scias me nihil hac tempestate scriptum legisse quod his tuis aut elegantia aut scientiarum grauitate sit conserendum. Delectauerunt ergo me mirum in modum, sed eo magis quod me illis ornari uelle significas: quod haud scio an quicquam mihi uel honestius accidere potuisset uel iocundius, quemadmodum pluribus tecum aget nomine meo Nicolaus praesentium lator, scriba meus, missus ad uisendam Reverendam Dominationem Tuam, cui me commendo.

: 18 :

– Perugia, May 2 1478 –

**Nicholas of Modruš to Lorenzo de' Medici**

*Manuscript used:* ASF, Mediceo avanti il Principato, filza 36, doc. 537

Ad Laurentium Medicum.

Magnifice ac generose vir plurimum honorate, salutem. Per non multiplicare inconuenientie ho scripto hora ali Magnifici Signori de testa excelsa città, che pocho avanti intendendo verso la città di Castello retenersi certi subditi dele loro Signorie, commandai subito et con grande diligentia che immediate fosseno rilassati, facendo anche provisione con gravissimi edicti che a nullo subdito o cittadino de Firenze, che venessi o dimorasse in la



provincia commessa al mio governo et di monsignor Reuerendissimo el Cardinale, se faccia alchuno impedimento overo offensione; il che non dubito observarai. Il simile anchora dimando se faccia da questa inclita Segnoria, imperoché intendo retinersi di llà multi deli nostri, al che prego la Vostra Magnificentia voglia interponere la Sua opera in tucte chose sanctissima como la experientia dimonstra, et in questo modo se levarà onge casone de odio che<sup>778</sup> forse serria concepto uerso chi è summamente alieno da omni insolentia. Bene valet. Perusie, II Maii, MCCCCLXXVIII.

Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis Perusie,  
Ducatus Spoletani et cetera uicelegatus.

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<sup>778</sup> *post che del. uerso*

## APPENDIX 3: DEDICATION LETTERS

: 1 :

– [1462] –

### ***‘On the Happiness of Mortals’, prologue to pope Pius II***

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lepori, ed., ‘De mortalium foelicitate,’ 253–254.

Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis ad sanctissimum dominum Pium papam II de mortalium foelicitate prologus incipit.

Non te preterit, beatissime pater, et dominico et aliorum sanctorum proditum esse oraculo mortalium foelicitatem in aperta claraque diuinae maiestatis uisione sitam, atque hunc finem, quoius gratia et conditum est, humano generi esse propositum. Qua de re diu ac multum inter sapientum quaesitum est essent ne nulla in rerum natura uestigia, unde mortales certam sui finis rationem coniiicere possent, an omnino intelligere nequiuissent ad quidnam essent procreati, nisi diuinitus facti essent cerciores. Multi quoque censuerunt nihil tale penitus in natura consistere, quo homines admoneri possent summum optimumque eorum bonum in caelis esse quaerendum; in qua sententia ipse quoque iam diu permansi. Caeterum, postquam et Aristotelis et aliorum sapientum qui de foelicitate scripserunt dicta sum diligentius perscrutatus, uidere mihi uideor certa adinuenisse uestigia, quae quidem sapientissimus ille rerum opifex humanae saluti undique consulere cupiens in ipsam impressit naturam. Atque, nisi oculos nostros statuissimus declinare in terram uultumque nostrum paululum ad superiora conuertissemus, reperire profecto ualuissemus nos nequaquam terrenorum sed supercoelestium causa procreatos, praecipue autem diuini perfruendi consorcii eiusque conspectu sedulo oblectandi, atque id non ambiguis naturae testimoniis conuincere posse; quod ut explicarem insudaui diligentius. Et enim uniuersi laboris mei, quo me cunctis diebus exercere proposui, illud opere precium statui, e peregrinis opibus Deo adiutore Dauiticae turri munimenta quaerere et ex gentilium luxu dominico templo si qua potero adiicere ornamenta, illius ope fretus qui iumento Balam uocem concessit humanam. Equidem ea praecipue ratione effici posse spero, quo et non nullorum nostrorum dementia conuincatur qui, sui propositi obliti ac diuinorum omni abiecta reuerentia, in huius mundi ceno sordidissimi uoluntantur, dum suae amenciae nullam inuenerint excusationem, sed contra se diuina pariter ac naturae iura clamare conspexerint; et aliorum complurium, qui aduersus fidei nostrae sinceram pietatem impurissimo ore latrare non cessant, ora obstrui, cum se non tantum sacrarum scripturarum sed etiam ipsius naturae testimonio intellexerint damnari ueritatemque naturae legis diuinae ueritati minime aduersari, quin immo in cunctis consentientem esse ac obnoxiam. Sed quoniam haec nostra ratio compluribus sacris scriptoribus quadam ex parte contradicere uidetur, eam ad tuam Sanctitatem duxi transmitendam, apud quem solum diuinarum legum et

diiudicandi et interpretandi summa potestas est. Equidem tua castigari trutina cupio quod siue temere ausum siue per insciam erratum fuerit, aut approbet si quid inuenerit dignum. Tua namque in primis statuere interest, et hoc nostrum et aliorum opus an dignum sit quod ad sacram admittatur structuram. Quod si sordidius minusque firmum uisum fuerit, abiiciatur ac conculcetur. Itaque quo de primo huius muneris nostri opere facilius sententiam ferre ualeas, uniuersam nostrarum partium rationem Dominico Bragadeno uiro quidem doctissimo tuendam permisi, quem cum Iohanne Caesariensi hac de re disserentem induxi apud Paulum Pergulensem uirum utique tam diuini quam humani iuris peritissimum atque, ut nosti, cum omni antiquitate conferendum: huius enim auditores nos omnes multis annis extitimus. Sed ne tuam Sancitatem diutius morer, iam eos colloquentes audiatis.

: 2 :

– [Autumn 1463 x Winter 1464] –

***‘On the Happiness of Mortals’, dedication letter to John Vitéz bishop of Oradea***

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Lepori, ed., ‘De mortalium foelicitate,’ 229, n. 23.

Reuerendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino Iohanni Dei gratia episcopo Waradiensi Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis salutem.

Munus tuo nomine susceptum tardius forte quam expectaras absolui grauissimis rei publicae curis impeditus, tam et si ipsa rei grauitas de qua disserui longiorem moram postulauerit, nec concito sed tardiore gressu ambulandum ubi omnes sapientes haud parum laborasse dinoscuntur et praecipue qui in difficillimo saltu nouam cupit semitam monstrare. Nosti etenim omnium sapientum sententia, qui de diuinis scripserunt legibus, sancitum esse humanum genus sui finis, cuius gratia procreatum est, nunquam rationem cognouisse, nec ullo naturae ductu ad eius cognitionem potuisse deuenire, nisi diuino illud nobis oraculo fuisset reuelatum. At nobis contra uisum est, praecipue ab illa foelicissima et a me semper memoranda hyeme, quam apud te Varadini cum plurimis uiris doctissimis in bibliotheca illa tua dignissima inter innumera clarissimorum uirorum uolumina saepius residentes iocundissimam amoenissimamque transegimus. Videor enim mihi uidere in ipsius naturae legibus misericordem Deum ea reliquisse uestigia, ex quibus non magno labore nostrae conditionis statum colligere ualeamus. Quam nostram sententiam et defendere et stabilire cupientes necesse fuit aduersiorum rationes, quibus impugnare hanc consueuerunt, refellere et eas, quibus suam statuunt sententiam, infringere. In quo quidem quoniam mihi aduersum tot et doctissimos et sanctissimos uiros contendendum fuit, et ne aut temeritatis aut perfidiae crimine accusarer, uisum est hanc nostram disceptationem prius ad sedem apostolicam deferendam, ut ipsius grauissimo sanctissimoque iudicio uel ruat uel consistat. Quod utique abhinc fere biennium et fecimus; atque usque in hodiernum diem plurimorum, praecipue summi pontificis auctoritate collaudata est, a nemine uero aperte impugnata. Quam ob rem eam nunc ad te transmisi ut, si quid machinarum in hanc consurgat, te uirorum doctissimo disertissimoque patrono utar, tua siquidem interest monumentum tibi dicatum tueri ac conseruare.

: 3 :

– [Autumn 1463] –

**‘Peter’s Barge’, dedication to Stephen Várdai archbishop of Kalocsa**

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Modruški, ‘Petrova lađica,’ cap. 1–2.

Reuerendissimo in Christo patri et domino Domino Stephano Archiepiscopo Colocensi dignissimo Nicolaus Episcopus Modrussiensis salutem exoptat sempiternam.

Solent qui longinquas adeunt terras reuertentes e peregrinis deliciis munuscula amorem suum testantia carissimis suis deferre. Cum autem ego te in carissimorum uel parentum uel dominorum numero habeam, ac ne omnino uacuis ad te reuertar manibus, munera tibi ex Italis mercibus quas olim in exiguo ingenioli mei penu recondideram parauit, non quidem tam iucunda quam miserrima hac temporum nostrorum condicione congrua. Siquidem in his docetur ratio qua in turbulentissima hac omnium tempestate, quam in Petri nauicula nauigantes iugiter patimur, naufragii discrimina effugere ualeamus. Nec tamen miraberis si minus redimita comptaue erunt; non enim ex quietis ueniunt camerula aut ex otiosa bibliotheca sed ex festinantis equi dorso, quo me iam multis ut nosti mensibus grauissimae rei publicae curae insidere coegerunt. Accipe igitur ab amantissimo animo hoc uel exiguum munus, non Mauri ossea compositum manu, non Asiatico luxu delentum, non agricolae studiosa enutritum cura seu piscatorum arte paratum, sed sola Dei miseratione conditum, cui laus et gloria sit per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

: 4 :

– August 1465 x August 1466 –

**‘On Consolation’, dedication to Marco Barbo bishop of Vicenza**

*Manuscript used:* [Reproduced from previous publication]

*Published:* Modrussiensis, ‘De consolatione,’ 65–67.

Nicolai episcopi Modrussiensis ad dominum Marcum Vicentinum praesulem liber de consolatione feliciter incipit.

Cum urgerem diligentius opus tuo nomine coeptum quo singulas animi perturbationes pro cuiusque uirtute ac conditione explicare statueram, Reuerendissime Pater, ea pars, qua rationem consolationis perstrinxi, forte incidit in manus quorundam amicorum meorum, qui me perpulerunt ut prudens, licet inuitus, in illud uitii prolaberer quod in uulgari est prouerbio: Canicula festinans parere catulos parit caecos. Hic uero noster partus etiam ex alia ratione monstruosus est, utpote quo membrum unum, non integrum corpus enixi sumus. Illud tamen qualecumque (quando mihi ita faciendum fuit) ad Vestram Reuerendissimam Dignitatem, cui integrum deuoueram, transmittersse curaui ut ex hoc membro cognosceres quid sit de toto

corpore (si tamen cetera ad hanc rationem effingere ualebimus) spei reliquum. Ceterum hoc tibi frustum ea lege committo, ut sit mihi integrum id cum uniuerso compingere corpore; et si ratio totius formae postulabit, in quibus opus fuerit, commutare, quandoquidem dignius commodiusque singula membra secundum statum totius corporis examinantur ac expenduntur, minusque operis ac difficultatis est unam partem quam totum immutare. Conatus sum igitur hoc in opere consolandi rationem explicare, non quidem secundum exactam philosophiae legem – nunc enim non de rerum natura disputamus aut de illis tenuioribus magisque minutis rebus, de quibus a turba secreti cum sapientibus disserendum esset – sed secundum pinguiorem crassioremque rationem, quae etiam in populo non ignaua possit uersari. Est enim propositum nostrum praecepta tradere, quibus, ut ceteris perturbationibus, ita et consolatione, quando res postulabit, auditoris animum afficere possimus, ac laborantibus succurrere eorumque aegritudinem quam commodissime leuare. Nec mihi uanum hunc laborem assumpsisse puto: tametsi multa a peritissimis uiris egregia monumenta exstant in hanc rationem conscripta, ut sunt paene omnes illi et praeclari quidem Boethii De consolatione libri, et Senecae tam ille De consolatione codex insignis quam alter, quem De remediis fortuitorum appellauit. Isidori quoque Synonymorum clarissima gemmula. Ciceronis uero si exstaret opus, quod de hac ipsa ratione conscripsit, forsitan et nos et omnes alios hoc labore leuasset; exstant tamen plerumque eius consolatoriae dignae epistolae, quales etiam sunt nonnullae Cypriani, Hieronymi, Basilii Magni aliorumque complurium doctissimorum uirorum tam Latinorum quam Graecorum. Scripserunt enim hac ipsa de re et Graecorum complures: Plato, Cleanthes, Crato, Diogenes, Epicurus, Dicaearchus, Posidonius, Carneades, Chrysippus, et Crantor, quem Cicero illo secutus est. Verum hi omnes officio consolandi perfuncti sunt et quidem dignissime sapientissimeque. Ceterum quo pacto idem munus et alii sequi possent; pauci admodum praecipere uoluerunt. Et hi quidem pro admirabili ingenii eorum acumine fortasse satis copiose, sed pro illorum desiderio, qui nondum in philosophia admodum exercitatos habent sensus, meo iudicio et pressius et parcius. Neque id eos peccati ignorantiae admisisse certo scio; quid enim diuina illa ingenia ignorarunt, a quibus nobis altissimi ita ferente prouidentia quicquid luminis est, illuxit; quin potius negligentia aut incuria quadam et ipsius rei per facilitatem contemptu. Tametsi quidam nonnullos maiorum nostrorum ut in ceteris, ita et in hoc ipso inuidiae insimulent. Mihi autem iubetur scientiam absque inuidia communicare et ex percepto talento lucrum uel fenore quaerere, nec pudori esse debere infantibus lac praebere, pro quibus Christus mori non erubuit. Praecipue cum sit ipse dominus non solos philosophos, aut eos dumtaxat qui habiti sunt sapientiores, uerum omnes omnino homines interrogaturus si se in carceribus et in tribulatione positum uisitauerint, aut consolati fuerint; unde uidere licet quanta necessitate mortales cogantur consolandi munus obire, cuius se Dominus tam seuerum exactorem comminatur. Itaque et nos uniuersis prodesse cupientes eisque uiam ostendere ad id consequendum quod diuino pariter ac humano iure ab his exquiratur praecepta consolandi ex ordine digessimus illius ope adiuti, qui solus est cunctorum miserorum optimus consolator. Qua in re, quando curandorum animorum artem professi sumus, nobis ueluti corporum medicis faciendum statui generales quasdam ac praecipuas medendi rationes tradere, particulares uero et quae sedulo accidere possunt prudentiae medici relinquere, praesertim cum ipsae ex traditis principiis per se facile percipi poterunt.

: 5 :

– [ca. 1470] –

***‘On the Titles and Authors of Psalms,’ dedication to Angelo Fasolo bishop of Feltre***

*Unpublished (BAV, Vat. lat. 995, fols. 1r–2r)*

Domino Angelo Fretrensi pontifici Nicolaus episcopus Modrussiensis salutem dicit plurimam.

Postulasti a me cum Romae essem proprios singulorum psalmodum aperire auctores causasque ipsorum atque materias breuibus uerbis perstringerem. Quod quoniam tunc minus effeci quam et tuum desiderium et meum postulabat officium, ut pote multis Curiae sollicitudinibus occupatus librorumque copia exclusus, nunc et post paululum oculi nactus et in meae bibliothecae potestate constitutus uolui cumulatius respondere et meo animo tuae dignationi merito deditissimo et tuo piissimo laudatissimoque uoto. Non enim paruae pietatis indicium legem Domini meditari, nec exiguae laudis diligentiaeque testimonium nolle lippis aut caecutientibus praeterire oculis ea quae tibi die ac nocte sedulo uersanda sunt et lingua atque animo iugiter pertractanda, quippe quorum ex altero illius felicissimae arboris fructus colligitur quae irrigua paradisi aquis nec sterilitatem nouit nec ariditatem, ex altero illud consequitur ut nec caecus custos appelletur nec illud propheticum uereatur quod ad quendam sacerdotem diuinarum scripturarum meditationem negligentem dictum est, *quoniam tu repulisti a te scientiam et ego te repellam ne mihi sacerdotio fungaris*. Et re uera quamuis cunctis sacerdotibus (praecipue tamen qui pontificali fulgent honore), de quorum ore Malachiae testimonio lex Domini requiritur omnium sacrarum scripturarum necessaria sit cognitio, psalmodum tamen plusquam necessaria, ut pote quibus sine intermissione ora nostra resonant, templorum perstrepunt parietes, organa modulantur, Leuitae concinunt, uniuersi ecclesiarum iubilant chori, in quibus licet ex aliis quoque scripturarum locis diuinae assumantur lectiones, hi tamen propterea minime relinquuntur, adeo ut sine his nunquam ecclesia in laudes Dei erumpat, nunquam sine psalmodum ualeat exultare. Quam quidem consuetudinem haud aliam ob causam in ueteri testamento institutam et in nouo receptam stabilitamque existimo, nisi quia in psalmodum omnia diuini mysterii condita essent archana, omnia sacramenta reposita, mandatorum insuper cuncta instituta documentaque tradita, et uirtutum altissimi uniuersa disposita praeconia, quorum ignorantiam puto uix posse sacerdotes ullo expiare piaculo, ullis sacrificiis expurgare, quo modo enim non inexpiabili tenentur crimine, qui laudes quas Deo continenter decantare tenentur, cognoscere negligunt et picarum ac psitacorum more suas ipsi uoces non intelligunt. Vtinam uel sero discere uellent quod sine iactura salutis obmittere nequeunt, praecipue nunc cum tuo munere psalmodum hanc quamuis non exactam tantam tamen cognitionem accipere ualebunt, quae illos et huic discrimini subducere poterit et multifaria explere uoluptate. Sed de hoc deliberandum illis relinquamus. Tu interea, praesul uenerande, ad ea quae rogasti animum aduerte.

: 6 :

– [ca. 1471–1472] –

*Translation of Isocrates' speeches to Nikokles and Demonikos, dedicated probably to  
Alfonso duke of Calabria*

*Manuscript used:* BANLC, Corsin. 127, fols. 85r–86r

*Published:* Gualdo Rosa, 'La fede nella paideia,' 192–194.

Cum superioribus diebus ab oratoribus tuis, uiris quidem egregiis tuaque familiaritate dignissimis, mihi autem singulari beniuolentia coniunctissimis, multa tuae indolis praeclara facinora didicissem, quantumque digna, adhuc iuuenis, principatus tui ieceris fundamenta, quantoque clariora pubescens tua uirtus polliceatur, spem ingentem concepi te uel maximis principibus parem euasurum, si quidem huic tuae innatae probitati cultus disciplinae accederet naturaeque tuae felix solum, si liberali eruditionis sarculo diligentius excoli contingeret. Germina enim, quamuis egregia, si absque artis castigatione adoleuerint, semper quod ea minus deceat secum enutriunt ac nimium lasciuiendo in ipsis conatibus deficient. Sic oleae, sic uites, sic segetes absque agricolae manu luxuriari solent et expectatos fructus foliis inutilibus permutare. Sane quae falcem patiuntur artificem, grandiora aspectui usuique gratiora redduntur. Et aurum gemmaque omnis, quamuis suapte natura nobilis nascatur, arte tamen multo redditur nobilior, uenustior, dignior, clarior et pretiosior. Praetereo canes, equos, aues ceteraque animantia, quibus quidem disciplina tantum incrementi apponere solet, ut non numquam de rationis usu cum hominibus contendere uideantur. Quibus ex rebus perspicuum esse potest, quanto studio uniuersis mortalibus eruditio sit requirenda amplectendaque. Si enim disciplinae institutio brutis insensatisque rebus tantum affert et utilitatis et ornamenti, quanto magis hominibus, quos ipsa natura disciplinae praecipue finxit capaces mentemque ipsis ultra cetera uiuentia inspirauit, quo facilius id munus et obire et exsequi ualerent! Cuius studium, etsi omnes mortales tenere habeat qui sese nolunt brutorum in numero computari, praecipue tamen illos qui aliis praesunt uel dominantur. Absurdum est enim maximeque indecorum insipientes sapientibus imprudentioresque prudentioribus imperare. Nonne merito rideres si caecum conspiceres ducem esse uidentis, aut ciuibus rusticum iura rei publicae dicere? Haud minus profecto ridiculum ineptumque est lora rei publicae in manibus imprudentis gubernatoris conspiciari. Recte quidem uniuersi faciunt principes qui negotia sua quae probe curari uolunt sapientioribus committunt, sed multo facerent rectius si, quod ab aliis desiderant, sibi compararent atque id darent operam quo illis, quibus fortuna eos praetulit, et natura inuenirentur superiores. Imprudens enim ac imperitus, Philosophi testimonio, natura est seruus prudentis atque periti. Indignum igitur se principatu iudicat qui contemnit disciplinam, suamque ipse inscitiam condemnat, dum operam expetit eruditorum, quorum studium uel spreuit uel neglexit. Quod quidem rex ille Macedonum Philippus illa in epistola quam, nato sibi filio Alexandro, ad Aristotelem scripsit, optime se intellexisse declarauit dicens sese, diis testibus, non adeo laetari quod filium susceperit quantum quod eum nasci eo tempore contigerit, quo possit abs tam praeclaro philosopho optimis imbui disciplinis. Quibus nimirum et ita ab eo institutus est, ut ipse postea Alexander et litteris suis et sermonibus saepius fateretur pluris doctrinam facere quam Aristotele tradente consecutus fuerat, quam totius orbis imperium. Quandoquidem tanto praestabilius est homines sapientia potius uincere quam fortitudine, quanto praestantius cetera animantia ab hominibus ipsa sapientia uincuntur. Et quidem quid potest esse uel optabilius uel diuinius quam eo homines superare, quo ipsi reliqua superant uiuentia? Porro ad hanc eruditionis honestatem, maximae

accedunt egregiaeque utilitates, dominantibus haud minus necessariae quam opportunae. Hinc namque saluberrima securissimaque capiuntur consilia, hinc certae sententiae iustaque proferuntur iudicia, hinc sanctissima depromuntur decreta, hinc omnis publica priuataque hauritur institutio. Atque ut haec ita sese habere cognoscas, audi paulisper ipsammet Sapientiam eadem et suadentem et pollicentem: ‘Accipite – inquit – disciplinam meam et non pecuniam, doctrinam magis quam aurum eligit. Melior enim est sapientia cunctis opibus pretiosissimis et omne desiderabile nequit ei comparari. Ego sapientia in consilio habito et eruditus intersum cogitationibus. Timor Domini odit malum; arrogantiam, superbiam, uiam prauam et os bilingue ego detestor. Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt. Per me principes imperant et potentes diiudicant iustitiam. Ego diligentes me diligo et qui mane ad me uigilant me inueniunt. Mecum sunt diuitiae et gloria, opes superbae et iustitia. Melior est fructus meus auro et lapide pretioso et genimina mea argento electo. In uis iustitiae ambulo et in medio semitarum iudicii, ut ditem diligentes me et thesauros eorum repleam.’ Quae cum ita sint, ego te ad has tot tantasque opes capessendas hortari uolui, tua egregia indole et delectatus et fretus. Atque, quo facilius huiusmodi potiaris opibus, non meis te praeceptionibus instituere uolui, sed potius Isocratis, uiri quidem sapientissimi eloquentissimique, qui iam olim morte dentes inuidorum effugit et temporis uetustate dictorumque suorum prudenti ac uenusto sensu insignem insignem sibi auctoritatem uendicauit; praeterea autem, quoniam peregrinae opes, tametsi domesticis non numquam teniores, maioribus tamen in deliciis habentur. Is Graecus natione fuit haud inter rhetores quam philosophos clarus. Complura et sapientiae et eloquentiae suae insignia monumenta reliquit. Inter caetera, regiam uitae institutionem ad Nicoclem Siciliae regem, quam nos Latinam fecimus: nudas purasque illius sententias nudis purisque uerbis expressimus, ne natiuum earum ingenuitatem fuco nostro uiolaremus. Tuae autem humanitatis erit nostrum hoc munus benigne acceptare, probitatis uero et e re tua et ex sententia nostra, digne illo uti.



## APPENDIX 4: NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRUSSIENSIS DE BELLIS GOTHORUM

Appendix 4 presents the draft transcription of the Vatican manuscript of Nicholas' *De bellis Gothorum*, with the first 16 paragraphs collated with the Corsiniana manuscript.

### CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- V** Cod. Vat. lat. 6029  
**V<sup>1</sup>** manus Nicolai episcopi Modrussiensis scribam corrigentis  
**C** Cod. Corsin. 127 (43 E3)  
**C<sup>1</sup>** manus Nicolai episcopi Modrussiensis sese corrigentis

**⟨NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRVSSIENSIS  
DE BELLIS GOTHORVM⟩**

<1> BELLA GOTHORVM scripturus quae ter Italia dirissima pertulit, originem gentis causasque tantarum cladum duxi breuibus aperiendas,<sup>780</sup> ut quae narraturi sumus clarius innotescant.<sup>781</sup> Gentem Gothorum<sup>782</sup> accepimus Scythiae fuisse populos, Getas a maioribus appellatos ripas Thanais Meothidisque paludis accolentes,<sup>783</sup> siue ut Straboni placet campos qui inter Histrum Boristenemque expanduntur<sup>784</sup> late obtinentes,<sup>785</sup> quod propius uero ex eo esse colligitur<sup>786</sup> quod nunc quoque illo Euxini litoris in tractu<sup>787</sup> nationis huius relliquiae uisuntur, apud quos<sup>788</sup> regio etiam ipsa Gothiae retinet appellationem. Cui sententiae et illud astipulatur<sup>789</sup>, quod Thomis oppidum a Thomira Getharum regina ex caede Cyri redeunte conditum haud procul ab his locis situm fuisse noscitur,<sup>790</sup> in quo relegatus Ouidius horrendos Getharum occursum se frequenter expauisse queritur; tametsi quingentis inde milibus passuum orientem uersus solem apud Meothidem paludem<sup>791</sup> in Turicha, hoc est maiore illa Bosfori Cymerii chersonesso quae Meothidem paludem<sup>792</sup> latius in Pontum manare prohibet,<sup>793</sup> non parua Gothorum manus incolere dicatur<sup>794</sup> haud procul a Capha oppido quod nunc Genuensium est dicionis.<sup>795</sup> Quae res Ablabii Iordanique qui gesta Gothorum scripsere sententiae respondet qui affirmant<sup>796</sup> Gothos etiam trans Boristenem usque ad Meothidem Thanaimque possedisse. Dacos quoque qui superiores Danubii accolunt ripas Gethas fuisse Strabo auctor illo argumento ostendit<sup>797</sup> quod et moribus et lingua eadem cum Gethis uterentur, quos olim non Dacos sed Dauos uocitatos seruorum coniectat appellationibus<sup>798</sup> quippe qui inde abducti partim Gethae partim Dauis ab Atheniensibus appellari consueuerunt, qui seruis gentis suae nomina indere solebant ut Lydo, Syro et ceteris id /1v/ genus.

<sup>779</sup> ante BELLA GOTHORVM C in rubro add.: Iesus / NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRVSSIENSIS DE bellis Gothorum liber primus

<sup>780</sup> duxi ... aperiendas] breuiter aperiendas existimaui C

<sup>781</sup> clarius innotescant] intelligi facilius ab omnibus possint C

<sup>782</sup> Gentem Gothorum] Gothos C

<sup>783</sup> Gethae ... accolentes] qui Gethae a maioribus appellati Thanais ac Meothidis paludis ripas incoluerunt C

<sup>784</sup> Boristenemque expanduntur] ac Boristenem interiacent C

<sup>785</sup> late obtinentes omm. C

<sup>786</sup> quod ... colligitur] Hoc inde uero propius intelligi potest C

<sup>787</sup> illo ... tractu] in illo Euxini littoris tractu C

<sup>788</sup> apud quos] ubi C

<sup>789</sup> astipulatur] accedit C

<sup>790</sup> quod ... situm] quod non procul ab his locis Thomis oppidum a Thomira Getharum regina ex caede Cyri redeunte conditum C

<sup>791</sup> apud Meothidem paludem omm. C

<sup>792</sup> paludem omm. C

<sup>793</sup> post prohibet add. nunc etiam C

<sup>794</sup> non ... dicatur] non paruam Gothorum manum incolere manifestum sit C

<sup>795</sup> haud ... dicionis] non longe a Capha Genuensium oppido C

<sup>796</sup> respondet qui affirmant] conuenit affirmantium C

<sup>797</sup> Strabo ... ostendit] hoc argumento ostendit Strabo C

<sup>798</sup> seruorum coniectat appellationibus] ex seruorum appellationibus coniecturam facit C

⟨2⟩ Verum enimvero nostra aetate interiora Ripensis Daciae Transilvaniae uocabulo cognominata ab Hunis quos<sup>799</sup> Hungaros dicimus possidentur. Inferiora uero quaecumque Hister Boristenesque intercipit usque ad Gothiae<sup>800</sup> ripas Vlacchi obtinent, Romani quondam uel exules uel milites a duce Flacco quondam<sup>801</sup> cognominati nunc immutatione litterae Vlacchi appellati quo uocabulo<sup>802</sup> cunctae illae circumuicinae nationes Italos hodierna nominant die.<sup>803</sup> Vlacchi originis suae illud praecipuum prae se ferunt argumentum quod quamuis lingua Mysorum quae Illyrica est cuncti<sup>804</sup> utantur, natiuo<sup>805</sup> tamen sermone hoc est Latino haud prorsus obsoleto ab incunabilis loquuntur, et cum ignotis congressi dum linguae explorant commercium *Scis Romanice*<sup>806</sup> interrogant. Ex his nunc Turcus immanissimus Christianorum hostis aduersus Vsunhasani Persarum Medorumque regis potentiam<sup>807</sup> uiginti milia pugnatorum<sup>808</sup> mercede conduxisse dicitur. Siquidem inter Hunorum Turcorumque regna constituti, modo istorum modo illorum studia sequuntur, homines infidi latrociniiis rapinisque dediti domesticis laborantes seditionibus et in mutuas caedes<sup>809</sup> ferocissime saeuientes.

⟨3⟩ Horum tyrannum Draculum nomine quo ipsi demonem appellant dum legatione summi pontificis Pii fungerer apud Hunorum regem<sup>810</sup> captiuum uidi<sup>811</sup> non quidem procero admodum corpore sed membroso quidem et<sup>812</sup> ualido, truci ac<sup>813</sup> horrendo uultu, praegrandi<sup>814</sup> adunco naso, inflatis naribus, sicca<sup>815</sup> et modice rubenti facie in qua glaucos patentesque oculos extantia oppido cillia uallabant, et nigrantia multo uilo supercilia minaces ostentabant, abrasis genis<sup>816</sup> mentoque omni excepta superiorum labrorum parte,<sup>817</sup> tumentia tempora testae augebant molem,<sup>818</sup> taurinum collum erectam ceruicem latis conectebat humeris ad quos subnigri crispantes capilli pertinebant. Narrabat rex fidem notariis facientibus qui descriptioni intenderant quadraginta hominum milia promiscui<sup>819</sup> sexus ac<sup>820</sup> aetatis contrariae

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<sup>799</sup> *post quos add. uulgo C*

<sup>800</sup> Gothiae] Ponti *C*

<sup>801</sup> quondam] ita *C*

<sup>802</sup> *post uocabulo add. non modo ea gens sed C*

<sup>803</sup> cunctae ... die] omnes quoque finitimae nationes hodie Italos nominant *C*

<sup>804</sup> cuncti] omnes *C*

<sup>805</sup> natiuo] uernaculo *C*

<sup>806</sup> Scis Romanice] an Romane loqui norint *C*

<sup>807</sup> regis potentiam] regem *C*

<sup>808</sup> uiginti milia pugnatorum] duodecim pugnatorum milia *C*

<sup>809</sup> mutua inter se caede *C*

<sup>810</sup> legatione ... regem] Pii secundi pontificis maximi apud Hunorum regem legati essemus *C*

<sup>811</sup> uidi] uidimus *C*

<sup>812</sup> quidem et] sane ac *C*

<sup>813</sup> ac] atque *C*

<sup>814</sup> *post praegrandi add. et C*

<sup>815</sup> sicca] tenui *C*

<sup>816</sup> abrasis genis] abrasis genibus *V* abrasis praeterea genis *C*

<sup>817</sup> excepta ... parte] superiorum labrorum parte dumtaxat excepta *C*

<sup>818</sup> augebant molem *transp. C*

<sup>819</sup> promiscui] impromiscui *V* promiscui *C*

<sup>820</sup> ac] atque *C*

factionis<sup>821</sup> iussu ipsius per exquisita supplicia<sup>822</sup> necata: hos /2r/ carrorum contractos rotis, illos detracta pelle uiscere<sup>823</sup> nudatos, alios ueribus impositos prunis assatos,<sup>824</sup> hos<sup>825</sup> trans caput, illos trans pectus,<sup>826</sup> alios<sup>827</sup> per umbilicum, alios per anum ad collum stipitibus infixos,<sup>828</sup> matribus<sup>829</sup> utroque in ubere infixos palos atque in illis impositos natos,<sup>830</sup> alios<sup>831</sup> aliis dirissimis enectos exemplis per uaria prius tormenta excruciatos quaecumque immanissimi tyranni saeua crudelitas potuit excogitare.

⟨4⟩ Ex horum ergo sedibus Gothi quondam oriundi memorantur. Porro qui altius nationis huius originem repetunt, ferunt eos non indigenas esse Scythiae uerum e Scandiza insula ad eas oras commigrasse. Est autem haec insula ut scriptores tradunt septentrionali in oceano gelidissimo exposita aquiloni haud procul ab ostiis quibus Iustula fluuius e Sarmaticis decurrens montibus inter Githones et Rutilos arctoo pelago trisulcus illabitur; uasta admodum diuersisque populorum referta nationibus ut paene alter orbis esse uideatur. Hanc dicit<sup>832</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus usque adeo borealem subiisse polum ut aestiali solstitio sol quadraginta dies horizonta subire non ualens perpetuam habitantibus exhibeat lucem,<sup>833</sup> totidemque brumae reuolutionibus extra oceanum emergere non praeualens continenti premat nocte non

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<sup>821</sup> contrariae factionis] quod contrariae factionis essent *C*

<sup>822</sup> *post* supplicia *add.* paulo ante *C*

<sup>823</sup> uiscere] uiscera *V* uiscere *C*

<sup>824</sup> prunis assatos *transp.* *C*

<sup>825</sup> hos] alios *C*

<sup>826</sup> illos trans pectus] illo trans pectus *V* trans pectus alios *C*

<sup>827</sup> alios] non nullos *C*

<sup>828</sup> alios per anum ... infixos] aliquos ab imo sedis quod dictu quoque foedum est per media uiscera ad summum os stipitibus transfixos *C*

<sup>829</sup> *ante* matribus *add.* et ne ullum deesset feritatis argumentum *C*

<sup>830</sup> impositos natos *transp.* *C*

<sup>831</sup> alios] aliosque *C*

<sup>832</sup> dicit] scribit *C*

<sup>833</sup> aestiali ... lucem] sol, cum aestiali solstitio quadraginta continuis diebus horizonta subire non possit, perpetuam habitantibus exhibeat lucem *C*

tamen penitus caeca,<sup>834</sup> sole inferum<sup>835</sup> hemisphaerium haud penitus subeunte candentesque radios in aurorae speciem per horizonta circumferente.<sup>836</sup>

⟨5⟩ Ex hac ergo insula Gothi duce Berige soluentes ad continentem Vlmerugorum<sup>837</sup> appulisse memorantur, nomen aeternum Gothiscandzae dantes solo in quo primum copias exposuere,<sup>838</sup> cuius littoris sinus paululum immutatis litteris in hunc usque diem Gothlandiae retinet appellationem.<sup>839</sup> Hinc castra mouentes ferunt<sup>840</sup> eos<sup>841</sup> Vlmerugos sedibus depulisse et finitimos eorum<sup>842</sup> Vandalos dicioni suae adiecisse<sup>843</sup> atque his in regionibus<sup>844</sup> usque ad Philimiri tempora sedisse, qui a Berige quintus regnasse dicitur; hoc<sup>845</sup> duce desiderio melioris soli sedes mutasse totaque illa Scythiae emensa plaga et penetrata Hercynia<sup>846</sup> silua<sup>847</sup> genteque Spalorum deuicta tandem extremis in<sup>848</sup> regionibus quae Ponto adiacent consedis; /2v/ homines efferos rapti suetos uiuere et Martis genere oppido<sup>849</sup> superbos.

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<sup>834</sup> extra ... caeca] cum emergere oceano nequeat, regio continuis torpeat tenebris non tamen usque adeo caecis C

<sup>835</sup> inferum] inferius C

<sup>836</sup> post circumferent add. nonnulla C: Haec de Scandiza insula antiqui scriptores non prorsus uera memoriae prodiderunt, ut pote quibus septentrionalis orbis plaga non sat explorata erat, paruamque ac potius fabulosam cognitionem habebant terrarum quae ultra septimum clima quod trans Boristenem et Meothidem ad principia Thanais pertinent expanduntur, tantumque Scytharum qui ad Hyperboreos porriguntur montes uix ipsa nomina nota habebantur. At sequens aetas, ductante eam Christi euangelio et inaccessas antea terrarum oras aperiente, ostendit Scandizam insulam non esse in oceano uerum in Baltei maris uastissimo sinu, quod non longe a Cymbrica chersonesso quam modo Daciam appellamus e Britanico deriuatum terras irrumpit et ab occasu in ortum usque ad Liunioniam procurrit; sed in septentrionem plurimum se diffundit et ultima terrarum usque adeo submouet ut prisci scriptores nihil aliud quam gelidas oceani undas esse crediderint, cum nostra aetas sat compertum habeat terras esse uerum a semiferis incolis hominibus quos non raro adeuntes nautae cum nullum linguae commercium habeant nutibus tantum et signis solent merces commutare. His ergo monstrantibus qui frequenter totum hoc mare obnauigauerunt, cognitum est mediterraneum esse et a septentrione quas diximus semiferas habere gentes, a meridie uero Saxonum ac Prutenorum litus per quod Iustula fluuius quondam Germaniae et Sarmatiae finitor in pelagus se exonerat, ab occidente Noruegiorum litoribus protegitur, ubi aestuali solstitio nox trium tantum horarum esse dignoscitur. Inter hoc litus et Cymbricam chersonessum ex Britannico pelago hoc mare influit quod Balteum appellamus, in quo Scandizam insulam sitam esse manifestum est, quam nunc partim Gothlandiam partim Scanciam appellant, late nimirum iacentem diuersisque nationibus plenam, praeter quas et Cymbrorum et Nouergorum complures in eam deductae sunt coloniae, Germanorum quoque ac Prutenorum, quibus ferme omnibus nostra aetate Christogenus rex Nouergiae imperat. In primis huius insulae oris quae ad Prutenos spectant brumali solstitio, quando longissima est nox duo deinginti horas non multum exsuperat; in extremis uero eius quae ad septentrionem uergunt nox uiginti horas uix implet et Claudium Ptolomaeum inscitiae arguit, qui quadraginta continuis diebus eam protendi scripsit.

<sup>837</sup> post Vlmerugorum add. quae loca nunc Pruteni incolunt C

<sup>838</sup> nomen ... exposuere] aeterno Gothiscandzae nomine regioni in qua primum copias exposuere imposito C

<sup>839</sup> cuius ... appellationem omm. C

<sup>840</sup> correxi ex friunt

<sup>841</sup> castra ... eos] castris motis C

<sup>842</sup> finitimos eorum] his finitimos C

<sup>843</sup> post adiecisse add. memorantur C

<sup>844</sup> his in regionibus] in iisdem regionibus C

<sup>845</sup> post hoc add. postea C

<sup>846</sup> Hercynia] Hercinia V<sup>1</sup> Hercina V

<sup>847</sup> et penetrata Hercynia silua omm. C

<sup>848</sup> extremis in transp. C

<sup>849</sup> oppido omm. C

Hunc quippe deum blandita sibi barbaries apud se credidit ortum, cui uesanae opinioni nobilis etiam noster poeta illo carmine alluisse uidetur<sup>850</sup> cum inquit:<sup>851</sup>

‘Gradiumque patrem Gethicis qui presidet aruis.’

Vnde istum<sup>852</sup> parentis<sup>853</sup> adiecta pietate deorum omnium<sup>854</sup> praecipua religione coluerunt, honores illi et tamquam numini et tamquam parenti<sup>855</sup> plurimos exhibentes. Huic belli deuuebant primitias, huic opima dicare spolia, huic exuias suspendere, huic asperrimis litare hostiis morte ipsa captiuorum, rati deum belli lubentissime hostili sanguine placari.<sup>856</sup>

⟨6⟩ Quis credere posset haec tam ferocia pectora philosophiae quoque studiis aliquando caluisse cultuque ipsius<sup>857</sup> impensius<sup>858</sup> flagrasse? Et tamen referet Dion Graecorum non ignobilis scriptor complures eorum usque adeo his studiis ualuisse<sup>859</sup> ut paucis Graecorum concederent,<sup>860</sup> praesertim Zeuten, Diceneum, Zamolxen, quamuis ceteris<sup>861</sup> praeferat Diceneum; quippe quem tradit ut studio sic auctoritate reliquos superasse, complurimosque Scytharum omnibus philosophiae traditionibus instituisse, physicen logicenque, ethicen<sup>862</sup> docuisse eiusque<sup>863</sup> legibus quas lingua sua bellagines appellant in codicibus descriptis uiuere assuefecisse, ac<sup>864</sup> usque adeo apud eos persuasionibus<sup>865</sup> ualuisse ut excisis<sup>866</sup> uitibus absque uino uicitare<sup>867</sup> fuerint contenti. Sed et Zamolxis magna apud eos auctoritas fuit. Nam cum hic<sup>868</sup> apud Pythagoram atque Aegyptios plurimam philosophiae siderumque rationem didicisset, tanta in admiratione cum apud omnes tum apud Gothorum regem est habitus ut eum non dubitauerit<sup>869</sup> in<sup>870</sup> regni societatem assumere, complurimaque ad ipsius non modo persuasionem sed et praescriptum agere,<sup>871</sup> et quia illum<sup>872</sup> multa praesagire et<sup>873</sup> ex stellarum

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<sup>850</sup> alluisse uidetur *transp.* C

<sup>851</sup> cum inquit *omm.* C

<sup>852</sup> Vnde istum] Idcirco hunc C

<sup>853</sup> *post* parentis *add.* quoque C

<sup>854</sup> deorum omnium] inter reliquos deos C

<sup>855</sup> parenti] patri C

<sup>856</sup> lubentissime ... placari] hostili sanguine maxime placari C

<sup>857</sup> ipsius] eius C

<sup>858</sup> impensius] mirifice C

<sup>859</sup> his studiis ualuisse] in hoc studiorum genere praestitisse C

<sup>860</sup> concederent] concesserint C

<sup>861</sup> *post* ceteris *add.* longe C

<sup>862</sup> physicen logicenque, ethicen] physicen, logicen ethicenque C

<sup>863</sup> eiusque] et morum C

<sup>864</sup> ac] atque C

<sup>865</sup> persuasionibus] persuadendo C

<sup>866</sup> *post* excisis *add.* ex omni agro C

<sup>867</sup> uicitare] uiuere C

<sup>868</sup> hic *omm.* C

<sup>869</sup> eum non dubitauerit] non dubitauerit eum C

<sup>870</sup> *ante* in *add.* rex C

<sup>871</sup> complurimaque ... agere] pluraque illius non modo suasu sed etiam praescripto agere C

<sup>872</sup> illum *omm.* C

<sup>873</sup> et] ac C

curso futura praedicere cognouerant<sup>874</sup> principio dei sacerdos cui maxima est apud eos<sup>875</sup> ueneratio,<sup>876</sup> deinde deorum in numero est relatus,<sup>877</sup> praesertim postquam subterraneam nactus specum in illam concessit, in quam ad colloquium nisi regem aut aliquem ministrorum /3r/ eius alium perraro admitteret.<sup>878</sup> Vnde multis postea saeculis mos apud illam perseuerauit nationem<sup>879</sup> ut semper aliquis inueniretur huiusmodi praeditus institutis<sup>880</sup> a quo Gothorum reges consilia responsaque<sup>881</sup> acciperent; adeo nullum est tam ferox mortalium genus quod superstitioni non sit obnoxium, animo humano nescio quo pacto<sup>882</sup> maius se numen uel sentiente uel metuente.

⟨7⟩ Haec natio Gothorum uno uocabulo omnis<sup>883</sup> a<sup>884</sup> principio nuncupata postquam consedit in Scythia<sup>885</sup> bifariam<sup>886</sup> accepit appellationem. Nam qui ad orientem porrecti solem superiores tenebant sedes, quae<sup>887</sup> a Boristene ad Meothidem pertinentes paludem<sup>888</sup> Prusiae nunc uocabulo cognominantur,<sup>889</sup> Ostrogothi id est orientales Gothi dicti sunt;<sup>890</sup> qui uero inter Boristenem ripasque Danubii<sup>891</sup> quam nunc Vlacchiam appellari diximus<sup>892</sup> ad occiduas tendebant oras,<sup>893</sup> Visigothi hoc est occidentales Gothi lingua patria nuncupabantur. Apud quos temporibus Syllae Boerebistas uir clara ortus familia per speciem praefecturae perpetuum usurpauit imperium praecipuam ad hoc<sup>894</sup> operam Ceneo nauante<sup>895</sup> uiro magicis<sup>896</sup> dedito, auguriorum peritissimo, et ceteris Aegyptiorum artibus apud quos diu peregrinatus fuerat apprime instructo. Is confirmata dominatione<sup>897</sup> gentiles suos assidua militaris disciplinae<sup>898</sup> exercitatione usque in id magnitudinis<sup>899</sup> extulit, ut armis in finitimos

<sup>874</sup> cognouerant] intelligebatur C

<sup>875</sup> post eos deleui est

<sup>876</sup> ueneratio] auctoritas C

<sup>877</sup> deorum in numero est relatus] in deorum numerum relatus C

<sup>878</sup> in quam ... admitteret] In quam perraro aliquem ad colloquium praeter regem aut aliquem ministrorum admittebat C

<sup>879</sup> illam perseuerauit nationem] eam nationem perseuerauit C

<sup>880</sup> ut semper ... institutis] ut semper aliquis huiusmodi uiueret institutis C

<sup>881</sup> responsaque] ac respons C

<sup>882</sup> animo ... pacto] nescio quo pacto mente nostra C

<sup>883</sup> Haec ... omnis] Haec omnis natio uno Gothorum uocabulo C

<sup>884</sup> a *omm.* C

<sup>885</sup> consedit in Scythia] in Scythia consedit C

<sup>886</sup> bifariam] duplicem C

<sup>887</sup> quae *omm.* C

<sup>888</sup> paludem *omm.* C

<sup>889</sup> Prusia nunc uocabulo cognominantur *omm.* C

<sup>890</sup> post sunt *add.* quae loca postea Roxani, quos nunc Ruthenos dicimus, obtinuerunt C

<sup>891</sup> Danubii] Histri C

<sup>892</sup> quam ... diximus] *omm.* C

<sup>893</sup> post oras *add.* quas nunc Vlacchos incolere diximus *add.* C

<sup>894</sup> hoc] id C

<sup>895</sup> Ceneo nauante *transp.* C

<sup>896</sup> magicis] magiae C

<sup>897</sup> confirmata dominatione] confirmato imperio C

<sup>898</sup> militaris disciplinae exercitatione] rei militaris exercitatione C

<sup>899</sup> in id magnitudinis] in tantum C



eductis cunctos suae dicioni parere compulerit et ducentorum milium conflato<sup>900</sup> exercitu Histrum audacter<sup>901</sup> transmiserit, primusque<sup>902</sup> Romanas prouincias aggredi ausus grandi detrimento affecerit. Diripuit enim Thraciam et usque in Macedoniam Illyricumque penetrauit, ex Gallis finitimis,<sup>903</sup> Thracibus et Illyriis maximas egit praedas; Boios, Tauriscos et subiectos Critasiro populos funditus deleuit, terroremque Romanis insignem incussit, donec ab Octauiio Augusto ad reprimendos barbarorum incursus Lucullus cum quingentis milibus armatorum<sup>904</sup> extincto Borebista missus est; a quo Gothi bello saepius profligati Mysiaque<sup>905</sup> pulsus, cum lares proprios repetere cogerentur, a Caesare Augusto<sup>906</sup> /3v/ Tarraconae agenti per legatos societatem domiciliaque Romano in solo exorarunt, quae Elianus Cato quinquaginta milibus per Mysiam Thraciamque distribuit; quadraginta autem<sup>907</sup> milia qui<sup>908</sup> Romanorum dedignati sunt<sup>909</sup> imperium, Germanorum freti auxiliis trans Danubium ad proprios penates remearunt. Verum dum nec ipsi manus continere nec Romani iniurias<sup>910</sup> perpeti sciunt quadringentis et eo amplius annis ante quam Italiam inuaderent cum omnibus ferme Romanis imperatoribus uaria fortuna conflictarunt,<sup>911</sup> fato ueluti quodam ad euertendum Romanum imperium destinati, saepe uicti saepe uictores exstiterunt,<sup>912</sup> nunc intra proprios compulsi fines nunc multas per<sup>913</sup> prouincias late diffusi, modo hostes modo milites rei publicae stipendia meruere.<sup>914</sup>

⟨8⟩ Sacramentis Christianae religionis, ut Ablabius eorum scriptor tradit, Valente imperante primum ex hac<sup>915</sup> occasione initiati sunt. Hunorum gens, et ipsa Scythica eo Gothis efferatior quo<sup>916</sup> gelidioribus atque<sup>917</sup> magis horridis enutrita rupibus, repente prorumpens e mediis Ripheis montibus, ubi claustra Alexandri feras gentes cohibere dicuntur, Ostrogothos sibi finitimos miserandam redegit in seruitutem, uenatu quaesita cerua per Meothidem iter monstrante. Nam cum Huni expulsis indigenis trans Meothidem auidi consedissent, ubi clementius genitili<sup>918</sup> nacti solum quieturi uidebantur, et accolae Heruli inuia paludis praesidio freti otiosius quiescerent, quidam Hunorum iuuenes excitam siluis ceruam auidius persequentes Meothidem intrare compellunt; illa notam ingressa uiam per uadosa loca

<sup>900</sup> conflato] coacto C

<sup>901</sup> audacter] mira audacia C

<sup>902</sup> post primusque add. Gothorum C

<sup>903</sup> finitimis] qui sunt finitimi C

<sup>904</sup> milibus armatorum transp. C

<sup>905</sup> Mysiaque] omnique Mysia C

<sup>906</sup> post Augusto add. ea tempestate C

<sup>907</sup> autem] uero C

<sup>908</sup> qui] quod C

<sup>909</sup> sunt] sint C

<sup>910</sup> iniurias] omm. C add. V<sup>1</sup>C

<sup>911</sup> conflictarunt] decertarunt C

<sup>912</sup> exstiterunt omm. C

<sup>913</sup> multas per transp. C

<sup>914</sup> modo hostes ... meruere] modo rei publicae infestissimi hostes prouincias dirripere, modo fidissimi milites stipendia merere C

<sup>915</sup> ex hac] huiusmodi C

<sup>916</sup> quo] quod V quo C

<sup>917</sup> atque] ac C

<sup>918</sup> genitili omm. C

expedito cursu in alteram ripam cita transuolat, quam primum secuti canes deinde iuuenum audaciores nullo equorum labore tam uasta lacus<sup>919</sup> spatia facile transmittunt locorumque amoenitate capti longius progrediuntur, hinc<sup>920</sup> obseruatis uestigiis reuersi ad suos cum nouarum desiderio regionum tum praecipue diuitis pollicitatione praedae illectos inflammant amicos,<sup>921</sup> et cupidos hiantesque per exploratum traducunt iter; qui inaccessa antea penetrantes loca siue casu siue ducentibus fati spem mortalium eludere solitis Herulos qui stagnantia /4r/ paludis obtinebant loca<sup>922</sup> inopinatos oscitantesque improuisi occupant, plurimaque affectos clade seruire compellunt. Pari celeritate felicitateque Alpizuros, Altilzuros, Itimaros, Tuncarsos, Boiscos et reliquos Scytharum circumuicinos subigunt populos, mox et in Alanos finitimos arma proferunt, qui quamuis essent uiribus pares, noua tamen et perhorrenda barbarorum forma saeuitiaque<sup>923</sup> territi,<sup>924</sup> post aliquot proelia manus tandem dedunt.<sup>925</sup>

⟨9⟩ Siquidem inter omnes barbaras nationes quas umquam Europa uidit nulla aut crudelior moribus aut forma foedior fuisse memoratur, praecipue in ipso aduentus eorum exordio. Atro<sup>926</sup> expauescendoque colore, infirmi facie, et quam potius turpissimae<sup>927</sup> carnis offam crederes, ni<sup>928</sup> illam circa patulas illaboratasque nares toruis duobus sed perexiguus quidem luminibus scintillantibus conspiceres. Vultus minacissimus immanem quandam animi audaciam prae se ferebat.<sup>929</sup> Stigmata candenti exarata ferro cum in omnibus tum praecipue in senibus aspectus horrorem exaugebant. Consueuerant enim nascentium liberorum ora uariis inurere notis, siue fera quapiam religione inducti siue immanes<sup>930</sup> homines immania instituta sectantes, ut prius natos ad uulnerum patientiam quam ad lactis assuescerent dulcedinem.<sup>931</sup> Quo fiebat ut genarum<sup>932</sup> inustae cicatrices pilorum gratiam non admitterent, sed cuncti ephebi imberbesque in uenusto admodum uultu consenescerent; rigida ceruice, pectore in superbiam exporrecto, statura breui sed arguta, latis humeris, agili corpore, gressu festino, alioque usu membrorum percelereres,<sup>933</sup> ac tali totius<sup>934</sup> corporis et motu et habitu ut demones potius quam homines parentes referrent,<sup>935</sup> et qui non<sup>936</sup> fabulosam sed omnino ueram<sup>937</sup> illam

<sup>919</sup> lacus] lacus VC pelagi C'

<sup>920</sup> hinc] hinc C inde C'

<sup>921</sup> amicos] animos C

<sup>922</sup> loca omm. C

<sup>923</sup> saeuitiaque] ac saeuitia C

<sup>924</sup> territi] terreri V territi C

<sup>925</sup> manus tandem dedunt] dant tandem manus C

<sup>926</sup> post Atro add. erant C

<sup>927</sup> turpissimae] turpissimam C

<sup>928</sup> ni] in V ni C

<sup>929</sup> prae se ferebat] praeferebat V prae se ferebat V' C

<sup>930</sup> immanes] immani V immanes C

<sup>931</sup> assuescerent dulcedinem] dulcedinem assuefacerent C

<sup>932</sup> genarum] in genis C

<sup>933</sup> percelereres] expedito C

<sup>934</sup> ac tali totius] Tali postremo totius C

<sup>935</sup> homines parentes referrent] hominum genere sati uiderentur C

<sup>936</sup> et qui non] nec C

<sup>937</sup> omnino ueram] ueram prorsus C

quam scriptores tradunt originis suae seriem faterentur.<sup>938</sup> Refert quippe Iordanus Philimirum qui primus Gothos a Germanico oceano ad Ponti oras perduxit non nullas suo in<sup>939</sup> exercitu mulieres notasse magas ac<sup>940</sup> maleficas, quas quoniam pestiferas bonis cernebat moribus<sup>941</sup> diligentius peruestigatas, uniuersas trans Meothidem uasta illa in deserta relegasse, atque ibi longa prius demonum /4v/ consuetudine deinde et frequenti concubitu usas fuisse, ex eoque hoc hominum tam prodigiosum genus procreasse. Hoc si minus naturae congruit, moribus tamen formaeque eorum ita quadrabat ut uniuersi mortales rem potius seriam quam fictam esse non dubitent.<sup>942</sup> Quae opinio plurimum hominibus<sup>943</sup> exaugebat terrorem ita<sup>944</sup> ut in ipso armorum concursu cum demonibus potius quam cum hominibus manus se conserere putarent.<sup>945</sup>

⟨10⟩ Ceterum hoc terrore<sup>946</sup> nihil aut penitus parum<sup>947</sup> apud Ostrogothos perquam diu profuerunt. Vniuersum<sup>948</sup> enim illum metum Hermanarici regis praesens uirtus dictis factisque uanum esse monstrabat. Nam paria utrisque arma erant, uiresque quibus<sup>949</sup> nec segnius Gothi equos currere<sup>950</sup> nec minus strenue neruo arcus intendere spiculaque adigere callebant. Vsus quoque bellandi non inferior,<sup>951</sup> utrisque ergo ambiguo Marte decertantibus<sup>952</sup> inuenere

<sup>938</sup> faterentur] demonstrarent C

<sup>939</sup> suo in *transp.* C

<sup>940</sup> ac] atque C

<sup>941</sup> pestiferas ... moribus] moribus pestiferas cernebat C

<sup>942</sup> uniuersas trans Meothidem ... esse non dubitent] *exp. C in:* in unam nauem imposuisse, et secundo flante uento incertis undis periclitaturas commisisse; illas, cum aliquandiu sine remige et sine gubernatore per undas errassent, tandem trans Meothidem in litus desertum expositas, inde in siluas longius progressas, et mox demonum consuetudine deinde ipso etiam concubitu assuetas, tam prodigiosum hominum genus procreasse, non modo supra mortalium fidem uerum etiam supra ipsius naturae iura. Tametsi non nulli theologorum facto fidem non abrogent complurimisque et rationibus et exemplis astruant non nullos malignorum spirituum succubos esse atque incubos miraque fraude naturae, assumptis maris feminaeque personis, semen a uiris acceptum per concubitus speciem raptim in mulieres transfundere atque ex illo non numquam liberos concipi et post legitimum tempus in lucem edi, quo pacto Merlinum natum asseuerant, mathematicarum artium inter Germanos praestantia notum. Nos quoque ex huiusmodi monstro congressu natum uidisse fateri puderet, ni eius rei innumeri ferme testes adhuc superuierent in Segnia Liburniae urbe, cuius ecclesiae immeriti praefuimus. Vbi nobilis matrona incorruptae pudicitiae fama celebris post mortem uiri demonem ad se forma mariti crebro uentitantem inuita saepius passa, et frequenter familiarium tumultuario praesidio nequicquam defensa, hunc quem diximus filium peperit paruum Bathium appellatum a Bathiae olim matris uiri nomine, exiguo corpore ac deformi, curtis brachiis, et facie qua Scythas uidere solemus, lata atque obesa et parum ab hac Hunorum quam descripsimus dissimili. Nec demon uexare mulierem destitit, donec alterius filii opera ex equestri ordine, cui Georgio nomen erat, sepulcrum patris reseratum, inuentumque corpus uiuidum ac recens, plurimo rubens sanguine et dormienti simile, Episcopi Andreae praedecessoris nostri iussu acuta sude fuerit transfixum. Siue igitur aliqua huiusmodi demonum machinatione siue legitima parentum opera Huni fuerint procreati, inuisa tamen forma quae demonum potius quam hominum referebat imaginem faciebat, ut uniuersi minime fictam illorum originem quin potius seriam ueramque crederent.

<sup>943</sup> hominibus] hominibus VC mortalibus C'

<sup>944</sup> ita *omm.* C

<sup>945</sup> manus ... putarent] sese manus conserere existimarent C sese congregari existimarent C'

<sup>946</sup> hoc terrore] hac territandi ratione C

<sup>947</sup> nihil ... parum] nihil fere C

<sup>948</sup> Vniuersum] Omnem C

<sup>949</sup> uiresque quibus] pares uires C

<sup>950</sup> currere] currere VC agitare C'

<sup>951</sup> Vsus ... inferior] Vsus quoque bellandi nequaquam erant inferiores C

<sup>952</sup> decertantibus] diu certantibus C

tandem<sup>953</sup> fata uiam qua morantem sua consilia Hermanaricum e medio tollerent. Femina erat inter Gothos Sunilda nomine, perfida Rosomonorum orta familia, perditae prorsus audaciae et saeuitiae uiperinae. Haec non<sup>954</sup> grauibus instigata iniuriis maritum necasse comperta est, quod ad Hermanaricum delatum scelus, ut poenae atrocitas reliquas a similibus<sup>955</sup> ausis deterreret, crudele facinus crudeliori exemplo ulciscendum putauit. Proinde ferocibus illigatam equis citatis cursibus fecit in diuersa diuelli. Hoc facto offensi uehementius mulieris fratres, quorum alteri Hammio alteri Saro nomen erat, Hermanarici latus ferro aperiunt ac per illud Hunis in Ostrogothos uiam pandunt. Hermanaricus enim per aetatis grauitatem, quam iam centesimum decimumque impleuerat annum,<sup>956</sup> uulneris dolorem euincere non praeualens<sup>957</sup> fatali morte Gothis occubuit, quippe qui tali<sup>958</sup> praesidio destituti confestim in Balamiri Hunorum regis miserandam deuenere seruitutem.<sup>959</sup> Cuius<sup>960</sup> metu exterriti Visigothi in Romanorum fidem tutelamque confugere decreuerunt. Itaque missis ad Valentem oratoribus<sup>961</sup> per quos polliciti sunt se Christianos futuros, leges quascumque imposuisset laturos, perpetua /5r/ in fide potestateque Romani mansuros imperii,<sup>962</sup> ac pro muro aduersum<sup>963</sup> Hunos et alios quoslibet hostes rei publicae<sup>964</sup> futuros,<sup>965</sup> nec traditis nec postulatis armis trans Danubium Mysiam inhabitare permissi sunt.

⟨11⟩ Est autem Danubius qui et Hister lingua Bessorum dicitur teste Lucano post Nilum fluuiorum omnium maximus, Scythiam Europae ut scriptorum uetusti uolunt a meridie determinans. Oritur autem<sup>966</sup> ex monte Adula non magno fonte in Germaniae solo, iuxta Sueuos Hercyniaeque siluae principia,<sup>967</sup> inter populos olim Brixantas nunc Vindelios appellatos, uix centum et quadraginta milibus passuum ab ultimo Adriatico sinu Chorum uersus. Vnde in orientem excurrans solem, hinc Rhetiam illinc Germaniae principia non grandi interluit alueo, donec, Licii amnis ex Alpibus per mediam nunc Bauariam olim inter Rhaetiam Vindeliciamque ruentis undis adiutus, uiolentior Vindeliorum<sup>968</sup> campos abrumpit a Samarticis montibus,<sup>969</sup> quibus modo in medio Germanorum Bohemi clauduntur. Hinc cum

<sup>953</sup> tandem] tandendem *V* tandem *C*

<sup>954</sup> post non *add.* adeo *C*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>955</sup> similibus] huiusmodi *C*

<sup>956</sup> quam ... annum] iam enim decimum supra centesimum annum impleuerat *C*

<sup>957</sup> uulneris ... praeualens] cum uulneris dolorem superare nequiret *C*

<sup>958</sup> tali] tali *VC* tanto *C*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>959</sup> post seruitutem *add. in marg. C*<sup>1</sup>: Res profecto ita se habent, ⟨ut⟩ plura regna domesticis diss⟨en⟩sionibus quam hostili uiolentia ⟨s⟩cindantur, et priuatae simult⟨er⟩ publicarum rerum summam frequen⟨ter⟩ euertant, quem ad modum et ⟨hu⟩manis corporibus nihil citiu⟨s⟩ quam dissidentes inter se hum⟨anum⟩ affert exitium; qui si concordēs fuerint, uel maximis peregrī⟨nis⟩ malis saepe obsistunt. Sic et O⟨stro⟩ gothorum imperium, quod nulla u⟨is⟩ externa euincere potuit, f⟨a⟩miliaris indignatio repent⟨e⟩ subuertit.

<sup>960</sup> post Cuius *add.* rei *C*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>961</sup> oratoribus] legatis *C*

<sup>962</sup> mansuros imperii] imperii mansuros *C*

<sup>963</sup> pro muro aduersum] ueluti propugnaculum aduersus *C*

<sup>964</sup> hostes rei publicae] rei publicae hostes *C*

<sup>965</sup> post futuros *add.* quapropter *C*

<sup>966</sup> autem] uero *C*

<sup>967</sup> post principia *add.* quam nostra aetas Siluam Nigram appellat *C*

<sup>968</sup> Vindeliorum] Vindeliciorum *C*

<sup>969</sup> abrumpit ... montibus] a Sarmaticis abrumpit montibus *C*

multorum accessu annium tum praecipue Eni fluminis quem Iuliae Alpes inter Vindeliciam Noricumque<sup>970</sup> fundunt multa ui aquarum exauctus, brumalem uersus ortum magnis uoluminibus per superiora Austriae<sup>971</sup> superbus spatatur; eo quippe nunc appellamus uocabulo<sup>972</sup> tam Noricum quod ab Alpibus inter Enum fluuium et Ticinium<sup>973</sup> montem ad Danubium pertinet, quam illos populos qui<sup>974</sup> citra Hercyniam siluam oppositi<sup>975</sup> Flauianae ciuitati<sup>976</sup> cui Vienna dicunt<sup>977</sup> ad Danubii porriguntur<sup>978</sup> ripas. Per has ergo regiones plurimis annium auxiliis Histro altius intumescenti et grandiores iam insulas molienti ubi Gorettam<sup>979</sup> siluam ab laeua relinquit, iuxta Sabariam sanctissimi pontificis<sup>980</sup> Martini natali celebrem ab australi plaga colles occurrunt a Ticinio<sup>981</sup> monte qui Superiorem Pannoniam a Norico disternat procurrentes, quos Danubius dedignatus iter in circum<sup>982</sup> flectit, per quod alias molitus insulas Superiorem Pannoniam a Turogis Adrabisque diuidit, Germaniae quondam populis nunc Hunorum ditionis. Quos uasto praeterlapsus pelago duas ingentes amplexus insulas ad Iaurinum ciuitatem /5v/ euadit, ubi Sabarum fluuium excipit Superioris Inferiorisque Pannoniae terminatorem cuius ope praepotens effectus fines Boemorum<sup>983</sup> ab Inferiore arcet Pannonia, qui iam olim Hunorum potentia occupati sicut in ius uictoris ita in nomen quoque concessere.<sup>984</sup> Hoc in cursu duas uastiores insulas longis circumuolutas<sup>985</sup> spiris supra Strigonium relinquit, primam Hunorum metropolim ex qua profectus occursantes submouens<sup>986</sup> colles,<sup>987</sup> ubi primum ab aquilone<sup>988</sup> in austrum uergere incipit Bledam subit urbem haud multum edito in colle a Bleda fratre Attilae conditam<sup>989</sup> et iam pridem sede regis Hunorum claram.

⟨12⟩ Hinc cum primum se in patentes expedit campos, octingentorum ferme stadiorum circuitu insulam ambit<sup>990</sup> quam ⟨*omm. litt.*⟩ incolae appellant<sup>991</sup> totam frequenti Mysiorum<sup>992</sup>

<sup>970</sup> Noricumque] ac Noricum C

<sup>971</sup> post Austriae add. ac Styriae C

<sup>972</sup> eo ... uocabulo] His enim nunc nominibus appellamus C

<sup>973</sup> Ticinium] Ticium C

<sup>974</sup> illos populos qui] omnem eam oram quae C

<sup>975</sup> oppositi] opposita C

<sup>976</sup> ciuitati] urbi C

<sup>977</sup> dicunt] nomen est C

<sup>978</sup> porriguntur] porrigitur C

<sup>979</sup> Gorettam] Gabrettam C

<sup>980</sup> sanctissimi pontificis] diui C

<sup>981</sup> Ticinio] Ticio VC

<sup>982</sup> circum] circium V circum C

<sup>983</sup> Boemorum] Boemorum VC Polonorum C'

<sup>984</sup> post concessere add. Hanc ipsam totam trans Danubium septentrionalem plagam quam modo Vngari obtinent olim etiam Gepidae tenuere nostra aetas Sepusium partem Vngariae appellat. C

<sup>985</sup> circumuolutas] circumuoluta V circumuolutas C

<sup>986</sup> submouens] submouet C

<sup>987</sup> post colles add. et C

<sup>988</sup> ab aquilone] ad aquilonem V ab aquilone C

<sup>989</sup> post conditam add. nunc Budam uocitam C

<sup>990</sup> octingentorum ... ambit] rursum duas insulas ambit una octingentorum ferme stadiorum circuitu C

<sup>991</sup> quam ⟨*omm. litt.*⟩ incolae appellant *omm.* C

<sup>992</sup> Mysiorum add. C

colono refertam. Ea dimissa uastum sulcans camporum aequor lentior sed semper angustior incedit, a dextris habens Inferiorem Pannoniam a sinistris Iasigum Metanastarum latissimos campos (quos nunc ad Tibiscum usque amnem et Carpatios montes qui Transiluaniam ab Vngaria diuidunt partim Huni partim Philistei colunt), nec uitem patientes nec ullam prorsus ferentes arborem sed armentis frugibusque peridoneos. Per quos<sup>993</sup> Danubius magnis curuatus spatiis ubi non longe infra Quinque Ecclesiarum ciuitatem<sup>994</sup> Drauum fluuium admittit et ipsum quidem insignem Noricis in montibus ortum Pannoniis post terga relictis, iter in notum spectans inter Sirmium Illyriorum et reliquos Iasigarum campos utrosque accolat Hunorum regi seruiantes, non nullas stagnans paludes plurimum sinuosus ingreditur<sup>995</sup> Vilacum, Baciam, Futacum, multa praeterea hinc inde Hunorum praeterlabens oppida, donec apud Taurinum Triballorum quondam emporium (quod nunc Nandralba idem Belgradum nuncupatur Tibisco amne cui Ticiae Tissaeque dicunt<sup>996</sup>) ex Carpati iugis in se recepto Sauo flumini e diuersa regione uenienti commiscetur et ipsi quidem nobissimo ex montibus<sup>997</sup> Noricis haud multum supra Iulium<sup>998</sup> Carnicum ciuitatem nunc Labarum eandem Lubianam<sup>999</sup> decurrenti.<sup>1000</sup>

⟨13⟩ Apud /6r/ hoc Taurinum celeberrimis Turcorum obsidionibus inclitum Argonautae quondam Danubii petentes fontem aberrasse creduntur ambigua alueorum amplitudine decepti, Danubii amne a dextris relicto et ad occidentem spectantes solem aduersum Sauo undas ad Iulium<sup>1001</sup> usque Carnicum urbem<sup>1002</sup> nauigasse; inde Nauportum amnem subiisse, cui nomen ex ea causa inditum testatur Plinius inter Alpes Emonamque exorienti,<sup>1003</sup> quae ad radices Alpium Histriae<sup>1004</sup> sita fuisse<sup>1005</sup> noscitur triginta haud<sup>1006</sup> amplius milibus passuum ab ultimo sinu<sup>1007</sup> Adriatico, in quem prope Tergestum ciuitatem translata<sup>1008</sup> nauem rursus conscendisse putantur, et per Adriaticum Ionicumque pelagus ad suos in Graeciam remeasse. Quod factum Theopompo et Eratostheni ceterisque antiquis scriptoribus multiplicis erroris causa fuit, quod<sup>1009</sup> crediderunt uniuersam Graeciam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, ambas Mysias, totumque Illyricum, Dalmatiam ac<sup>1010</sup> Epirum posse partim marium partim Danubii fluminis

<sup>993</sup> quos] hos *C*

<sup>994</sup> ciuitatem] oppidum *C*

<sup>995</sup> post ingreditur *add. Colociam C*

<sup>996</sup> cui Ticiae Tissaeque dicunt] quem Ticiam aliqui non nulli Tissam appellant *C*

<sup>997</sup> post montibus *del. item V*

<sup>998</sup> Iulium] Iulianum *V Iulium V<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>999</sup> nunc Labarum eandem Lubianam *add. V<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>1000</sup> ex montibus ... decurrenti] ex montibus Carnicis decurrenti *C*

<sup>1001</sup> Iulium] Iulianum *V Iulium V<sup>l</sup> C*

<sup>1002</sup> usque Carnicum urbem] usque Carnicum quod oppidum incolae uulgo Lubianam appellant *C*

<sup>1003</sup> inde ... exorienti] *V<sup>l</sup>* inde Nauportum amnem subiisse cui nomen ex ea causa impositum credit Plinius inter Alpes Emonam exorienti *C*

<sup>1004</sup> Istriae *omm. C*

<sup>1005</sup> fuisse] esse *V fuisse V<sup>l</sup> C*

<sup>1006</sup> haud] aut *V haud C*

<sup>1007</sup> sinu] sino *V sinu C*

<sup>1008</sup> post translata *add. umeris C<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>1009</sup> quod] quo *V siquidem C*

<sup>1010</sup> ac] atque *C*

perpetua nauigatione lustrari; putantes<sup>1011</sup> Danubii undas ex Histriae oriri montibus atque ideo Histrum appellari, partem autem undarum<sup>1012</sup> eius in Adriaticum cadere reliquam per tot Europae spatia decurrentem in Pontum euolui. Sed nos ommissis antiquorum erroribus ad uerum Danubii cursum redeamus, qui accepto apud Taurinum Sauo laeua Ripensem Daciam, Superiorem Mysiam eandem et Seruiam<sup>1013</sup> dextra perstringens,<sup>1014</sup> paulatim ad aestium ortum instar pelagi tacitus delabatur, non nullis in locis occurrentes montes uel perrumpens uel altius submouens<sup>1015</sup> ad Nicopolim tandem euadit, oppidum Heraclii imperatoris uictoria et morte filii regis Cosdroae admodum insigne<sup>1016</sup>. Exstant enim hoc in loco<sup>1017</sup> ad hanc usque diem prodeuntes ex alueo columnae<sup>1018</sup> non quidem aquarum uincentes altitudinem uerum summis in undis<sup>1019</sup> ita latitantes ut incautas nautas damno nauium<sup>1020</sup> uitare insidiantes plerumque<sup>1021</sup> admoneant. Ex hoc loco in notum<sup>1022</sup> inclinat in uicinum apud Meseuriam Euxinum Pontum<sup>1023</sup> proculdubio casurus ni<sup>1024</sup> longius procurrentibus ex monte Emo iugis qui Superiorem Mysiam ab Inferiore separant quam Bulgariam uocant<sup>1025</sup>, prohibitus attingere Thraciam ab Asprocastro /6v/ oppido uiam in arctoum se flecti<sup>1026</sup> compulsus fuisset.

⟨14⟩ Hoc in flexu tertio anno summi pontificis Pii<sup>1027</sup> impurissimus Mahometus Turcorum imperator a compluribus Vlacchorum proceribus aduersum tyrannum eorum Draculum<sup>1028</sup> sollicitatus, Histro transmissis cum centum et quinquaginta pugnatoribus totam per Vlacchiam diu illum est persecutus et tandem monte in uno nactum<sup>1029</sup> obsedit in quo se Vlacchus natura loci fretus cum uiginti quattuor milibus qui eum sponte secuti fuerant concluderat. Vbi cum sibi tandem uel fame pereundum cerneret uel in manus truculentissimi hostis deueniendum, utrumque fortissimis uiris turpissimum ratus, memorandum ausus facinus, cohortatus est suos partitis copiis hostium castra inuadere et uel fortiter pugnando gloriose occumbere uel si fortuna coeptis fauisset hostem inaudito exemplo ulcisci.<sup>1030</sup> Itaque non

<sup>1011</sup>putantes] rati C

<sup>1012</sup>undarum *omm.* C

<sup>1013</sup>eandem et Seruiam] quam nostra aetas partim Seruiam partim Rasciam uocat C

<sup>1014</sup>perstringens] perstringet et C

<sup>1015</sup>*post* submouens *add.* Et C

<sup>1016</sup>insigne] inclitum C

<sup>1017</sup>Exstant enim hoc in loco] Exstant eo in loco C

<sup>1018</sup>prodeuntes ex alueo columnae] in alueo columnae C

<sup>1019</sup>summis in undis] summas usque undas C inter summas undas C'

<sup>1020</sup>nauium] carinarum C

<sup>1021</sup>insidiantes plerumque] pericula frequenter C

<sup>1022</sup>Ex hoc loco in notum] Ex eo loco Ister ad notum C

<sup>1023</sup>Pontum *omm.* C

<sup>1024</sup>ni] in V ni C

<sup>1025</sup>separant quam Bulgariam uocant] quam uocant Bulgariam separant C

<sup>1026</sup>se flecti] deflectere C

<sup>1027</sup>summi pontificis Pii] Pii secundi pontificis maximi C

<sup>1028</sup>*post* Draculum *add.* nomine C

<sup>1029</sup>monte in uno nactum] in quodam monte eum nactus C

<sup>1030</sup>cohortatus est ... ulcisci] aduocatis enim militibus et statu rerum ante oculos posito, facile eis persuasit ut partitis copiis hostium castra inuaderent et uel fortiter pugnando cum laude et gloria occumberent uel si fortuna coeptis fauisset hostem inaudito exemplo ulciscerent C

nullis Turcorum ducibus usus quos<sup>1031</sup> sub uesperum incautius pabulantes<sup>1032</sup> exceperat prima noctis<sup>1033</sup> uigilia cum parte copiarum uallo perrupto castra Turci ingressus,<sup>1034</sup> tota nocte fulguris<sup>1035</sup> instar per omnia discurrens plurima caede affecit, et si<sup>1036</sup> uel illo ductori<sup>1037</sup> cui reliquam copiarum crediderat manum<sup>1038</sup> tantundem animi fuisset uel Turci monita imperatoris leuius acceperat, quibus saepius iussi fuerant propter nocturnos tumultus stationes non deserere,<sup>1039</sup> maximam clarissimamque proculdubio<sup>1040</sup> uictoriam Vlacchus reportasset. Sed cum nec socius ductor altera ex parte ut condictum<sup>1041</sup> erat castra aggredi auderet nec Turci ob eam rem minus strenue per sua loca tutarentur. Draculus incredibili strage edita non multis adeo ut in tanto discrimine suorum amissis complurimis tamen sauciatis antequam dies illuxisset<sup>1042</sup> castra egressus hostium<sup>1043</sup> ad eosdem se montes recepit, nemine persequi audente tantum et laboris et terroris cunctis incusserat. Accepi a fide digno uiro quod eo in bello cum Turcis militauerat imperatorem<sup>1044</sup> per eam noctem suis desperantem rebus clam castra deseruisse seque<sup>1045</sup> turpissime fugae commisisse,<sup>1046</sup> ni castigatus ab amicis et paene uiolenter moratus illucescente die non mota castra uidisset,<sup>1047</sup> in quae reuersus cum et grauem suorum /7r/ uidisset plagam et ferre Hunos Draculo<sup>1048</sup> suppetias acceperat, redire festinauit Danubiumque<sup>1049</sup> eodem in loco remensus est ex quo ut diximus fluuius<sup>1050</sup> uiam in arctoum deflectit; quam multis milibus<sup>1051</sup> passuum emensus ubi primum obices montium ipsum a pelago<sup>1052</sup> arcentes euincere potuit<sup>1053</sup> patentes excurrens in campos<sup>1054</sup> septem latissimis ostiis inter Inferiorem Mysiam et Getharum campos in Pontum euoluitur, octo ingentibus insulis effectis multo habitatore cultis<sup>1055</sup>, praecipue Peuces illa

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<sup>1031</sup>quos] quos quos *V* quos *C*

<sup>1032</sup>sub uesperum incautius pabulantes] incautius palantes sub uesperum *C*

<sup>1033</sup>noctis] nectis *V* noctis *C*

<sup>1034</sup>post ingressus *add.* et *C*

<sup>1035</sup>fulguris] fulminis *C*

<sup>1036</sup>affecit, et si] affecit. Quod si *C*

<sup>1037</sup>illo ductori] alteri ex ducibus *C*

<sup>1038</sup>crediderat manum *transp.* *C*

<sup>1039</sup>leuius ... deserere] quibus saepius iussi fuerant ob nocturnos tumultus stationes non deserere negligentius seruassent *C*

<sup>1040</sup>clarissimamque proculdubio *transp.* *C*

<sup>1041</sup>condictum] institutum *C*

<sup>1042</sup>illuxisset] illucesceret *C*

<sup>1043</sup>egressus hostium *transp.* *C*

<sup>1044</sup>Accepi ... imperatorem] Exploratum habeo ab his qui huic proelio interfuere imperatorem Turcorum *C*

<sup>1045</sup>post seque *add.* iam *C*

<sup>1046</sup>post commisisse *add.* secuturus nimirum iter *C*

<sup>1047</sup>uiolenter ... uidisset] inuitus retractus illucescente mox die castra sua immota prospexisset *C*

<sup>1048</sup>ferre Hunos Draculo] Hunos Draculo ferre *C*

<sup>1049</sup>redire festinauit Danubiumque] redire qua uenerat festinauit Histrumque *C*

<sup>1050</sup>ut diximus fluuius] flumen *C*

<sup>1051</sup>milibus] milium *V* milibus *V'* *C*

<sup>1052</sup>post pelago *add.* se *C*

<sup>1053</sup>euincere potuit] edomuit *C*

<sup>1054</sup>patentes ... campos] in patentes excurrens campos *C*

<sup>1055</sup>habitatore cultis *transp.* *C*



memorabilis<sup>1056</sup> in qua Syrmus Triballorum rex Alexandrum fugiens aduersus eius impetum dicitur obstitisse; in ea nunc et urbs non ignobilis perstat<sup>1057</sup> communique cum insula appellatione Pizi nuncupatur. Infra hanc Darius celebratam illam scriptoribus expeditionem in Scythas faciens Danubium ponte uinxisse narratur. Imminet enim<sup>1058</sup> quindecim milibus passuum Ierostomo hoc est sacro ostio quo maximo et primo e Thracia uenientibus<sup>1059</sup> Hister se in Pontum exonerat, a quo orientem uersus solem septimum ostium quadraginta ferme miliaris<sup>1060</sup> abest, intra quod spatium reliqua quinque ostia Danubii undas in mare effundunt.<sup>1061</sup>

⟨15⟩ Totus<sup>1062</sup> cursus frequentibus uicis celeberrimisque oppidis ac ciuitatibus utraque ripa exornatus quater decies centenis milibus passuum protenditur. Quo toto in spatio quattuor et sexaginta haud ignobilia flumina in eum conduntur quaecumque tam<sup>1063</sup> a Vindelicis, Noricis, Illyricis, Mysiisque cadunt montibus quaeque<sup>1064</sup> a Germanicis Scythicisque<sup>1065</sup> meridiem uersus decurrunt, quorum complurima<sup>1066</sup> et ipsa sunt nauigabilia atque ideo<sup>1067</sup> minime purus aut nitidus,<sup>1068</sup> uerum<sup>1069</sup> turbulentus limosusque manat. Patet compluribus in locis plusquam mille passibus in<sup>1070</sup> altum uero ducentis pedibus reconditur.<sup>1071</sup> Piscium feracissimus, totus ferme nauigabilis hieme excepta qua tam alta tamque potenti<sup>1072</sup> quot annis glacie solidatur ut quam grauissimis curribus maximisque exercitatibus tutum praebeat iter. Per hunc iam negotiatores omnes occidentales<sup>1073</sup> merces ab Oceano per Rhenum qui eodem ex monte Adula funditur nauigiis subuectas /7v/ et apud Sueuos in Danubium curruum ministerio translatas per totam Superiorem Alemaniam,<sup>1074</sup> Vngariam Vlachiamque et Mysiam importare consueuerunt.

⟨16⟩ Postquam igitur Gothi Danubio transmissio in Mysia conseruerunt missos ad se Arianae perfidiae episcopos qua misere laborabat imperator uenerabundi suscipiunt quorum nefariis sacris uesana barbaries magis corrupta est quam purgata.<sup>1075</sup> Nam religionem quidem illam

<sup>1056</sup>Peuces illa memorabilis] Peuce illa memorabili C

<sup>1057</sup>perstat] exstat C

<sup>1058</sup>enim] autem C

<sup>1059</sup>primo ... uenientibus] e Thracia uenientibus primo C

<sup>1060</sup>miliaris] milibus passuum C passuum milibus C<sup>l</sup>

<sup>1061</sup>reliqua ... effundunt] reliquis quinque ostiis Danubius in mare effunditur C

<sup>1062</sup>post Totus add. eius C

<sup>1063</sup>quaecumque tam] quae partim C

<sup>1064</sup>quaeque] partim C

<sup>1065</sup>Scythicisque] Sarmaticis Daciisque C

<sup>1066</sup>complurima] pleraque C

<sup>1067</sup>atque ideo] quapropter C

<sup>1068</sup>aut nitidus *omm.* C

<sup>1069</sup>uerum] sed C

<sup>1070</sup>in *omm.* C

<sup>1071</sup>reconditur] reconditur VC conditur C<sup>l</sup>

<sup>1072</sup>potenti] praedura C

<sup>1073</sup>occidentales] ab occidentali plaga C

<sup>1074</sup>Alemaniam] Germaniam C

<sup>1075</sup>missos ... purgata] missi ad eos ab imperatore Arianae perfidiae qua ipse quoque misere laborabat aliquot episcopi fuere, quos uenerabundi susceperunt, eorumque sacris magis polluti sunt quam purgati C; *post* episcopi fuere *add.* inter quos potior Gudibas habebatur habebatur C<sup>l</sup>

prophanam retinuerunt,<sup>1076</sup> ceterum fidem Romano debitam imperio priuatis exasperati iniuriis euestigio irritam fecere. Dum enim Lupicinus et Maximus quos imperator hospitibus annonam aliaque necessaria procurare<sup>1077</sup> praefecerat quaestui<sup>1078</sup> dediti rem auarius administrant, uniuersam Gothis pecuniam extorserunt, qua exhausta cuncta illos supellectili spoliant;<sup>1079</sup> nec inueniente modum auaritia omnia illis ademerunt mancipia.<sup>1080</sup> Iamque deficientibus omnibus non est ueritus auarus mercator liberos carissima pignora a complexu parentum pretium uictus exigere, singulumque mancipium uno pane aut decem libris carniū mercari, atque feruescente auara cupidine immundorum animalium cadauera pro suillis bouinisque carnibus uenumdare. Inexplebilis habendi ardor caeca corda occupauerant et ad congerendum auidas manus cogere non desinebat, quoadusque ut assolet cum auiditate congesta graui cum maerore non dissipasset. Et tamen parentes miseri pro liberorum salute solliciti non dubitabant, ingenti dolore suo incolumitati eorum consulere malentes ingenuitatem perire quam uitam. Cumque Fridegerinus, Alatheus et Safrac, Gothorum reguli qui per ea tempora totius nationis curam gerebant, tam detestandam facinus aequis oculis diutius spectare nequirent, coeperunt clam cum quibusdam congruere ut se tam auara tamque nefanda Romanorum seruitute in libertatem uendicarent; eo iam rerum esse uentum ut praestabilius sit ferro in bello occumbere quam in hac flagitiosissima pace per nostram socordiam et Romanorum auaritiam fame perire, spem tum rei bene gerendae optimam se offerre cum abest longius /8r/ imperator cum graui Parthorum occupatus bello diutius detinetur, cum haec contemnenda praesidia facile sunt pellenda, cum omnes hae regiones militibus uacuae nullo negotio nostrae poterimus subicere ditioni, quarum aut obtinebimus imperium aut corrasas opes alio asportabimus, meliorem fortunam quocumque ibimus proculdubio inuenturi. Haec sentiens Lupicinus statuit Fridegerinum quem auctorem coeptae didicerat conspiracy per insidias ferro praeoccupare. Itaque uocatum ad cenam iubet dato signo obtruncare pariter et ipsius familiares omnes, quos in penitiorae aedium parte discumbere fecerat. Sed ministri (coelesti ut opinor aliquo numine tantum nefas aduertente) cum prius a regulo incohare debuissent, famulos trucidare coeperunt, quorum Fridegerinus moribundas hauriens uoces mox nudato gladio opportunam laborantibus tulit opem, quorum complurimis liberatis ad suos se uiriliter corripuit,<sup>1081</sup> et non nullorum morte uulneribusque facta flagitii fide Gothos iamdudum odio Romanorum ardentis ad capienda arma uehementius instigat, quibus et celeriter et lubenter correptis ambos praefectos cum suis praesidiis trucidant.

⟨17⟩ Mox et maius ausi facinus uniuersam Mysiam Thraciamque diripiunt suaeque subigunt seruituti. Ita simul et fame se a Romanorum corripuit seruituti et ex seruis extemplo domini effecti cunctis illis nationibus quae ad Danubium pertinent plane imperitari coeperunt. Quod audiens imperator, qui ea tempestate ab expeditione Parthorum reuersus Antiochiae degebat, confestim exercitum Constantinopolim perducere maturat ingressusque Thraciam instructis copiis aduersum Gothos profectus est quibuscum ad radices montis Emi, qui ex Macedonia in Pontum decurrens Thraciam a Mysiam disterminat, non longe ab Hadrianopoli infeliciter pugnauit. Nam in ipso proelii congressu Romanorum equitatus Gothorum impetum

<sup>1076</sup>retinuerunt] imbibuerunt C

<sup>1077</sup>hospitibus ... procurare] annonae hospitibus parandae aliisque necessariis procurandis C

<sup>1078</sup>quaestui] quaestu V quaestui C

<sup>1079</sup>cuncta ... spoliant] omni simul supellectili illos exuere non dubitauere C

<sup>1080</sup>omnia ... mancipia] mancipia quoque adimere coeperunt C

<sup>1081</sup>corripuit] eripuit C

sustinere non ualens coactus est legionum nudare latera, quae sagittarum obrutae nubibus principio ordinibus turbatis loca deserunt /8v/ subinde instantibus ferocius barbaris dissipantur in fugamque uertuntur. Sed paucis fuga saluti fuit, quando quidem pauor exanimatis consilium uirisque ademerat et patentes latius campi peditem equiti subducere non ualebant. Cadebat passim Romanus miles et nequicquam fugiens terga hosti caedenda foedius exhibebat. Hi equorum impetu humi disiecti currentium unguis obterrebantur, illi hastis transfixi multo cum sanguine uitam moribundi fundere, alii librantia uictorum uulnera pecudum more taciti sustinere et certantium percussorum affectatam gloriam nullo uirili ausu retardare. Ipse imperator ictus sagitta cum fugiens dolore uulneris repente<sup>1082</sup> equo laberetur in humilem cuiusdam uillulae casam semianimis relatus est, cumqua a saeuientibus inimicis iniecto igne uiuus concrematus, ignaris tamen hostibus in tam uilem casulam imperatorem delitescere. Sed diuino nimirum iudicio factum est ut ab illis igne exureretur quos aquam fidei petentes in ardentissimae perfidiae flammis iniecerat, simulque ut impietatis suae et immensae atrocitatis qua paulo ante in Catholicos desaeuierat episcopos debita exsolueret poenas.

⟨18⟩ Extincto Valente Gothi iam hostium sublato metu licentiosius per omnia debacchari coeperunt, summis rebus procul dubio potituri ni eorum audaciam Theodosii desiderata uirtus repressisset. Qui a Gratiano Valentis nepote ex Hispaniis accersitus et in societatem ascitus imperii assumpta apud Sirmium purpura multas eorum edidit strages, ad internitionem audacissimam gentem deleturus, si non eum fata Romana quae Gothos ad exitium seruabant imperii languore correptum in lectulum prostrauissent, quem cum usque ad salutis desperationem Gothi aegrotare cognouissent resumptis animis uiribusque Romanas prouincias urere ac populari coeperunt. Alatheus et Safrac utramque Pannonias, Fridigerinus uero Thessaliam, Epirum et Achaia. Quod cum accepisset Gratianus qui per id tempus ad inhibendas Vandalorum incursiones e Roma in Gallias concesserat, continuatis itineribus exercitum /9r/ aduersum Gothos duxit. Sed magnitudinem uirium reformidans non est ausus proelio decertare res pactionibus transacta est ictisque aequis foederibus pax inter Romanos et Gothos perpetua sancita, quam et Theodosius recuperata ualitudine ratam habuit ac comprobauit. Quin et Athalaricum qui defuncto Fridergerino in regnum successerat hospitaliter benigneque inuitatum in Constantinopolim secum perduxit, quam ingressus Gothus contemplata urbis magnitudine, claritate moeniorum, aedificiorum magnificentia, classis nauiumque frequentia, splendorem diuitiarum, negotiatorum artificumque diuersas manus, imperialis curiae pompam et tam uariam populorum magnitudinem modestissimis uiuentem legibus ceteraque omnia et famam et opinionem suam longe uincuntia admiratus supra modum, sublata manu dixisse fertur: *Nimirum terrarum deus est imperator, contra quem quicumque arma sumit sui est sanguinis reus*. Vbi et urbis amoenitate et mirificis imperatoris moribus impensisque<sup>1083</sup> honoribus plurimum delectatus tres exegit<sup>1084</sup> menses intra quos fatali morbo correptus repente extinctus est. Theodosio amici casum admodum et miserante et indolente, quod reliquum erat magnificentissimo illum extulit funere debitisque rite persolutis, Gothos qui illum comitati fuerant pro cuiusque conditione honorificentissime habitos amplissimeque donatos ad suos remisit. Qui imperatoris liberalitate deuicti, ducibus a Romanis imperatoribus datis contenti, multos annos rei publicae fideliter militarunt, quoad perfida Stiliconis opera stipendio ac com meatu non sunt destituti.

<sup>1082</sup>repente] frequenter V subinde C

<sup>1083</sup>impensisque] impensique V impensisque C

<sup>1084</sup>exegit] egegit V exegit C

⟨19⟩ Erat autem Stilico nobili Vandalorum sanguine cretus, uaffer ingenio, callidus dissimulator, cuius ossa carere medullis comperta sunt et ipse sudare uisus numquam, manu strenuus, rei militaris scientia cui natus uidebatur egregie exercitatus. Theodosio inter paucos carus, deinde filiis eius Honorio atque Arcadio ita acceptus ut eo inconsulto agere nihil. Vnde et Honorius duarum cum filiarum Mariae et Hermanciae conubio dignatus /9v/ est. Nam cum prior ante quam traducta fuisset extincta secundam illi in matrimonium tradere non dubitauit. Is tantorum beneficiorum immemor dum socero necem et puero quem ex filia imperatoris susceperat, quamuis non nulli ambas uirgines mortuas putent, molitur imperium, rem publicam funditus paene subuertit et uniuersum terrarum orbem dirissimis implicitum bellis, caedibus ac cruore foedauit. Exciuerat enim clam propriis sedibus Vandalos, quos cum Sueuis, Alanis ac Burgundionibus Gallias inuadere cupiebat, ut profectus aduersum eos Honorius uel occideretur a barbaris uel bello implicitus ita distineretur ut aliis rei publicae prouinciis opem ferre nequiret, quo necessitate acti imperatores aliae tutandae prouinciae curam illi demandarent. Optabat autem Stilico Italiam sibi dari ut per eam Romam et per Romam imperium filio occuparet. Quod ut facilius efficeret Gothos ad inuadendam<sup>1085</sup> Italiam sibi prouocandos est ratus gentem ut sibi pollicebatur paruo ubi uoluisset negotio erat profligaturus. Hoc consilio annonam illis stipendiumque<sup>1086</sup> sensim curauit et ante initium cum Aureliano consulatum omnino subtraxit. Qua iniuria simul et rerum penuria permoti Gothi transmisso Danubio in Pannoniis conedere ubi Halaricum ex clarissima Baltheorum familia ortum cui post Amalos secundo nobilitatis tribuebantur partes regem constituunt, Radagaso et ipso Gothorum duce cum ducentis milibus pugnatorum socio sibi coniuncto. His copiis cunctam Thraciam, utramque Pannoniam,<sup>1087</sup> Illyricum omne Noricumque et conterminas Italiae oras incredibilibus caedibus ac ruinis dira ueluti tempestate inuoluerunt, protrierunt, desolarunt, non inueniente modum licentia et illecto rapinis animo expleri nesciente. Vrgentibus praeterea rei publicae fati, Halaricus et Radagasus Stilicone Aurelianoque consulibus Italiam inuadunt. Et cum ob copiarum magnitudinem utrisque simul et pabulatio et commeatus difficilis esset, prior sorte Radagasus ducens per Venetias et Boios Apeninum transgressus apud Fe- /10r/ sulas consedit.

⟨20⟩ Sed ante quam bella Italiae narrare aggrediamur situs eius formaque uniuersa breuibus explicanda est, ut locorum imperitis clarior intelligentiae praestetur occasio. Vniuersam orbis latitudinem hinc Thanais inde Nilus mediam diuidit. Ille a septentrione ex Ripheis ortus montibus<sup>1088</sup> per mediam Scythiam Meothidemque paludem in Pontum procurrit. Hic ab austro ex paludibus apud raspos Aethiopes monti lunae subiectis deriuatus imensisque uoluminibus deserta Aethiopum peragratus ac monte Boretis euincto per campos Aegyptios haud procul a Syria in mari deuoluitur. Quod flumina non abrumpunt, extrema mediteranei<sup>1089</sup> maris litora abscidunt. Medietas quae ad orientem spectat solem Asia est cognominata, reliquam ad occidentem porrectam per Gaditanas angustias ingressum pelagus uersus solis ortum<sup>1090</sup> usque ad primas Asiae oras latius se diffundens per medium diuidit, a dextris Africam a sinistris Europam seiungens. Haec e medio sui lateris quod ad Africam spectat inter

<sup>1085</sup> inuadendam] inuadendum V inuadendam C

<sup>1086</sup> stipendiumque] stipemque V stipendiumque C

<sup>1087</sup> Pannoniam] Pannonium V Pannoniam C

<sup>1088</sup> ortus montibus] montibus ortus V ortus montibus V' C

<sup>1089</sup> mediterranei] meteranei V mediterranei V' C

<sup>1090</sup> ortum] otum V ortum V' C

Adriaticum Tyrrhenumque pelagus exporrectum uelut pedem fluctibus Ionii maris obicit, cuius planta nothum respicit, extrema uero digitorum in Austrum Africumque uergunt, femur reliquo Europaeae corpori Alpes connectunt, quae ab ultimo Adriatici sinus litore,<sup>1091</sup> in quo ciuitas Tergestum sita est et Veruca oppidum cui nunc Monfalcono dicitur, modice se attolentes et per Norici Vindelici Rhetiorumque fines in septentrionem deinde eorum atque ita occidentem altissimis inaccessibusque montibus recedentes supra Comum Insubrum<sup>1092</sup> urbem consistunt. Hinc in zephyrum africanumque flectentes Gallis Transalpinis ab laeua relictis magna fronte inter Liguriam Romanamque prouinciam supra Ianuam Ligusticum emporium in Tyrrhenum pelagus descendunt Venetos et Cisalpinam Galliam circumducto longius sinu complexae. Nam a Narsia primo Venetorum amne ad Varum fluuium aquo Liguria principium sumere dicitur quadringenta et decem milia passuum esse auctor est Plinius, quae maxima est Italiae latitudo. Hanc /10v/ ab ipsis principiis superum inferumque mare coxendicis exprimentes formam iugiter in arctiores in angustias cogunt usque ad Pisas Tuscorum ciuitatem et Rauennam Venetorum, ubi minus quam centum miliaribus coeuntia litora femoris extrema finire uidentur et tibiae ordiri principia. Nam ille a Rauenna ad Pisaurum<sup>1093</sup> tractus poplitis figuram referre uidetur. Populoniae uero litus ubi Plumbinum est usque ad Talami promontorium, quod montem argentarium appellant patellam illam genu haud obscure designat. Vnde usque ad Pancastrum olim Lucanorum nunc Calabrum oppidum cruris anteriora protenduntur, ab Ancone uero ad Sypontum sura non quidem plena apparet. Nam ubi amplissima est tibia ut pote a monte alto ad Pisaurum,<sup>1094</sup> aut ab Hostiis Romanis ad Anconem uix centum et uiginti milia passus implet, hinc uero usque ad suffragmina quae Siponto Pancastroque designantur continuo crus tenuatur. Hic autem ubi suffragmen uidetur tibiae quo imus per cruri connectitur maria in reductos utrinque sinus terram adeo compellunt, ut istum efficiant uix quinquaginta milibus passuum si montium asperitas recto non obstaret itineri. Porro supra Sipontum mons Garganus quem Sancti Angeli dicunt instar calcaris in Adriaticum mare procurrit. In cuius extremo litore deae Vesti dicata ciuitas Bestize uulgo nuncupatur. Sane a Siponto per Brundisium usque ad Tarentum calcis absoluta esset forma si Calabria quam nunc terram Otranti uocant auulsa ab Apulia fuisset. Inania quoque plantae Crotonae promontorium cui caput Columnarum dicunt diformius implet reliqua Brutiorum Lucanorumque ora, quae ab incolis Calabriae cognominatur, hinc inde uersus Siculum fretum coiens, extremam pedis formam decenter consummat cuius in summo litore Regium ciuitas perstat, a qua ad Augustam pretoriam quae urbs supra Insubres ultimo in recessu Alpium iacet maxima est Italiae longitudo undecies centena milia passuum exsuperans. /11r/ Verum quia ut ex pedis forma coniectare licet haec non ita directa est, ut illa quae ad Hydruntum pertinet et decies centenis ac uiginti milibus passuum extenditur. Vniuersus uero Italiae ambitus tricies centena et uiginti octo milia passuum amplecti perhibetur. Toti Italiae ab Alpibus usque ad fretum Siciliae mons Apeninus tamquam perpetuum dorsum incubat qui supra Ianuam a Sabaria deriuatus in Austrum procedit ad mare Tyrenum angusta Liguria relinquens litora paulatimque in mediterranea secedens ubi agrum Pisanum attigit mox in ortum flectitur dextra habens Tusciam laeua Cisalpinam Galliam et Bononiam praeteriens apud Imolam proximus Venetorum litori accedit hinc primum agros Aemiliae deinde Flaminiae sensim coartans apud

<sup>1091</sup>litores] litores V litore V<sup>1</sup>C

<sup>1092</sup>Insubrum] Cenomanum V Insubrum V<sup>1</sup>C

<sup>1093</sup>Pisaurum] Pisanum V Pisaurum V<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1094</sup>Pisaurum] Pisanum V Pisaurum V<sup>1</sup>

Forum Sempronii quod Fano fortunae imminet quatuordecim<sup>1095</sup> aut amplius milibus passuum adriatico pelago appropinquat. Inde a litoribus maris modice sinus contrahens inter Picenum et Vmbriam in Marsos quos et Aprutinos dicimus arduus euadit. Ex quibus complurimos quidem ac perexcelsos expandit montes partim ad superum mare in Marutinos ac Pelignos partim ad inferum in Sabinos Equitulos ac Latinos eosdem modo Campanos quos praetergressus rursus sese colligit atque hinc Samnitibus qui supra Campanos<sup>1096</sup> nunc terrarum laboris inde pelignis dimissis per medios Apulos seu Iapigas supra Sypontum Adriaticum irrumpens in pelagus diu quaesitis sese respergit undis. Inde refugiens Pulipentos ac Peucetios in campis intactos relinquens et fretum Siculum libare properans per Hirpinos<sup>1097</sup>, Lucanos et Brutios eosdem nunc Calabros plurimus diffunditur ad Lucopetram promontorium ultima fronte consistens quam siculi euripi secundo agitatibus aquis eluere non desinit. Hoc toto in itinere sicut in numeros colles ita et complurimos fluuios fontesque utranque in partem demittit quibus singulas Italiae partes affatim irrigat solis Apuliae campis exceptis per quos solum atque unicum Aufidum emittit amnem ex Hirpinis montibus Canusium praeter- /11v/ fluentem et non longe a Barleto in Adriaticum cadentem cui nunc Lofanto dicunt.

⟨21⟩ Haec forma est Italiae, haec facies et magnitudo quae cum tota ferme mari abluatur inaccessa fit terrestribus copiis nisi ea tantum ex parte qua Alpibus copulatur sed ex ea quidem perraris locis ac difficillimis. Nam quaecumque maria desunt, natura perpetuis ac inuiis rupibus Alpes molita esse uidetur et tutandae intenta Italiae aduersum barbarorum incursiones studiosius eas obiecisse. Nam licet peditem toto in tractu quatuordecim tantum semitis admittat in locis et illis nimirum perangustis item pandit. Vnum per Ligures Tyrrheno mari proximum, aliud per Taurinos qua transmisit Hanibal, tertium per Salassos, quartum per Rhetos. Enimuero nescio quo pacto a scriptoribus quintum omissum est, quod ex Norico supra ultima sinus Adriatici in primos Venetorum descendit fines iuxta Verucam seu Monfalconum oppidum per quod iter Romanorum exercitus qui in Pannonas, Illyrios, Sarmatas, Mysios et ceteras illas nationes mittebantur commeari solebant. Nunc quoque ex illis regionibus Italiam petentibus illius uiae assiduus est usus qua et Heruli, Turigni, Gothi, Huni, non nullaeque aliae barbarae nationes saepius Italiam inuaserunt. Nuper quoque per segnitiam Christianorum principum Turci spurcissimi Mahumeti sectatores secundo irrumpentes fines Venetorum circa Aquilegiam populati sunt. Quondam enim omnis illa regio quam nunc Forum Iulii dicimus, similiter et uniuersa Marchia Taurisina in qua et Patauium Vicentiaque complectitur uniuersique agri qui a Tridento per decursum Athesis amnis Atuani a Ptholomeo cognominati usque Veronam et indea ad Mantuam et ripas Padi Venetiae nuncupabantur. Mantua quoque et Rauenna inter Venetorum urbes a non nullis computabantur. Omnis uero illa quam latissima camporum extensio quae trans Athesim et Mantuam inter Alpes et Padum protenditur Gallia Transpadana /12r/ cognominata est cuius prima pars quae Athesi Abduaque fluuiis clauditur Cenomanum dicebatur ubi est Brixia Verona Bergomumque et alia pleraque oppida. Inter Abduam uero et Ticinum amnem Insubri habitant quorum Metropolis Mediolanum celebratur reliquum uero camporum quod ultimo in angulo Ticino et primo Eridani seu Padi ex cursu amplectitur Salassi olim dicti collebant in quibus Novara Vercelli et Augusta Praetoria sita esse noscitur. Porro reliquus ille camporum

<sup>1095</sup>quatuordecim *corr. Nic. ex septem*

<sup>1096</sup>*post campanos del Nic campanos*

<sup>1097</sup>hirpinos *add. Nic. i.m.*

tractus qui citra Padum ex Taurinis finitimis Salassiorum populis secundum fluminis decursum porrigitur inter Padum ac Apeninum non latus admodum sed perlongus quidem usque ad Ariminum seu proximum illi Rubiconem fluuium olim Italiae terminum Gallia Cispadana appellabatur. Sed postquam Marcus Lepidus consul qui cum Caio Flaminio collega de Liguris triumphauit stratam a socio e Roma per Thusciam Umbriamque uiam apud Ariminum excipiens usque Bononiam et ex ea in Aquilegiam perduxit pars illa Cispadanae Galliae quae media ferme ab Arimino ad Bononiam Padumque pertinet inter Alpes et Adriatici maris litora Emiliae que et Romandiola dicta est. Nam sola illa Umbriae portio quae a Pisauro et Foro Sempronii nunc Fosambruno supra quod oppidum uia Flaminia imminentem metauro perforatum penetrat montem ad Ariminum porrigitur quo et uia ipsa praeter Vrbinum ducit, Flaminiae cognomen obtinuit quam tamen nostra aetas sub Romandiolae appellatione inclusam intelligit.<sup>1098</sup>

<22> His ergo de Italiae situ formaque praemissis ad Radagasum redeamus, qui iuxta Verucam e Norico in Italiam ingressus per medios Venetorum agros turbinis instar obuia quaeque prosternentis penetrans ad Padum consistit, quem duobus diuisum alueis ubi nunc Ferraria est tunc exigua uillula contractis transmittit nauigiis inde Bononiam praetergressus superato Apenino in Thusciam descendit. Conuenerat<sup>1099</sup> enim inter Radagasum et Halaricum ut alter Transapeninam<sup>1100</sup> alter Cisapeninam<sup>1101</sup> uastaret Italiam. Dumque Radagasus /12v/ Romam praeoccupare festinat<sup>1102</sup> apud Fesulas obuiam habuit Huldinum Sarumque, Hunorum alterum alterum Gothorum ducem, imperatoribus militantes cum ingentibus tam suis quam Italarum copiis. A quibus circumuentus et in Fesulanum compulsus montem, nullo accepto uulnere immo nec ulla instructa acie interclusus, commeatu ad inediam redactus est, qua cum sibi et uniuerso exercitui pereundem cerneret coepit animo uehementius angere et totus acerbissimis disrumpi curis, reputare se tot gentium populorumque paulo ante uictorem tumultuario ab milite adeo foede captum ad indignissimam compelli mortem.<sup>1103</sup> Nec milites mitior torquebat anxietas nunc ducis damnantes imperitiam, nunc suam deflentes fortunam, qua se coactos<sup>1104</sup> intuerentur non ferro in bello cadere, non languore in lectulo consumi, non obrui fluctibus, non alio usitato mortalium casu exstingui, uerum fame sitique per durissimos confici cruciatus exesos uiscera totoque humore depastos.<sup>1105</sup> Non nulli etiam in augmentum doloris mente colligebant illatas Romanis iniurias, calamitates immeritis inflictas populis, rapinas, uiolentias, caedes, incendia, uniuersa diuina pariter et humana iura uiolata, spreta, proculcata, atque ob ea ab se iustas diuino iudicio exigi poenas. Haec atque talia complura cum nec perpeti nec audire diutius posset Radagasus clam suos deserere conatus in stationem incidit hostium, a quibus captus atque ad duces perductus haud multo post trucidatus est. Reliqua multitudo nulla eruptione temptata, numquam ferro aperire conata, nihil uirile molita, non fusa proelio, non acie superata in Romanorum potestatem deuenit. Non mulieres uerum

<sup>1098</sup> *post* intelligit *add. in rubro C<sup>l</sup> in marg.* Nicolai Episcopi Modrussiensis De bellis Gothorum liber primus explicit. Incipit secundus.

<sup>1099</sup> Conuenerat] Conuenera V Conuenerat C

<sup>1100</sup> Transapeninam] Trans ninam V Transapeninam V<sup>l</sup>C

<sup>1101</sup> Cisapeninam] Cis ninam V Cisapeninam V<sup>l</sup>C

<sup>1102</sup> festinat] festinant V festinat C

<sup>1103</sup> compelli mortem] compelli mortem VC<sup>l</sup> mortem compelli C

<sup>1104</sup> coactos] coactus V coactos C

<sup>1105</sup> depastos] dapastos V depastos C

ignauissimas crederes pecudes, amentes ferme atque attonitos, multos a paucis in greges compelli, aureoque nummo non singulos sed turmas eorum uenumdari. Et cum publici hostes orbisque terrarum immanissimi grassatores cuncti trucidari debuissent uitam ignauia promeruerunt, singulo quoque adeo uili contemnendoque sanguine manus /13r/ foedare dignante.

⟨23⟩ Interea Halaricus cum reliqua Gothorum manu Romane sueta militiae felicioribus suis sed infelicissimis totius Hesperiae auspiciis Italiam eodem itinere ingressus inter Rauennam oppidumque Classense consererat in loco cui nomen est Candiano. Destinauerat enim Halaricus ante omnia Rauenna potiri, quippe quam haud imprudenti consilio ad occupandam Italiam oportunissimam praeuiderat cum ob multas commoditates tum praecipue propter portum Classensem, quem solum post Brundisium toto in littore Adriatico Italia per ea tempore et aedificandae et conseruandae classis habebat idoneum. Siquidem Candiani stagna Sapis amnis laticibus grauida, ubi se in pelagus exonerare consueuerant patenti satis aditu uel maximas naues amplissimum in sinum tuto receptabant per quam hospitem stationem plusquam ducentis praebentia carinis, praecipue post quam Octauii Augusti munere adiuta, insigni illa Pharea turri multis celebrata scriptoribus superba steterat. Hic namque imperator portu in eis egregie communito classem dignoscitur instituisse, quae uniuersum mare Adriaticum, Ionicum, Aegaeumque tutaretur. Haec et ciuitati ob nautarum frequentiam conditae ex se nomen Classense indidit, quae celebris atque incolumis ea tempestate perstabat et postea et Theodorico Gothorum rege exaucta exornataque usque ad Longobardorum tempora permansit a quibus primum diruta et ad solum euersa ab Sapi quoque fluuio nunc Sauio destituta est, qui tamquam ruinas notae sibi ciuitatis aequis oculis spectare nequiret cursum a solito deflectens alueo septem ferme milibus passuum infra refugit. Rauenna quoque ipsa quae temporibus Octauii Strabone testante sicut nunc Venetiae in salo posita tota mari adibatur nunc in mediteranea crescentibus litoribus plusquam duobus milibus passuum sicca recessit, tantum aeui longitudo immutare ualet. Horum ergo locorum oportunitatibus Halaricus potiri cupiens inter utramque urbem in pratis Candiani castra muniuit, loco ad utramque ciuitatem obsidendam /13v/ peridoneo.

⟨24⟩ Verum dum utramque difficilimis paludis locis sitam potenti Romanorum praesidio teneri cernit, expugnatione desperata, mittit legatos ad Honorium qui sese ea tempestate trepidus Rauennae incluserat, postulans ut Gothi aequo cum incolis iure Italiam inhabitare permetteret. Id si fecisset pollicetur operam se daturum utraque ut natio sine alterius degens iniuria in unum coalescere populum, sin minus de eius possessione bello decerneret. Honorius utramque conditionem aequae periculosam existimans, respondit se de permittenda Gothi habitatione cum fratre Arcadio quo cum commune habebat libenter deliberaturum responsumque daturum. Cupiebat enim Honorius tempus redimere et Gothos ab inferendis Italiae maleficiis tam diu continere quoad Stilico quem e Constantinopoli ab Arcadio accersuerat cum exercitu mitteretur. Quae singula cum perlata essent Constantinopolim accepissetque insuper Stilico quod iam olim uotis omnibus expetiuerat, eodem ipso tempore suos Vandalos reliqua cum barbarie Transalpinas petentes Gallias ad Rheni ripas condisse, praemisso confestim Rauenna praesidio, ipse undique contractis copiis terrestri itinere ad Italiam peruenit quam ingressus per Aquilegiam, Altinum Pataunosque fines in Rauennati constitit agro. Quare per exploratores cognita Halaricus signa mouens ad proximos Apenini colles in uicum Polentiam nunc Polentam se recepit, qui uicus aberat a Rauenna duobus ac uiginti passuum milibus, uicinus antiquo Trientinorum Foro quod nunc Bertonorum appellatur



duobus tantum milibus passuum. His in locis per triennium frequentia bella gessere in quibus omnibus semper ferme uictoria apud Stiliconem stetit. Quamuis enim minores quam Halaricus haberet copias rei tamen militaris praestantiore peritia per uniuersum id tempus hostes tamquam ludicrum uersatus est, nunc fugando nunc territando, modo coercendo, interdum eliciendo, metum fugamque simulando, non numquam /14r/ animum reddere perterrefactis, audentes nimium compescere, interclusis com meatu per dolum ac dissimulationem frequenter annonam diripiendam exhibere, fessos recreare per indutias, alias fictis necessitatis casibus milites a stationibus ablegare uiamque pabulandi frumentandique aperire et necessariorum importandi facultatem praestare. Non numquam procacius insultantes ita undique coangustauit nemini ut dubium relinquerit in sua se potestate et necem illorum habere et uitam. Trahere tamen hoc bellum tam diu destinauerat Stilico quoad uel moreretur Honorius uel adeo aliquo occuparetur bello, ut sibi pro sua libidine res Italas constituere liceret. Nam Vandali exemplo cladis Radagasi territi exitum praeterea Italici belli praestolantes usque ad eam diem Gallias inuadere destiterant, operiebatur itaque Stilico ut uel hi uel alii quicumque populi negotium socero facerent securus de Gothorum uictoria, quippe qui tam satis superque exploratum habebat eos ubi collibisset uel pellere Italia posse uel delere.

⟨25⟩ At Deus cum omnis impietatis tum praecipue tantae ingratitude iniquitatisque detestator, uoluit in caput pefidissimi ea omnia machinamenta recidere frustratumque consiliis debitas exsoluere poenas, simul et plagam quam Romanis infligere decreuerat perfatalem incutere gentem. Siquidem Halaricus cognitis tam nefandis Stiliconis machinationibus pacem societatemque ab Honorio qui iam pridem Constantinopolim concesserat postulauit quorum grandior natu hunc in morem mandata exposuisse dicitur: *Prius ad te peccatum deprecaturi uenissemus, imperator, si prius nobis error noster innotuisset. Nam usque in hodiernum diem non putauimus iniurias intulisse non merenti, sed desertori ac hosti debitas irrogasse poenas. Quis enim nostrum suspicari poterat Stiliconem cui pater uester se suaque prorsus crediderat, quem uos bino filiarum connubio honestatum tertium et fratrem et imperatorem esse uoluisti, / 14v/ et cuius consilia simul ac iussa non leuius atque parentis accipiebatis. Quis inquam hunc talem tantisque a uobis deuinctum meritis cogitare ualuisset uestram moliri necem ad uestrum aspirare fastigium? Parum habet ducem, generem, patremque, duorum imperatorum non est contentus aequo uobiscum uel fortasse uestra indulgentia ampliore iure imperare partes uestras uobis eripere festinat et per scelus ac flagitium filio illas occupare. Vtinam tunc hominis perfidiam intellexissemus cum nobis annonam stipendiaque sensim subtrahebat. Cum durioribus responsis callidus ueterator aduersum uos irritabat, in uestri exacuebat inuidiam, et uestri odium instigabat, profecto numquam commissemus et uestro detrimento et nostro sanguine ipsius tyrannidi militare. Sed qua astutia uos prodidit, nos facilius fefellit. Vtrorumque ingenii tarditas accusanda, sed uestra eo magis quo homines de uobis optime meritos et pro uestra amplitudine ac gloria mori paratos, triginta ferme annos fidelissime militantes, iamque omnis nostrae rei publicae oblitos ex uobis pendentes, uestra in fide ac officio quiescentes tam indigne repellendos duxistis et dirae inediae tam foede consumendos deseruistis, addixistis, destinastis. Non inficiamur nos morti eripuisse et ingenti sudore ac discrimine uictum quaeritasse uobis uestroque imperio ut ingenue fateamur apprime infensi. Stiliconis quippe perfidiam uestram putauimus iniuriam a quibus nos contra ius fasque laesos arbitrabamur et ad hanc usque horam arbitrati sumus. Ast ubi scelus cognouimus, ubi flagitiosissimi hominis perfidiam intelleximus qua in uos concitauit Vandalos nobis tot uestras*

*prouincias urendas populandasque exhibuit et tandem ut cupiebat in Italiam perduxit, ut armatus occasionem acciperet Romanum filio imperium occupare, uos externis tam diu obiectare hostibus quoad consumpti imperio concederetis /15r/ coepit nos facti paenitere, coepit taedere stultitiae, coepit uestrarum misereri fortunarum, coepit nostram simul uestramque dolere uicem, quorum ruinis scelestissimus hominum in suam abutitur libidinem et tanto utrorumque sanguine imperium sibi parare non ueretur. Nolite per deos hunc sacrilegum diutius pati, nolite tantam ingratitude[m] impietate[m]que inultam praetermittere. Auferte tam nefandum monstrum et adeo saeuum parricidam penitus conficite. Quicquid in uos Gothi delinquerunt Stiliconis culpa admissum est. Stilico uobis tot desolauit prouincias, Stilico Ripensem exusit Daciam, Stilico Mysiam depopulatus est, Stilico dirripuit Pannonias, Stilico Illyricum foedauit, Stilico consumpsit Daciam, Stilico Noricum deuastauit, Italiam bello inuoluit, exausit aerarium, uectigalia corruptit, socios partim deleuit partim ad defectionem compulit et in uestri imperii armauit excidium. Insuper prouocauit et externos uestraque capita ipsorum ferocitati prodere ac obiectare non desinit. Pro quibus nos tuendis deferendisque iam ultro emori cupimus, obsides aliasque promissorum firmitates quasquaque iusseritis praestare parati. Non commeatum a uobis petimus, non auxilia imploramus, non flagitamus stipendia, tantum postulamus eam Galliarum inhabitare oram unde hostes propediem irrupturos non ambigitis. Cupimus enim pro admissis satisfacere peccatis et illata detrimenta congruis meritis recompensare, omnes ut intelligant quicquid in uos deliquimus erroris fuisse non uoluntatis.*

⟨26⟩ Ad haec imperator, quoniam et ab aliis de Stiliconis perfidia satis fuerat edoctus, conceptam in eum dissimulans iram ut occultam facilius ulcisci posset, oratoribus ita respondit: *In detrimentis a uobis acceptis non tam Stiliconis cognouimus perfidiam quam uestram ingratitude[m] ac temeritate[m]. Nam neque cum ab Hunis misere fugientes benigne in Mysiam recipiebamini neque cum a Theodosio ruptorum foederum indulgentiam consecuti estis, /15v/ annonam aut stipendia postulabatis. Vitam quippe uobis donari et in nostra esse tutela maxima munera ducebatis. Si uobis ad haec nostra clementia et stipem et congiarium adiecit non succensere debuistis pro subtractis sed gratias agere pro concessis. Profugos egenosque suscepimus, fidefragos ac parricidas, rei publicae hostes, orbis grassatores, bene meriti imperatoris Romanarumque legionum immerito sanguine madentes, uictos uita donauimus, nostris in domibus passi sumus consistere, inopes fouimus, stipendiis ac commeatu iuuimus, quoad et facultas suppetebat et uestra inopia exposcere uidebatur. Cum uero nec rationes aerarii diutius ferre possent, nec uos constitutis<sup>1106</sup> iam olim domiciliis rebusque familiaribus optime compositis indigere uidebamini, ut pote locupletes effecti aequo animo uobis ferendum erat. Nos nostris consulere rationibus et neque Stiliconis neque cuiuspiam alterius opera in tantam prorumpere audaciam et adeo foeda ingratitude[m] subire notam. Pro quibus uestris demeritis licet de uobis merita supplicia sumere decreueramus, nequimus tamen uim nostro afferre ingenio, quod sicut irasci rebellibus ita supplicibus et ignoscere didicit et indulgere. Itaque quamuis uestram fidem non iniuria habeamus suspectam, ut pote tot ruptis edocti foederibus, tot promissis elusi, quod petitis annuimus non inuiti, ampliora si in fide permanseritis donaturi. Etenim si lubenter ueniam damus supplicibus lubentius praemiis exornamus benemerentes, malumus quod ut nos nimiae clementiae paeniteat quam nimiae seueritatis. Per hunc quippe modum diuinae benignitatis imitatore effecti procul dubio confidimus neque nos neque res nostras ab eo umquam destitui,*

<sup>1106</sup>constitutis] constituistis V constitutis C

*neque hostes nostros non suppeditatum iri.* Cum his responsis legatos ad Halaricum remittit. Stiliconi per litteras iubet pacem cum Gothis firmare diemque certum perscribere ad quem excedentes Italia in Galliam proficiscerentur. Quamuis enim imperator iustissima in Gothos arderet ira, cernens tamen suam salutem tam uafre ab his subuerti /16r/ ac prodi quibus eam tutandam credidisset et ex quorum fide uniuersam suspenderat, non putauit tanto suo in discrimine hostium etiam spernendam opem. Quin inter maxima lucra ducebat hostes hostibus obicere et eorum discriminibus tantum spatii uindicare quantum ad opprimendam Stiliconis perfidiam fuisse satis.

⟨27⟩ Igitur Stilico acceptis imperatoris litteris iussa diligenter exsequi uisus est, insuper et profecturis cum incredibili beneuolentiae largitatisque simulatione cuncta itineri necessaria ultro dilargitur, nihil sinens reliquum quo illis et ueri amoris et firmissimae pacis plurimam fecisset fidem, cupiens quod in suam totiusque Italiae perniciem assecutus est, securos fallere et opprimere imparatos. Acceperat enim deficiens imperandi spes, desiderium uehementius succendere et immoderata cupido, praecipitare consilium confidens auertenti fortunae faciem posse festinatione reuocari. Cernens quippe Stilico Gothos ex hostibus imperatoris factos esse propugnatores, Italiae datam pacem, imperatorem ex turbulentissima tempestate tutissimum in portum esse reductum, sibi arma et cum illis spem deponendam imperii quod repulsis accidit animis temeritate aggreditur quod consilio apprehendere nequiuit. Vbi ergo creberrimis exploratoribus Gothos didicit, cum fiducia pacis tum profectionis sollicitudine, militarem negligere disciplinam et nimia securitate castrorum corrupisse munitiones optatam se commoditatem nactum laetatus decreuit sacratissimo die Paschae facinus peragere ratus feria et religionis occupatos mysteriis facilius opprimi posse, usque adeo properans in flagitium animus sanctissimis quibusque caerimoniis abuti non erubescit. Supererat ducem tanti reperire piaculi. Verebatur namque non iniuria singulos Christianorum ductores ne pietate religionis et tanti diei reuerentia adeo nefandum munus obire detractassent. Accersiri iubet Saulem quendam ductorem et genere et perfidia Hebraeum, huic apertis /16v/ consiliis mandat ut media nocte Forum Pompilii (adhuc enim ab ea ciuitate non discesserat) egressus cum expeditis copiis summo diluculo Gothos, qui apud Pollentiam haud amplius quattuor milibus passuum aberant, inuaderet<sup>1107</sup> et usque ad internitionem deleret. Capessit iussa lubens Hebraeus et in Christianorum caedem quorum flagrantissimo ardebat odio praecipue illa suo generi admodum execranda die cupidissimus fertur, non tamquam cum hostibus de gloria certaturus sed tamquam de saeuissimis inimicis supplicium sumpturus, delere potius cupiens quam uincere. Nactus opinatos imparatosque obuios quoscumque ferit, obtruncat, trucidat. Fit ingens trepidatio, tumultus ubique, ubique clamor et miseranda rerum facies. Hi cadebant per uias, illi ad domicilia fugientes in ipsis ianuis conficiebantur, alios tabernaculi ingredientibus hostilis excipiebat gladius, multi in tentoriis opprimebantur et non dum somno discusso aeternum obdormire cogebantur. Complures e fano redeuntes refecti coelesti alimento felicitus quam optabilius morti destinebantur. Lamentabantur tristissimam sibi illuxisse diem quae reliquis Christianis laetissima illucescere consueuisset. Alii regis accusabant ignauiam. Denique ultimum discrimen mutuis instigatos cohortationibus armari coegit, correptisque armis ad suos quisque duces mandata facturus discurrit. Incredibile dictu! Gothi tot acceptis uulneribus, tot funera passi tamen tanti diei reuerentia pluribus hostes orant incolumes abeant tantorum clade saturati, illis nihilominus propositum urgentibus Gothi adhuc grassantes perpeti pergunt uim potius repellere quam referre studentes. Ast ubi eos magis magisque

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<sup>1107</sup>inuaderet] inuaderent V inuaderet C

desaeuire conspiciunt innoxiorum abuti patientia et per modestiam suam beluinam nutrire audaciam, Deum sanctosque contestati arma ardentibus stringunt animis ac in caedem hostium uertuntur. Et quia iam totis castris tectisque uersabatur non iusta acie sed in composito certamine ubi quoque sors conseruerat proeliabatur, equitatus in angustiis callium / **17r**/ deprehensus pugnae inutilis reddebatur, praesertim Gothorum pedite subeunte quo multo praeualebant et alateribus, lanceis ac gladiis equos suffodiente. Ita equites intra breue tempus ad solum detracti peditesque in ignotis regionibus circumuenti ad unum ferme trucidantur, ut uix nuntius tantae cladis ad Stiliconem euaserit.

⟨**28**⟩ A quo cum accepisset meritos quidem sed insperatos perfidiae suae fructus, cernens se effectum longe Gothis inferiorem ut pote maiore copiarum parte amissa, scribit imperatori quantam humanitatem accepto imperiali decreto Gothis exhibuerit, quot insuper beneficia muneraque adiecerit, putans non hostibus sed iam amicis sociisque rei publicae quos se uafre assimilabant conferre. Quibus illi insolentiores in dies effecti nec a maleficiis abstinere uolebant nec ad constitutum diem Italia excedere in horas sua consilia cum libidine mutantes et nulli honesti iustiae habita ratione utiliora sectantes. Quibus rebus se coactum militarem misisse manum quae illos ab inferendis cohiberet iniuriis, eam ipsi astu irritatam et circumuentam dolis uniuersam trucidasse et ad internitionem delesse. Proinde si se Italiamque saluam uelint supplementa nouasque copias confestim transmittant. Ceterum conficta mendacia suspectis auribus imponere nequibant et iam consumata malitia condignis erat praemiis afficienda. Honorius namque ab aemulis de uniuersa rerum serie certior effectus supra modum est permotus et propter affectatum imperium et propter spreta mandata et propter tam nefandam audaciam. Itaque mittit confestim cum copiis duces eisque mandat ut ante omnia de scelestissimo parricida filioque ipsius Eucherio quam crudelissimas sumant poenas. Sed utinam tam prudenter rebus suis consulisset quam digne iustissimum ultus est dolorem. Nam de nefandissimo capite non ante supplicium sumi oportuit quam tanto bello idoneum subrogasset ducem. Eo pacto et periculo prouisum fuisset et iustitiae affatim satisfactum sed affectus praecessit /**17v**/ consilium et quamuis iusta indignatio opportuna prudentiae<sup>1108</sup> non reliquit locum. Stilico namque iuxta imperium una cum filio occisus est sed qui aduersum Gothorum impetum Stiliconis exciperet uices suffectus nullus.

⟨**29**⟩ Gothi autem Stilicone e medio sublato licentiosius desaeuire coeperunt et audacius in omnia grassari. Siquidem Honorii antea uictrices copiae cum duce uigorem animi peritiamque rei militaris amisisse uisae sunt saepiusque cum hoste infeliciter congressae, fusae, profligataeque fuere. Tantum uno in homine uel Deus uel natura repositum esse uoluit liquido ut appareret non tam strenuos milites quam sollertes duces uictorias parere et iuxta uulgi prouerbum pecudes duce leone pluris faciendas quam lupos pecude duce; ea ut opinor ratione quod consilium etiam absque uiribus semper fere utile esse solet uires sine consilio plerumque perniciosae. Igitur Gothi amoto propemodum uniuerso hostium metu cunctam ferme Italiam ruinis ac incendiis inuoluerunt, primum ex Aemilia, Flaminia ac Piceno, deinde transmisso Apenino ex Tuscia atque Umbria praedas per annum agentes terras, oppida ciuitatesque diripientes ferro ac flammis omnia uastantes. Perstabant attoniti populi et ueluti ruentem coelo uiolentiam stupentes spectabant, nec qua fugerent quoue pacto declinarent intelligere ualebant. Multos proprias sedes deserere cogitantes uxor liberique carissima pignora morabantur. Alios per longi itineris pericula et incerta peregrina hospitia absterrebant.

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<sup>1108</sup>prudentiae] prudentiae V prudentiae C

Complures inter spem metumque pendentes cunctatione tempus exigebant. Non nulli scientes uolentesque pariter cum patria periclitari non recusabant sortemque communem aequo animo operiebantur. Nec uoluntaria deditione aut alio humiliationis facto hostis placari poterat, quippe qui non dominari sed populari cupiebat ex ruinis potius quam ex imperio gloriam captans; nam quanto plures diruisset urbes tanto ampliorem se gloriam nactum arbitrabatur. / **18r**/

⟨30⟩ Per hunc modum uastatis per Italiam omnibus ferme oppidis ciuitatibusque et compluribus solo aequatis tandem Romam ante illum diem orbis dominam et post Gallos nullius uiolentia coarctatam obsidione cinxere. Neque enim crediderim quod Orosius refert tantam talemque urbem nullo repugnante e uestigio captam. Si enim urbem sponte deditibus sese ciuibus Halaricus ingressus fuisset, tametsi a ruinis rapinisque forsitan non temperasset a caedibus utique hominum immeritorum procul dubio abstinuisset. Verum decretum regis quo edixerat fundendo sanguine temperandum et confugientibus ad templa, praecipue autem ad Apostolorum basilicas omnino parcendum aperto est detrimento urbem ui captam haud spontem traditam. Eo quippe edicto uidetur rex irritatos potius repressisse animos quam docuisse quietos. Proinde magis credendum est, quod et Augustinus plerisque in locis innuit et diuus deflet Hieronymus ad Principiam uirginem Romam prius longam obsidionem famemque perpessam, qua matres infantibus uesci coactae sunt et in aluum ex qua paulo ante effuderant membra natorum recepisse maioremque ciuium partem inedia consumptam, priusquam fame periisse quam gladio captam deinde urbem quae totum urbem ceperat reliquos ciuium salutem auro redemisse. Capta est igitur Roma in Kalendis Aprilis anno salutis quadringentesimo, a conditione autem milesimo sexagesimo quarto. Milites regis imperium nihil ferme praeuaricasse uisi sunt. Nam praedae potius quam ruinis operam dedere et nisi quos primus impetus inuoluit uel tuendarum rerum aemula uirtus prostrauit ceteris pepercerunt. Omnes uero qui ad basilicas Apostolorum confugerant prorsus sine ulla iniuria permissi sunt. Tantusque honos habitus est sanctis ut uasa aurea atque argentea diui Petri ministerio sacra ingenti pondere magnitudineque eximia arte fabricata apud quendam reperta militem iussu regis summa cum omnium ad- /**18v**/ miratione in thesauros ecclesiae relata sunt.<sup>1109</sup>

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<sup>1109</sup> *post relata sunt add. nonnulla C*: Nam dum barbaros praedae auditas nec sacratissimis quibusque parcere compelleret, miles quidam monasterium ingressus in quo uirgines Christo dicatae degere consueuerant unam forte offendit et aetate et uultu uenerabilem apprehensam tamen audacius compellat quicquid auri apud se depositum haberet ante cruciatu depromere. Illa muliebri pauore territa celati auri atque argenti uim ingentem ostendit, Haec inquam uasa de sacrario principis apostolorum Petri meae fidei credita uide sis qua audacia uiolentus contingas. Ego diuino sacra cultui numquam tibi ausim tradere. Admiratus vasorum pondus ac magnitudinem Gothus (haud quidem dubie ex antiqua illa Romanorum opulentia sumptum sed Christianorum artificum ad religionis opus eximia arte fabricatum) simul et ad nomen apostoli subito timore correptus rem Halarico indicat et quid fieri uelit requirit. Rex extemplo praecipit intacta omnia per eandem uirginem summa cum ueneratione in sacrarium referri, negans se cum apostolis sed cum Romanis bellum gerere. Hoc responso confirmata animo trepida uirgo accersit sodales, quibuscum imposita capitibus uasa solemnium pompa ad apostoli basilicam deferunt toto itinere diuina concinentes carmina, quarum uocibus exciti e latibulis Christiani frequentes concurrunt et prosequuti sacro auro honestas uirgines a barbaris sine iniuria permittuntur. Incredibile dictu. Imbellem turbam per medios praedabundos milites tantas et tam conspicuas opes non solum inuiolatas perferre sed etiam solo hostium praesidio tutas. Quod animaduertentes paganorum plerique Christianis se agminibus iungere non dubitant religionem impudenter mentientes cuius oderant et nomen. Sed diuino ut reor consilio factum est ut ob solius illius religionis gratiam salutem inuenirent propter quam se imperium amisisse falso querebantur.

⟨31⟩ Reliqua urbis per triduum direpta foedataque, Gothi signa Campaniam uersus mouent Romanis onusti opibus, Gallam Placidiam Theodosii filiam, Honorii atque Arcadii imperatorum sororem secum captiuam ducentes primumque inuadunt Latium, agros urunt, urbes populantur, non modo illas quae in campis ad mare iacent uerum etiam quaecumque ad superiora Latii in ea loca recesserant, quae nunc Tagliacotii dicuntur usque ad summa Apenini iuga et Lyrim fluuium, nunc Gaurianum, qui supra soram primam Samnitum urbem duobus fontibus ortus pontem Corbum subiens, olim dictum Flegellanum, et non longe a Suessa ubi Linternum fuit oppidum Scipionis morte inclitum in mare se euoluens Latium a Campanis diuidit. Eo transmisso felicem ingressi Campaniam pari tempestate proterunt, cuius nimia capti amoenitate inter Capuam et Nolam aliquamdiu commorati sunt. Vbi dum equos uberrimis reficiunt pabulis, pedestres copiae ex Esernia, Boiano, Venafro, ceterisque Samnitum ciuitatibus plurimam praedam contrahunt. Inde castra mouentes bipartitis copiis, pars ad laeuam in mediterranea secedens per Claudianas furcas Beneuentum, Samniticam et Transfluuium Hirpinorum montes in quibus nunc mons Leonis Cripacorique nominatur, pars alia ad dextram propius mare transuadosas Sarni lymphas Vesenium praetergressa montem pari ruina inuoluit. Surentum omnes illas superiores urbes quas Picentes inhabitabant ex Adria ciuitate a Romanis quondam in ea loco deducti usque ad Salarum fluuium qui Salrenum praeterlabens primos Lucanorum abluit fines, quos coniunctis aggressi copiis simili camilitate afficiunt. Horum pernatis agris et in extremis finibus potatis Lai fluminis aquis nunc Agnoli Brutios qui una cum Lucanis Calabrorum obtinuerunt nomen nihil mitius per omnes montes exagitant et tandem ad Rhegium consistunt, /19r/ urbem in ultimo Italiae litore ab Euboeae Calcidensibus in Siculo Euripo conditam a Caesare Augusto fugato et Sicilia Pompeio restauratam.

⟨32⟩ Hic comparata classe ad traiciendum fretum diripiendamque Siciliam se accingunt, sed conatos tempestas prohibuit, quippe quae in ipso transfretandi oborta principio naues, alias cum non nullis cohortibus absorbit alias, incautes abreptas illisit, e quibus qui primi in litus prosilierunt omnes pene seruati sunt, quos uero exsuperandi spatii uel desperatio uel sociorum prohibuit trepidatio aut timor degener retardauit. Hi uariis casibus pene cuncti absumpti sunt. Multi namque malorum antennarumque fragore contriti, multi laceris nauium compagibus fluctu impellente oppressi. Dira rerum facies horrendaque nimium calamitas litora cuncta pelagusque compleuerat, nequicquam et sociis e litore hortantibus et naufragis opem implorantibus, quippe quorum absorptae uorticibus carinae maximam partem secum traxerant. Ceteri medio in freto destituti frustra ad litus annare conabantur. Nam quos uortices non intercipientibus uel armorum inuisum pondus uel uestis madida ad ima pelagi detrahebat et quae ad praesidium uitae comparata fuerant exitium citius afferebant. Porro qui uel remis uel scutis uel tabulis comprehensis obluctantes fluctibus ad litus pedibus subremigabant et hi nequicquam quidem saeuientis pelagi iris per tot labores se subdicere laborabant. Nam appropinquantes terrae tunc maxima adibant discrimina, cum se illa iam effugisse sperarent. Siquidem uicini litori in nauium fragmina incidebant, quorum uel extantibus confodiebantur clauis uel caput membraque percussi a complexo praesidio auellebantur ruentibus in litus ferocius undis sublatis altius in caput conuoluebantur et prehensantes litora, recedens secum aestus detrahebat ita in ipso terrae limine dum se iam pericula effugisse confiderent feruenti salo obruebantur, sociis nequicquam manus por- /19v/ rigentibus. Haeserant quaedam carinae haud procul a continenti inter latentes scopulos quae et nouissimo et miserabiliore spectaculo exercitui fuere. Neque enim adeo confestim contritae uerum paulatim euictae fluctibus pinum

laxatis tabulatis salum admiserunt, deinde sensim euerberatae fluctibus resolutae patuerunt, ex his qui priores confisi lacentis detracta ueste pelago se crediderunt pauci admodum euaserunt. Reliqui partim exemplo pereuntium territi partim natandi ignari tamdiu sese inter nauium ruinas continuerunt quoad scopulis pependerit. At ubi moles ratium ita comminutae sunt ut tolli a fluctibus possent, abrepti una cum fragminibus in conspectu exercitus simili fato quo ceteri perierunt.

⟨33⟩ Hac accepta plaga pauci dies dati sunt curandis aegris et mortuorum sepulturae, propterea quod sterilis montuosusque Rheginorum ager pabulum equis auarius sufficebat. Proinde iugo Apenini superato quod ad Leucopetram procurrit in Locros descendunt, inde secundum Styllaceum sinum Consentiam urbem subeunt, ex qua Magna olim Graecia ad Tarentum pertinebat. His castris locum idoneum nacti complures dies commorati sunt naufragorum qui euaserant confirmandae ualitudinis gratia. Adiecit non nihil morarum Halarici languor quo grauiore correptus uita excessit, cui legitimae parentati iustisque omnibus funeri ex more persolutis, maxima eos sepulturae angebat cura cuius iacturam Gothi plurimi semper fecere, qua de re supra modum solliciti ne quis exhumato lluderet corpori aut indignis contumeliis cadauer afficeret, inhumani homines inhumanum praesidium comminiscuntur. Deriuant Sassentem amnem qui castris proximus praeterfluebat, in eius alueo regem<sup>1110</sup> cum pretiosissima eius suppellectile contumulant. Hinc amne in alueum restituto fossores quorum opera usi fuerant ad unum interficiunt eo pacto sperantes sepulcrum incolis ignotum fore. Ita inanis superstitio grauissimum admisit piaculum omni maxima expiatione /20r/ esset opus.

⟨34⟩ Mortuo Halarico cognatus eius Athaulphus Baltheorum nobili ortus familia in regem subrogatus est. Vir animo perspicaci, formaque non tam proceritate quam pulchritudine uultuque decora cui Galla Placidia in spem melioris educata connubii infelicissimo hymenaeo tristissimoque et numquam sperato tibicine primo captae urbis die fuerat desponsata. Huic quamuis non dum coniunctae formae tamen morumque captus honestate ardentissimo deuinciebatur amore, complurima eius et suasu et consilio faciebat. Prudentissima siquidem mulier licet barbari regis animum miro artificio demulcebat. Vnde redituro per Romam uersus Flamminium agrum persuasit exorauitque ut milites quando a rapinis cohibere nequiret a sanguine saltem ac incendiis prohiberet. Quod quidem non inuitis militibus factum est, propterea quod Gothi inopinatam Halarici mortem ac repentinum tam saeuum naufragium iratis tribuebant numinibus et Romanam uicem dolentibus et prohibentibus Siciliae uastationem, hinc et illorum sprete est sententia qui suadebant reffectis ratibus iterum in insulam transfretandum. Igitur Athaulphus Romam ueniens ciues a militaribus iniuriis studiose est tutatus, afflictosque tantis calamitatibus studiose est tutatus. Vastatam autem urbem usque adeo miseratus ut cum beneuolentia coniugis tum gloriae emulatione concupisse non numquam dicitur moenibus aedificiisque pristinis penitus deletis, nouam urbem quae Gothia appellaretur rursus construere et quemadmodum illa in locum demortui Romani nominis Gothicum referret, sic et ipse nouae conditor urbis in Augustorum subrogatus locum, imperii cognomen posteris relinqueret. Ceterum prudentissimo Placidiae consilio ab incepto reuocatus est, docentis Romanam rem maxime legibus et bonarum artium disciplinis incrementum accepisse et ad ea usque tempora stetisse, a quibus quoniam Gothorum abhorreret consuetudo sublatis opportunis fundamentis non posse tam praeclarum consurgere

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<sup>1110</sup> *post regem del. contumulant V*

opus. Probato /20v/ consortis consilio sententiaque mutata rex totum conuertit studium in exaugendam exornandamque dignitatem Romam ut laudem quam immutatione urbis consequi nequiret, restauratione adipisceretur. Quo studio usque adeo profecit ut testante Orosio siquis non multo post tempore aut Romanam uidisset multitudinem aut uocem audiuisset nihil eos mali passos credidisset, nisi forte docuisset aliquot locis exstantes ruinae.

⟨35⟩ Excedens itaque Athaulphus Roma institutum prosecutus iter tandem<sup>1111</sup> consedit apud Forum Cornelii quod nunc Imola cognominatur ubi magno cum apparatu ingentique laetitia Placidiae nuptias celebravit, cuius in dies crescente amore ultro ad imperatores legatos mittit pacem societatem petens. Ipse totam emensis Italiam superatisque Alpibus citeriorem in Hispaniam profectus est, qua in ditionem accepta consedit apud Barcem urbem cui postea Barcellum Barchinonem dicunt. Legati uero ad imperatores uenientes in hunc modum uerba fecere: *Athaulphus rex noster pacem a uobis societatemque petit, quam nisi incorruptam inuiolatamque seruare uellet uictor numquam ultro exposceret, cupiens quantum in eo est cognatos amicos habere haud hostes, uestramque dignitatem tueri potiusque quam oppugnare. Nam quos necessitudo tam arcto deuincit nodo, nulla habet indignatio dirimere. Italiam a uobis non uictoriae sed dotis nomine possidendam expetit quam uos benemerenti sorori futurisque nepotibus nefas est inuidere. Quod si annueritis pollicetur Athaulphus suis se stipendiis aduersum Vandalos militaturum operamque suam uobis tempus in omne nauaturum. Imperium uestrum ut par est cognato non segnus Stilicone, multo etiam fidelius defensurum sperans pari uos eum fide protecturos amoreque prosecuturos. Quae cum omnia uestram in rem esse cognoscitis, si probatis, ut debetis, et icto foedere et iureiurando interposito confirmare sumus parati.* His expositis iussi sunt ad hospitem discedere, postridie responsum accepturi, /21r/ qua illucescente legati ad constitutam horam praesto fuere, quibus Honorius in haec ferme uerba respondit: *Satis superque detrimenti totiens accepit Romanum imperium Gothorum credens fidei nosque eo maius uulnus sensim quo uestra iuramenta, ne periuria dixerim, sincerius secuti sumus. Iamque non ualemus satis demirari qua fronte quae fiducia aut pacem aut societatem ab illis poscitis quos per dolum ac flagitium tam nefarie decepistis? Aut quam fidem praesturi uenistis? Quos deos iterum iuraturi, uel quae tandem foedera percussuri, qui publicam gentium fidem irritam titiens feceritis deos omnes peieraueritis, foedera sanctaqua uniuersa pollueritis, uiolaueritis, profanaueritis. Inuentam fortasse aliquam nouam fidem deosue alicunde his in uestris grassationibus errutos quos etiam peieretis attulistis, ne omnino aliquod obtrussum numen remaneat quod uestra audacia non polluat. Victis hostibus tot Romanarum prouinciarum immanissimis populatoribus in ipsa paene uincula coniectis, tam impiorum scelerum impunitatem tamen ueniamque concessimus. Gallias quas postulastis inhabitandas permisimus. De Stilicone quod uos contra ius laeserat adeo liberaliter ulti sumus et tamen ob haec tot tantaque beneficia quam nobis gratiam retuleritis ipsi melius nostis. Vastatis Italiam, parentem eorum quorum munere totiens uitam accepistis, stragibus ac calamitatibus perfide affecistis, sedem imperii foedare ausi quae uos egentes profugosque saepius ab hostibus protexit, fouit opibus, muneribus ornauit, ingratos conseruauit, rebelles captiuosque meritis suppliciiis afficere temperauit. Quin audetis criminibus titulos praeferre meritorum prodicionem cognominatis uictoriam, uolentum stuprum coniugium uocitatis, et contra quorum uoluntatem decusque sororem uiolastis cognatos non erubescitis appellare? Nec ueremini a uiuis imperatoribus sedem patriamque deprecere, nec pudet abnegatam fidem uiolataque polliceri foedera et peieratos deos in me- /*

<sup>1111</sup>post tandem deleui tandem



**21v**/ dium adducere, sed ultores prius uos sentire oportet atque ita uindices testesque citare, quod cum uiderimus quosque cognouerimus promissa seruare didicisse tunc demum fidei credituros.

⟨36⟩ Hoc habito responso legatis infectis negotiis coacti sunt euestigio abscedere, quibus uix profectis Arcadius moritur in cuius locum Theodosius Iunior iuuenis admodum successit, primo post captam urbem anno. Honorius cum suo tum rei publicae periculo edoctus non est ratus praeterea fidem ducum barbarorum experiri. Romanis subinde ducibus negotia committere decreuit. Itaque Constantium comitem gentis patritiae magistrum militum creatum bello tyrannico praeficit, quod aduentus Vandalorum quos Stilico exciuerat in Galliis atque Hispania et apud ipsos Britannos plurimum concitauerat. Siquidem prouinciae a barbaris dirreptae paruis nimium Romanorum tutae praesidiis occasionem praebuerant primum non nullis indigenis apud suos tyrannidem occupare deinde compluribus Romanis militibus qui in Britannia morabantur exempla horum secutis paria audere. Ceterum hos omnes motus Constantius, partim captis tyrannis partim mutuis caedibus consumptis, mira felicitate intra duos annos compescuit atque foedauit. Porro legati ad Athaulphum apud Barchinonem otiosius commorantem reuersi responsa exponunt, quibus offensus barbarus uehementem indignationem aegritudinemque animo contraxit. Verum haud multo post coniugis placatus delenimentis rationibusque persuasus, compulsus est iniquioribus conditionibus rursus per legatos pacem societatemque postulare, quibus ad imperatorem admissis maior natu sic orsus est: *Si rex Athaulphus alicuius admissi in te criminis conscius esset, imperator, non iam secundo nulla coactus necessitate in amicum sociumque abs te recipi flagitaret. Hoc ipsum et te sensurum non dubitat, si paulo sedatiore animo causam utriusque discussseris. Qua in re id te petit precaturque ne sibi* **122r**/ *alienam culpam uitio dederis, neue omnibus Gothis unius peccatum imputaueris, crediderisque sicuti aliis in nationibus ita et inter Gothos bonos esse admixtos malis, regique suo ueluti bono parere, itidem et malo minime aduersari. Tanto huic fastigio apud Gothos deferrari solet, ut semper dignitatis maior habita est ratio quam hominis, personam regiam etiam non in uiro digno uenerabundi colimus. Nihil ergo habes quod propter Halaricum aut Athaulpho aut reliquis succenseas Gothis nisi quod eius iussa tamquam regia acceperimus et ipsius dicto ut par subiectis erat audientes fuerimus. At qui semper audiuimus seueritatem militaris disciplinae apud imperatores Romanos praecipua in obseruantia fuisse. Proinde tu, Romanus imperator, quod apud uestros libenter usurpas, apud alios damnare non habes, praesertim cum haec Gothorum erga reges reuerentia haud minorem tibi causam solatii afferre debet quam attulerit maeroris. Etenim si inimicis tuis bella semper expetentibus adeo obsequentes fuerunt, amicis utique tuis paci ac quieti eorum studentibus obsequentiores procul dubio futuros ne utique dubitaueris. Neque enim imperator tu primus constantissimam fidem Gothorum experiri incipies. Non te praetererit quam strenua nostrorum opera Seuerus imperator duce Maximino usus fuerit. Similiter et Antonius Caracalla et Alexander Mamea, sub quo cum multa praeclara gessissent facinora tum illud quod contra Parthos praestiterunt nulla umquam hominum delebit obliuio, ob quae merita et Maximinum ducem Gothorum nostro cretum sanguine ingenti omnium consensu Romanus exercitus imperatorem sibi constituit, cuius ductu atque auspicio complures annos felicia bella gessit, ipse autem imperator pro Romani imperii amplitudine ac dignitate mortem occumbere non dubitauit. Post cuius interitum Gothi Philippo quoque imperatori quousque ab eo repulsi non sunt fidam operam perstrenue nauarunt. Maximianus Diocletiani collega Ariarici Gothorum regis opera qu ipsum totam per Asiam maximis* **122v**/ *cum copiis sequi non*

*dubitauit, Parthos edomuit et Narseum regem Persarum, Saporis magni nepotem, bello superauit. Vxoribus liberis cunctisque spoliauit opibus. Magnus uero Constantinus nobis praecipue adiutoribus hanc augustissimam in qua residetis urbem et aedificauit et auxit Lycinium cognatum ab eius imperio desciscente nostris auxiliis in Thessalonica expugnatum merita morte affecit et quadraginta milibus nostrorum armatorum contra plurimas nationes felicissime usus est. Patri uestro uobisque, ipsis per sex et uiginti annos quanto usui quamue fuerimus obsequentes tutae melius nosti quousque Stiliconis dolis a uestro officio uiolenter non fuimus repulsi. Qua iniuria offensus uehementius Halaricus quicquid in uos deliquit, Athaulphus est restaurare paratus. Italiam sedem uestri imperii occupari dedignaris; en illam tuae dimisimus potestati. In orbis extremo tua iussa praestolantes ulterius si natura pateretur processuri tuamque uoluntatem expectaturi. Si iusta deuictum uictoria Athaulphum in uinculis haberes plura, tamen ab eo extorquere nequires. Cum uictore exercitu sese tibi dedit, tuae commendat fidei nihil aliud quam ut eo uel amico uel socio uel milite utaris. Facta tibi dignissima non deos obsides suae offert fidei, tuae uero erga illum aliud quam habet pignus desiderat nullum, illo uno fretus et se tibi credere non dubitat et tu ab illo sperare potes uniuersa quae fastidire sine diuina humanaque indignatione nequaquam uales. Neque tuae sorori aliquos agros quos alienis concessurus es non impertiri.*

⟨37⟩ His auditis imperator, placatum se uultu simulans, deliberaturum se respondit, atque ita responsurum. Igitur uarias morarum causas innectens legatos benigne liberaliterque tractatos diu apud se detinuit belli euentum expectans, quod Constantius imperatoris auspicio aduersum Honorio sententia nec committendi quicquam amplius barbaris nec credendi, sed uniuersos /23r/ extra fines Romani pellendos imperii. Itaque ubi accepit Constantio cuncta cedere prospera tyrannosque exactos omnes accersitis legatis respondit: *Se diu multumque cogitasse uerm nullo pacto ualuisse aliquam inire rationem, qua sine Romani imperii discrimine. Athaulpho quod postulat possit praestare, non quod ipsius uerbis fidem non habeat aut dubitet promissa non impleturum, ceterum quod ipsum ut pote mortalem non perpetuo uicturum intelligit, Gothos ac rapto uiuere suetos, ubi primum licuerit ad ingenium redituros coherceri enim naturae uitia aliquando possunt sed curari numquam. Praeterea multis se ait edoctum exemplis, magnae semper pesti fuisse Gothos in prouinciis Romanis. Nam cum primum Octauiani indulgentia in Ripensi Dacia consistere permissi sunt, haud multo post tantis iniuriis damnisque Romanos socios afficere coeperunt, ut necesse fuerit Agrippam in eos exercitum ducere et non absque graui impendio reique publicae discirimine ultra Danubium fugare. Postea Domitianus quanto rei publicae detrimento maiores uestros Histrum transire permiserit, testes sunt duo Romani exercitus quorum alterum Apius Sabinus alterum Cornelius Fuscus non sine uestrorum ingenti strage amiserunt. Testes sunt idem prauis uestri qui ob suam insolentiam audaciamque haud multo post a Traiano uicti et ad natales solitudines redire compulsi intra fines proprios perpetuo se quieturos promiserunt. Defunctis postea patribus sequens aetas Romanae inexperta uirtutis contra parentum promissa rei publicae prouincias iterum uexare ausa ab Antonio Bassiano Caracalla superata est, laresque proprios repetere compulsa. In quibus cum uix annos uiginti se continuissent iterum Danubium transfretare parantes a Gordiano Iuniore repulsi sunt. Qui per paucis post annis uinctis secum Tribalis, Astringis, Carpis, Noniulis multas Philippo primo piissimo Christiano imperatori sollicitudes incusserunt. Et cum iterum a ducibus Romanis in antiquas sedes retruderentur a Gallo et Volusiano imperatoribus ueniam precati ictis foe- /23v/ deribus in solo Romano relictis sunt in maximam rei publicae cladem. Nam defunctis memoratis*

*imperatoribus a Valeriano successore eorum in uinculis Saporis Persarum regis degente Gothi ruptis foederibus fide fracta sanctisque omnibus spretis copias bifariam partiti, pars Asiam pars Bithyniam, Macedoniam, Thraciamque exussit, uastauit, dirripuit, uniuersum imperium subuersuri nisi tantae temeritati insignis Claudii imperatoris uirtus occurrisset; trecenta siquidem milia uestrorum deleuit et duo milia nauium demersit tanta celeritate tantaque felicitate ut Deus ipse perfidiae ultor affuisse minime dubitetur. Vestri tamen nihil propterea resipiscentes iterum Aureliano imperante Danubium transire conati ab imperatore ipso quinque milibus rege Canabo caesis turpiter repulsi sunt et in natales rupes retrusi. Sed quietis impatientes rursus reparatis uiribus Sarmatiam conterminam iam olim Romanam prouinciam malo suo occuparunt. Siquidem a magno Constantino non minore clade quam a Claudio affecti intra foueas suas conclusi sunt. Post haec ab Hunis pulsi et a Valente accepti quam gratiam reddideritis non est necesse uobis commemorare. Similiter et pro consecuta a Gratiano ac Theodosio uenia quam nobis uicem mercedemque retribuistis meminisse potestis. His ergo tot tantisque admonitus exemplis imprudentissimus essem si a uobis aliud uel expectarem uel expeterem quam quod aliis tot saeculorum uoluminibus exhibere consueuistis aut sperarem Athaulphum Gothorum posse immutare ingenia. Quamobrem ite et dicite Athaulpho neque ipsum neque Gothos Romanum solum prementes pacem ullam a nobis habituros.*

〈38〉 Igitur Athaulphus, spe pacis frustratus, coactus est de bello cogitare, cumque intelligeret opera imperatoris aditum Italiae adeo ualidis teneri praesidiis ut reditus spes omnis sublata esset, relictis apud Barchilonem impedimentis coniugibus et cuncta /24r/ imbelli turba cum delecto expeditoque milite in Vltiorem Hispaniam contendit, cupiens ea in potestatem uendicata in Africam traicere atque ex illis regionibus tantas contrahere copias quae ad euertendam rem publicam sufficere uiderentur. Et quoniam non ignorabat prouincias illas Romano nomini deditas esse ac studiosas, ratus est per speciem Romani imperatoris facilius allectos populos imperata facturos, Romanum quendam Athalum nomine ex militibus suis imperatorem nuncupatum in Hispaniam Africamque praemittit. Ipse se ducem copiarum Athali assimilans terrestri itinere exercitum ducit. Athalus in Bethicam appulsus praemittit in Africam iudices. Hoc enim iam nomine praetores propraetoresque qui ab imperatoribus mittebantur coeperant appellari. Ceterum hos Herodianus paul ante ab Honorio ad Africae conseruationem praemissus confestim compulit prouincia decedere, quin et classe celeriter comparata proelio maritimo cum Athalo conflixit profligatumque et ad litus Hispaniae compulsus relinquere naues et in terram desilire adegit. Ita Herodianus Romani imperii nunc acerrimus propugnator et mox infelix hostis futuras mutas captiuas trahens naues ouans in Africam reuersus est. Felix atque iterum felix si plus spei in fide quam in perfidia repositum habuisset aut uictorem animum a pernitiōsa insolentia nouisset cohibuisset. Sed perdifficile est turbinem fortunae moderatis excipere uelis, quippe quae eodem impetu quo affert caecas mortalium mentes in praeceps deicit ac inuoluit.

〈39〉 Siquidem Herodianus ob rem bene gestam ab imperatore collaudatus consularique donatus dignitate, cum rerum successibus tum Sabiniani calidissimi ingenii hominis cui nuper natam disponderat consiliis instigatus, spem non solum potiundae Italiae uerum etiam totius occidentalis concepit imperii, motusque concitauit omnium illius tempestatis periculosissimos. Comparauit enim classem cuius numerosiorem nullius umquam /24v/ saeculis maria uiderunt. Testatur Orosius cuius temporibus illa contigerunt septingentas naues supra quatuor milia fuisse. Hac uniuersa carinarum multitudine ad Ostia appulsa innumeram Afrorum

multitudinem in litus exposita cum aduersus Romam duceret Herodianus ratus tam inaudita multitudine territos ciues uel urbem relicturos uel manus sponte daturos, obuium habuit Marinum comitem toto cum populo Romano. Quem ubi praeter opinionem infestis signis in se ruentem conspexit, adeo est territus ut nulla instructa acie, nullo temptato proelio nedum inito turpissimae se fugae commisit. Afri ducem suum fugientem conspicati, primum quidem admirati, deinde pari terrore percussi terga hosti dederunt. Quod animaduertens principio insidias ueritus paululum pedem praepressit, at ubi patentibus campis nullas esse cognouit effuso euestigio cursu hostem alacer persequitur, quem sine ordine fugientem consecrati Romani terga uiriliter caedunt, proterunt, conculcant, spoliant, uinciunt. Cadebant passim Maurorum nigrantia corpora et Poenorum frequens iuuentus Canensis quondam cladis debitas uices exsoluebat. Quantum prioribus posteriorum caedes fugae spatium condebat, tantum timor animique trepidatio adimebat, nec proderat armorum se leuare onere, quae passim abiciebant, adeo metus etiam quae ad praesidium uitae comparata fuerant pertimescit. Et iam uentum erat ad litus Herodianus primus scapham onerariae nauis nactus deserta classe pelago se commisit, reliqua omnis multitudo intercepta est. Nam cum mixti uictores ad litus cum fugientibus peruenissent, naues quae in ancoris steterant paucis tutatas propugnatoribus sine mora expugnant, et quamuis ingenti strage magna pars cecidisset tanta tamen captiuorum multitudo fuisse dicitur ut nullus Romanorum esset ciuium qui plura mancipia non haberet. Elapsus ex hac fuga Sabinus Constantinopolim perfugit, sed haud multo post ad Honorium reductus, /25r/ exilio damnatus est. Herodianus uero amissa classe cum solus Carthaginem rediisset militari tumultu oppressus est. Nescio quid magis admirer tantam ne nauium multitudinem unius tyranni auctoritate atque imperio intra unum ferme annum comparatam, quae non Graecorum modo uerum et illam memorandam Xerxis classem longe superaret; an Romanorum audaciam qui se paulo ante paucioribus Gothorum copiis dirripiendos exhibuerant et post maiori insperatae multitudini tam ferociter extra urbem occurrere sunt ausi constantioreque animo pro inopia et uiolata coniugum pudicitiae pugnare quam pro integra re fecerant; an quia forte aliquando mortalibus doloris experientia animum adicere consueuit et in ultionem perpessa iniuria acrius instigare.

⟨40⟩ Porro Athalus quem Herodianus uictum classe spoliauerat cum se imprudenter Hispanis credidisset ab eis captus est et ad Constantium comitem tunc apud Arelatum Galliarum urbem agentem perductus. Hispani enim omnes operam quam barbarorum iugo subtrahere poterant Romano imperio studiosissime nauabant. Interea Athaulphus Vltiorem ingressus Hispaniam saepius uaria fortuna cum Vandalis congressus quod sperauerat minime est assecutus. His rebus feliciter gestis totque ducibus ac tyrannis de medio ex sententia sublatis spem Honorius animumque concipere ausus posse rem collapsam erigere et nutantem occidentalis imperii molem confirmare. Statuit itaque barbaros omnes Romanis pellere finibus. Sed a Gothis incipiendum censuit, ut pote uiciniora Italiae loca incolentibus et ad peragendum negotium opportunitiora praeterea cum Gothorum manus ceteris esse ualidior, ea deleta minorio negotio reliquam barbariem esse pellendam. Igitur Constantium apud Arelate ut diximus commorantem iubet aduersus Athaulphum proficisci qui contractis copiis nactum Citeriore in Hispania regem incredibili prudentia omni commeatu breui interclusit litora nauibus reddens infesta, cunctra uero Galliarum itinera praesidiis clausa. His necessitatibus /25v/ compulsus est Athaulphus in Vltiorem fugere Hispaniam et ibi auxilia uiresque reparare, ceterum nequicquam quidem. Nam Gothi iam pridem alienatis a rege animis ad modum indignabantur blanditiis illectum uxoris tribus annis a bello abstinuisse per quos

Honorium Vandalorum tyrannorumque uexatum motibus facile fuisset imperio spoliare. Hinc primum iussa spernere coeperunt. Deinde crescente contumacia inualecescentibusque odiis conspirant in necem, eam per dolum machinati Athaulphum interimunt ilia confossum Eurulphi cuiusdam manu ac gladio, cuius staturam deridere consueuerat, qui principio priuatam potius ultus contumeliam quam publicum executum facinus uisus est.

⟨41⟩ Extincto Athaulpho Sigerium regem sufficiunt sperantes hunc ardentius bellum aduersum Romanos administraturum, sed cum et hunc uiderent in pacemque offerebatur propensum incautum dolo intercipiunt ac necant. Vallia rege constituto uiro quidem magni consilii prudentiaeque singularis, qui tametsi pacem cum Romanis bello duceret potioem, tamen ut aliquem Gothorum concederet furori magnam eorum manum armis ceteroque bellico instructam apparatu nauibus impositam in Africam destinare conatus est, quae in Gaditano quamuis breuissimo freto omnis subita tempestate obruta interiit. Et tamen nihil ea re reliqui Gothorum territi instant pertinacius apud regem ut reffectis nauibus aliam in Africam destinet expeditionem. Vallia aegre ferens hominum temeritatem iubet cunctos in contionem uenire, quibus praesto existentibus hunc ferme in modum locutus est: *Equidem ciues quid uobis rege opus sit non uide quando contra morem cum maiorum uestrorum tum omnium gentium uos et imperare uultis et regere, regemque uestrum compellere non pro sua optimatumque prudentia sed pro uestra libidine bella gerere putantes, uictoriam perditam potius quadam audacia quam consilio parari. Intelligitis Constantium tot rerum gestarum clarum uictoremque Romanum exercitum in nos ducentem a /26r/ quo integri Citeriore Hispania pulsus sumus et speratis iam ex dimidio consumptis copiis eorum impetum posse sustinere, quin quasi nullam accepistis iacturam, nullosue amiseritis socios has quoque reliquias attenuare festinatis, itaque partiri ut nemo sit neque qui Africam uictor inuadere neque qui ruenti hosti occurrere queat. Quid nunc in Africam queritis coniugum natorum fortunarumque omnium ac propriae solutis obliui. Creditis uos illinc praedas acturos et hic feminas puerosque pro uobis aduersum tantas Romanorum copias bella gesturos? Irata maria uestrorum referta cadaueribus, inuitis fatibus intrare praesumitis, immemores sortis cladisque quam secundo iam temptato pelago dirissimam calamitosissimamque experti estis. Ruitis in exitum stolidissimis animalibus imprudentiores, quippe quae lutum in quo semel haeserint nullius plagis uerberibusque id repetere adigi possunt. Vos bis naufragio obrutos ac deletos iuuat tertio periclitari, ut nemo Gothorum superesse possit cuius sepulcrum ossaque monstrari queant. Porro Dei hominumque fidem, quae est haec miseranda hominum amentiae, quisue hic uesanus furor! Vereor commitiones mei admodum et uehementius animum inducere coepi hanc uesaniam iratis numinibus ob aliquod insigne piaculum uestris mentibus immissam, nosque omnes propter aliquod inxpiatum scelus marinis fluctibus esse deuotos. Nam qui obsecro sani homines totiens infaustum mare experti non solum illi se credere, sed ne conspicerent quidem amplius sustinerent. Resipiscite igitur aliquando miseri et si non<sup>1112</sup> dum a uobis omne consilium sublatum est, quid agitis cogitate. Fata peruinci posse creditis aut inuicta numina uestra fragili pertinacia superare? Putatis me pro uestra gloria saluteque non esse sollicitum? aut de Gothorum exaugendis rebus minime cogitare, et ad quem omnium magis uestra qualiscumque pertinet conditio? Aut quem maiori ex parte utraque fortuna contingit? Vel quis est alius qui uehementius optet Gothos ubique rerum fore dominos, quando quidem uniuersa argumenta fortunarum /26v/ meae potentiae dignitatisque sunt incrementa, nihil uobis accedere potest sine meae amplitudinis accessione, nihil deperire quod itidem non deperat et*

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<sup>1112</sup>post non deleui non

*mihī. Neque aliud est quod nunc me magis sollicitet, quam salus uestra ut pote sine qua ipse salus esse non possum nec uolo. Vobis incolumibus meum regnum incolume est, fractis uero aut deletis uita mihi morte commutanda est et seruitus uoluntario exitio praeoccupanda. Quas ob res me imprudentiorem uobis non esse cognoscitis et felicitatis uestrae tanto studiosorem quanto eius incrementa magis ad me spectare noscuntur aut mihi regium quod dedistis munus recta uobis consulenti adimite, aut peragere permittite quae in rem utriusque futura uidebuntur.*

⟨42⟩ His uerbis persuasi Gothi primum optimates, deinde milites acclamare coeperunt regem concessa semel auctoritate uti debere et neglectis spretisque uesanorum cupiditatibus quod sibi salubrius uisum fuerit transfigite ac peragite. Vallia hanc promptitudinem animorum ex sententia nactus non est passus diuturniore cunctatione corrumpi, itaque quam primum datis lectissimis obisidibus foedus cum Honorio percussit. Placidia, quam post Athaulphi necem honorifice apud se iouesteque habuerat, fratri restituta, aduersum Vandalos ceterasque barabaras nationes quae in Hispaniis Galliisque consederant suam pollicitus operam imperatori. His foederibus firmatis, Honorius Constantium, ut spoponderat ut que fides ipsius et merita exigere uidebantur, Caesarem declarat Placidia sorore illi matrimonium tradita quae ei postea Valentinianum peperit. Exinde Constantius Caesar strenuissima fidissimaque Gothorum opera in expugnandis ceteris barbarorum nationibus est usus euersum propemodum imperium restaurauit. Ipse uero Vallia regnator Hispaniae plane<sup>1113</sup> effectus sicut dominationis ita et generis auctor fuit omnium regum Hispaniae qui per octoginta ferme generationes succedentes ad nostram quoque aetatem peruenerunt et traditum regnum retinuerunt, quamuis multis /27r/ saepe bellis exagitatum et a Maurorum regibus per uiginti et amplius annos interpellatum. Hoc fine primum Gothorum bellum conclusum esse dignoscitur.

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<sup>1113</sup>plane] splane V plane C

## ⟨LIBER SECVNDVS⟩

⟨1⟩ QVONIAM<sup>1114</sup> primae Gothorum in Italiam expeditionis causas, progressum exitumque explicauimus, dicere de secunda aggrediemur. Ostrogothi ut ostendimus subita Hunorum eruptione oppressi quinquaginta et eo amplius annos seruiuerunt usque ad Athilae mortem qui post illam Visigothorum tempestatem haud quaquam minore calamitate complurimas Romanorum afflixit prouincias in reliquam Italiam nequaquam mitius saeuiturus quam in Venetos,<sup>1115</sup> Ligures et reliquos fecerat Cisalpinos, nisi summi pontificis Leonis precibus placatus etiam Halarici subito casu territus ex Minicii uado reuersus Italia excessisset. Mortuo igitur Athila Ostrogothi Hunorum iugum uiriliter excutiunt, siquidem rati se idoneum uindicandae libertatis nactus tempus contractis copiis aduersum Athilae filios arma mouent Hunosque inaudita caede affectos Pannoniis decedere natalesque rupes repetere compellunt. Ipsi rerum domini terris ex quibus hostes depulerunt uictores dominantur, per aliquod tempus spoliis inimicorum et recuperata libertate contenti.

⟨2⟩ Sed non est passa per otium crescens audacia ferocia ingenia diutius quiescere quippe haud multo post Illyricum uastare coeperunt nec prius a uexationibus abstinerunt quam Mysiam ambasque Pannonias ab imperatore Leone inhabitandas extorsissent, polliciti se rei publicae amicos sociosque futuros, Theodorico Theodemiri filio, puero septimum annum agente,<sup>1116</sup> promissorum fide dato. Enimuero imperator praestabilius ratus ingenia quae per uim in fide retinere non poterat per beneficia conciliare, Theodoricum quem unicum Arileua concubina Theodemiro genuerat liberaliter educatum omnibus ingenuis imbutum disciplinis iam decem et septem annos natum<sup>1117</sup> regio ornatu comitatuque deductum patri cum his uerbis remittit: *Theodoricum [27v] complures annos<sup>1118</sup> apud me esse uolui, non tam paternae fidei obsidem quam insignium morum elegantissimum obseruatorem quibus se probauit uere regium filium et maximorum regum congressu regnoque dignum, cuius praeclara indole quanto sum uehementius delectatus tanto eum putauit maiori tibi esse desiderio proinde non dubitauit omnes meas rationes tuae posthabere pietati, haudquaquam ignarus quantum paternus ualeat affectus et unici filii praesentia quanto solatio soleat esse patri, quo ne careres ipse carere uolui et tibi usum concedere cuius amorem minime concesserim, scitoque eum nobis non minus quam tibi carum. Sed quamuis eum ueri parentis beneuolentia amplectamur, tibi tamen qui ipsum tam feliciter procreasti a nobis liberaliter educatum reddendum censuimus, iustitiae nostrae potius quam uoluntati seruientes, quo et tu debita uoluptate perfrui queas et ipse abs te libentius discere ualeat cum ceteris dignis moribus uirtutibusque meritam Romano imperio obseruantiam amicitiamque quam te tantam talemque erga nos gerere credimus ut eius conseruandae multum abs te pignus desiderandum arbitremur, quippe qui probe callemus sicuti improbos uiros nullis posse uinculis in fide retineri, ita probos nullis ab ea diuelli.* Theodemir tanto tamque insperato deuinctus munere pacem amicitiamque quam tacentem Leonem deposcere intellexit sinceram inuiolatamque

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<sup>1114</sup>ante [Q]VONIAM add. C LIBER TERTIVS

<sup>1115</sup>in Venetos] inuentos V in Venetos C

<sup>1116</sup>puero ... agente add. V<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1117</sup>liberaliter ... natum add. V<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1118</sup>annos] dies V annos V<sup>1</sup>C

exhibuit ac conseruauit. Deinde primis Zenonis temporibus qui post captam a Gothis urbem tertio et sexagesimo anno regnare coeperat, humanis excedens Theodoricum et regni et sanctae erga imperatorem fidei reliquit heredem. Siquidem Theodoricus amplissimorum beneficiorum suauiSSimaeque consuetudinis memor<sup>1119</sup> mirifica obseruantia amoreque et imperatorem et Romanos omnes colebat ac amplectebatur. Vnde a Zenone Constantinopolim uocatus faciliore liberalitate uenit quam fuerat a Leone dimissus, quem Zeno honorifice ut par erat susceptum clarissimis muneribus exornauit, equestri donatum statua quam ex aere fusam /28r/ in palatio collocauit, inter patricos conscripsit, stipendiaque tam ipsi quam eius militibus quot annis decreuit. Quibus beneficiis deuinctus Theodoricus Zenonem filiali uenerabatur affectu, imperatoris erga se non minorem quam parentis expertus pietatem.

⟨3⟩ Itaque complures annos apud imperatorem est commoratus numquam a latere eius officioque discessurus in suorum, nisi<sup>1120</sup> suorum pertinacissima importunitate fuisset auulsus. Tale quippe generi illi natura comparauerat ingenium ut modum cupiditatibus suis scirent imponere nullum et semper ultra ditionis terminos contendant temeritate propagare fines. Hinc homines quietis impatientes rapinis belloque suetos mercenariae uitae, taedere iam coeperat, praecipue cum intelligerent non nullas ceteras nationes longe se uiribus inferiores armis opes gloriamque quaesisse, Theodoricum importunius interpellare non cessant segnitia se atque desidia marcescere, uictum capere precarium, mercenariam uitam pati non posse, maxime cum ipsi sibi uiribus amplas facultates honoremque parare ualeant, nullam esse adeo imbecilem gentem, nullum tam ignauum populum qui non spoliis onustus incedat, qui non<sup>1121</sup> alatur uectigalibus Visigothi, Alani, Sueui, Burgundiones partiti inter se Galiis Hispanisque dominantur. Vandali Africae imperitant, Heruli atque Turigni nuper a nobis pulsati uberrimos Italiae capiunt fructus. *Aequo – inquit – animo ferre non possumus hos omnes gloria opibusque florescere, nos solos ceteris praestantiores in gloriam emendicatamque traducere uitam? Habes Theodorice strenuissimos milites, exercitus inuictum robur, suo sanguine imperium nomenque aeternum tibi parare cupientes. Indecorum immo uero flagitiosum tibi est armis et militiae nato urbanis illectum uoluptatibus torpescere, admodum uero turpe nolle ultro delatam arripere facultatem quam reliqui reges ducesque magnis datis praemiis maioribus factis pollicitationibus uix ac raro a suis militibus extorquent. Quod tibi procurandum esset multisque comparandum meritis et pluribus /28v/ precibus exorandum id tui abs te milites postulant ac contendunt, operam omnem ultro tuae pollicentur dignitati, pro ea amplificanda cunctos labores uniuersa peruicula adire parati. Indignum tuo genere committeres longaque a maiorum tuorum consuetudine alienum et tuos populares tantis excludere bonis et te ipsum tam insigni gloria fraudare. Nulla uetustas Berigis memoriam abolere ualuit qui genus nostrum ex glaciali oceano hominum in orbem induxit. Sempiternis laudibus et Philimiri celebratur nomen qui ataus nostros et Vlmerugorum sterili solo per tot eferas nationes uiam ferro aperiens ad mitiores Ponti oras penetrando perduxit. Ceterum ut antiqua connumerare omittamus, quanta cum admiratione Halarici facta celebrantur, cuius ductu atque auspicio cum spoliis utriusque Pannoniae, Illyrici, Dalmatiae totiusque Italiae Visigothi amoenissimis Spaniarum sedibus perfriuuntur. Patris quoque tui memoria sempiternis est consecrata monumentis quod eius beneficio Scythiae horrendas solitudines cum Mysiae Thraciae fecundioribus commutauimus campis. Tibi quoque primo iuuentutis*

<sup>1119</sup>memor] maeror V memor C

<sup>1120</sup>nisi] in V nisi C

<sup>1121</sup>ante qui non del. qui non V



*flore non nihil laudis comparasti, qui Sarmatiam nostrae adiecisti dicioni atque quo maiorem nobis spem de te concitasti eo uehementius angimur te eam non implere ac tam felicium coeptorum nolle incrementa adicere, et cum tuam uirtutem simul et gloriam crescere oportebat tunc eam per uoluptates et blandimenta sinere corrumpi. Degeneris est animi malle seruire quam imperare imprudentisque consilii Zenonis seruitutem sempiternae tuae laudi antepone. Si non dominus par certe imperatori esse potes, modo tu ipse tuae non inuideas gloriae et tuae felicitati non aduerseris. Haec crebro atque pertinacius adeo nihil est quod sibi non licere arbitretur mortalium temeraria potestas, nec quippiam tam magnum putat, quod sibi non deberi autumet. Ibique magis contumeliosa grassatur, unde maiorum facinorum impunitatem se relaturam confidit.*

⟨4⟩ His ergo atque aliis huiusmodi uocibus saepius interpellatus /29r/ Theodoricus tametsi non parum inflammaretur da tantae gloriae laudem, quia tamen turpe ducebat et imperatorem adeo de se benemeritum deserere et impium paternis contraire affectibus, arguere Gothos non desinebat nimiae temeritatis ingratitude cupidaditatisque docens paruae esse prudentiae iactura praesentium, spem quaerere futurorum et insignis temeritatis uelle periculis caput assidue obiectare. Neque quicquam stultius quam sufficientibus bonis non esse contentum. Praestantes fortunas cupiditate meliorum saepe subuerti aduersus Deum bellare qui datas fastidit facultates et qui mediocres nactus ampliorius satagit commutare tamquam Deus mesuram humani nesciat modi aut necessaria illi negligat sufficere. *Sed modus* – inquit – *cupidaditibus uestris imponendus est cui non omnis uita est infesta qui nisi adsit nequicquam lautiores et quaeruntur et aquiruntur opes praesentibus cupidine meliorum subinde uilescentibus. Maiores nostri solis Scythiae contenti agris infinitis saeculorum uoluminibus felicissimi quieuerunt nos damnato eorum consilio dum per intemperantiam feraciorem quaerimus patriam iam saepius genus Gothorum paene deleuimus et nunc paululum restauratum nescio quibus exagitati furiis perdere festinatis. Vtinam patres nostri quos tanta inanium uerborum iactantia extollitis contenti Scythicis aruis quieuisent nequaquam augustissimos quondam Gothorum populos ad tantam paucitatem redegissent nec nobis tot Romanorum duces imperatoresque clade nostrorum innotuisset aut quotus quisque uestrum est cui Lentuli, Agrippae, Traiani, Caracallae, Galli, Volusiani, Aureliani, infausta nostro generi nomina ignota sint. Ad sonum Claudii ac Constantini pueri quoque uestri expauescunt, quorum ab altero trecenta milia nostrorum caesa memorantur et duo milia nauium demersa, ab altero autem Gothorum nomen quoque paene deletum est. Mitto commemorare regem Canobum qui dum alienum solum occupare festinat et se et exercitum perdidit. Halaricum / 29v/ uobis in exemplum audaciae proponitis et Radagasum cum ducentis milibus ad internitionem deletum non attenditis quamuis et in ipso Halarico si uerum fateri uolueritis plus certi metus quam bonae spei comperietis. Spolia attenditis sed quanto ea suorum interitu comparauerit cernere non uultis. At cernit illum totus Flamineus ager inhumata uestrorum multitudine refertus, cernit Siculum fretum Gaditanaeque angustiae quae maiorem exercitus partem absorbuerunt, cernit utraque Hispania inulto Visigothorum sanguine respersa. Testantur ipse eorum reliquiae Valliae regis prudenti consilio et Honorii imperatoris uenia non in amoenissimis ut uos putatis sedibus sed insterilissimis ut ipsi experiuntur regionibus uiuere permitti. Neque enim inficiantur regentes Scythiae campos arentibus Hispaniae rupibus commutasse, ex quadringentis milibus qui Italiam ingressi sunt, uix triecsimus superesse dignoscitur. Ceterorum qui ante nos pro Sarmatiae Mysiae Pannoniae agris contenderunt nec sepulcrum monstrari potest neque ullus est campus fluuiusque Gothorum*

*clade non insignitus. Iacent passim inhumata cadauera, campi omnes interfectorum albescunt ossibus, nullus feris, nullus uolucris ignota. Quin etiam pisces Gothica carne saginati sunt. Huic sorti uos quoque deuotos uideo, huic fortunae addicto. Vtramque Pannoniam habetis tributariam, Mysiam possidetis, Sarmatiam uestrae dicioni adieci, Thracia imperatoris benignitate annonam sufficit. Ipse imperator stipendia tamqua fortissimis uiris condigna persoluit. Securi omnique ammota sollicitudine pluribus nationibus feliciores dominamini quam tres alii populi a uobis connumerati. Turignis quarto iam desolatam inuidetis Italiam, Romamque tertio captam, ac uniuersam ferme solo aequatam. Vos pro mea amplitudine dicitis sollicitos, ego me pro uestra salute non minus intentum esse cognosco, utinam ut pari studio ita prudentia pari. Non enim totiens iniustis obtunderitis querelis, nec adeptam felicitatem tam insolenter fastidiretis.*

⟨5⟩ Non leuia ad dimo- /30r/ uendos ab incepto animos monit, si uel diuina urgens prouidentia, uel obstrepens mentibus cupiditas altius illa penetrare permisisset. Sed tantis temeritas adiuta praesidiis quamlibet salutaria Theodorici documenta facile eludebat. Quam ob rem Gothi nihilo setius abire ardebant uocantia numina<sup>1122</sup> nec qua ratione sequi parati incusare regis ignauiam pusillanem degeneremque uocitare, modo queri uirium alias praestantissimum fortissimumque urbanis corruptum deliciis efeminari, eneruari exolescere modo execrari urbem quae tam strenuum labefactasset ducem, modo imperatori dira omnia impetrari qui blandimentis detineret illectum. Denique communi omnium consilio nuntiant Theodorico se prorsus decreuisse aliam experiri fortunam et antiquiis derelictis bello nouas querere sedes, cupereque huius incepti ipsum et regem habere et ducem, quod si nolit pace ipsius ac uenia sibi alium quaesituros ducem, testari Deum se inuitos alium sequi. His tam importunis flagitationibus permotus Theodoricus imperatorem adiens his uerbis dicitur allocutus: *Audieram olim crebro usurpari ab hominibus, clementissime imperator, nihil esse difficilius quam secundam moderare fortunam, at non dum re ipsa quod dicebatur compereram, nunc ex Gothis meis coniecturam capiens nihil uerius dictum experior. Affluunt tua benignitate bonis omnibus, seruis, ancillis, agris, opibus, tot prouinciarum possessores complurium nationum domini, suis parcentes tuis aluntur stipendiis, haec tua fastidiunt bona, tenuia perexiguaqua appellant, maiori incredibili flagrant desiderio, tamquam uel fame pereant uel patres eorum potiora desiderio nouam cupiunt expeditionem nouisque periculis se festinant exponere, a quibus quoniam iustissimis uerissimisque rationibus eos saepius absterrere conatus sum, nouissimis me uocibus interpellant aut regem si me eis ducem praestitero aut desertorem si negauero, se nihilominus alium regem quaesituros. Inter has iniquissimas deprehensus conditiones quid eligam /30v/ decernere nequeo. Nam et in officio meo pro tot tantisque tuis in me meritis apud te manere cupio et sine ipsis permanere nequeo. Tibi duce sine copiis opus non esse intelligo, potioemque copiis ducem quam duci copiarum inueniendi facultatem. Vnum uix exogitare quiui, quod si tua probauerit clementia tantarum difficultatum haud leue temperamentum erit. Nosti Italiam contra decus dignitatemque Romani imperii ab impurissimo occupatam tyranno, indignissimis tractari modis. Aduersum hunc me Gothos ducere per mitte, expeditio haec quocumque ceciderit tuam in rem cessura est. Primum quia te tantis leuabimus impendiis. Deinde si uicero tuo munere uincam tuoque dono Italiae dicionem uindicabo, sin uictus fuero di quoque sine tuo contiget detrimento. Cum ergo in altero tua certa gloria decusque imperii situm sit, in altero nec iacturae nec sumptuum quicquam non imprudentis consilii esse arbitror alieno periculo maximam quaerere laudem,*

<sup>1122</sup>ante nec qua add. nec qua V

*hoc pacto et exercitum mihi et me exercitui et fortasse utrumque tuae amplitudini conseruabis.*

⟨6⟩ Haec non sine molestia audiuit imperator non quod expeditionem in Italiam non probaret, sed quod Theodoricum singulari dilectum amore aegre ab se diuelli pateretur. Rem tum ad senatum refert, qui sententias dicere rogati uniuersi consilium Theodorici inceptumque collaudauere, affirmantes datam imperatori occasionem qua et se sumptibus leuaret et perntiosissima peste se prouinciasque liberaret, proinde permetteret perpetuos Romani imperii hostes in mutuas ruere caedes. Igitur imperator frequenti senatu accitum postridie Theodoricum hunc in morem allocutus est: *Quo te uehementius diligimus, fili, eo difficilius nobis fuit de tuo discessu deliberare, non quod profectionem tuam in rem utriusque futuram non speremus, uerum quod paternus amor quo te iam dudum amplectimur etiam tutissima quaeque filio pertimescit, ideoque magis de te solliciti sumus quod et salutem et dignitatem tuam ad nos maxime spectare cognoscimus. /31r/ Liberandae Italiae numquam nobis studium defuit sed facultas, saepeque expeditionem parantes temporum interpellauit iniquitas. Nunc tibi id muneris deposcenti, lubentes annuimus et fide et uirtute tua plurimum freti. Proinde consularibus his te fascibus donamus, moreque maiorum hoc sacrum capiti impositum uelamen, firmamentum permissae Italiae perpetuaeque dignitatis concedimus ac dilargimur, senatum tibi populumque Romanum ac Italiam uniuersam impensius commendantes. Oppido enim cupimus sacram illam imperii sedem incolumen et terram tantorum principum altricem saluam. Proficiscere igitur bono omine, Deus uota secundet, tuumque hoc inceptum faustum ac felix esse uelit.* Haec imperatoris uerba plurimo sunt omnium et plausu et fauore excepta, Theodoricusque consul declaratus ingenti cum pompa atque honore a senatoribus domum est deductus toto Constantinopolitano populo comitante ac felicissima quaeque imprecante. Adsunt praeterea ab imperatore insignia dona pecuniaeque et alia ad profectionem necessaria complura, quibus acceptis Theodoricus parum in urbe commoratus ad Gothorum statiuam proficiscitur, primo quoque tempore Italiam uersus castra moturus.

⟨7⟩ Premebat autem per id tempus Italiam saeua tyrannide Odoacer quidam qui eam non multo ante occupauerat per hanc occasionem. Ultimo Leonis imperii anno, cui mox Zeno successit, Romani ciuem quendam patricium Nepotem nomine ad fastigium occidentalis euehunt imperii, qui rebus Italiae confirmatis exercitum parat transmittendum in Gallias ad reprimendas Visigothorum iniurias, quibus Romanorum socios afficere dicebantur. Hunc Oresti uiro et ipso patricio magistro militiae constituto ducendum tradit, qui prius proditor quam dux effectus, simul ut Rauennam cum exercitu peruenit filium Augustulum iuuenem et ferme puerum imperatorem appellat. Quod ut cognouit Nepos uidens nullas sibi superesse copias, quibus se aduersus proditorem tueretur, quippe qui omnes Oresti tradiderat, in Dalmatiam profugit et apud Salonas /31v/ episcopus ordinatus consenuit. At Orestes amicos praesidiaque conquirens, quibus filio imperium confirmaret cum rege Vandalorum Africam obtinente foedus percussit plurimum in eo spei habens. Ceterum hanc Romani confestim eludunt. Neque enim aequis animis ferre poterant contra optimatum uoluntatem per scelus et flagitium partum imperium. Clam ad Herulos Turignosque mittunt qui paucis ante annis ex praelio quo filii Athilae ab Ostrogothis superacti sunt profugientes ad Histri ostia conserauerant, auxilia aduersum Orestem implorantes, tamquam nullo didicissent exemplo quantae semper pesti fuerit barbarorum in Italiam aduentus. Sed caeca mortalium mens dum nimio ultionis feruet studio futuris nequit prospicere omnis penitus consilii uigore correpto. Igitur Heruli Turignique ad praedam magis quam ad ferendam Romanis opem confestim se accingunt et

Odoacro acris uiro ingenii reique militaris scientiae praestanti duce creato in Italiam contendunt, quam ingressi Aquilegia ad laeuam relicta per superiores Venetos iter facientes in agrum Brixianum deflectunt. Quibus de rebus Orestes certior factus obuam cum exercitu hosti proficiscitur euxiliis tota ex Italia contractis, quae cum ei apud Abduam fluuium praesto fuissent, perguit in hostem admotisque propius castris parat prior pugnandi facere potestatem. Ceterum conante signa educere auxilia deserunt, quibus dillabentibus territae legiones certamen inire detractant et se continent in castris. His difficultatibus uictus Orestes solutis noctu castris silentio in urbem Ticinium cui nunc Papiiae nomen est cum legionibus se recepit, quem insecutus Odoacer urbem corona uallauit, diuque strenue repugnantem pertinaci expugnatione uiolenter irrumpit tanta cum militum tum ciuium Romanorum strage edita quanta post captam urbem maior ad illum diem fuisse non memoratur, ipsa uero ciuitas iam olim a transalpinis condita populis et paucis ante annis ab Athila Hunorum rege uastata ab Odoacro non solum dirrepta, sed cum uniuerso agro igne ferroque foedata est. /32r/ Exciso Ticinio Orestes in uinculis Placentiam perductus crudele sed meritum perfidiae spectaculum uniuersis fuit. Siquidem inspectante cuncto exercitu Odoacri confossus manu praeda canibus alitibusque data est. Quibus exemplis perterrefacti Italiae populi certatim deditionem facientes intra paucos dies omnes in potestatem Odoacri deuenere. Interea Augustulus inops consilii Rauenna discedens Romam peruenerat, sed ex ea confestim in Campaniam profugit, atque apud Lucullanum oppidum deposita purpura imperio se abdicauit quod uix quatuordecim tenuerat menses anno post Octauianum Augustum appellatum quingentesimo decimo septimo. Ut non temere uerum pessimo rei publicae omine dedita ueluti opera illud imperii Augustale nomen in huius Augustuli appellatione fata diminuisse uiderentur. Porro Odoacer rebus Italiae ex sententia compositis Romam profectus est, ubi appropinquans uniuersam Romanum populum laetitia effusum obuam habuit, plurimam gratulationis praeferentem uoluptatem. Mox in ipso urbis ingressu rex Italiae appellatus ouanti similis in Capitolium perductus est.

⟨8⟩ In hunc modum Odoacer rebus Italiae est potitus aduersus quem Theodoricus Mysia profectus Gothorum ualidam ducens manum cum coniugibus liberis cunctaque supellectili incidit in insidias Busiridis Bulgarorum<sup>1123</sup> ducis et Strupilae regis Gepidarum a quibus in multas saepius adductus difficultates uictor tandem euasit, affectisque plurima clade hostibus uiam ferro aperuit et per Sirmium atque Illyricum ad Italiam penetrauit. Ingressusque Venetorum fines apud Sontium amnem haud procul ab Aquilegiae ruinis locum pabulo idoneum nactus castrametatus est, homines iumentaue ex longo itinere reffecturus. Ceterum Odoacri subito interuentu de praelio cogitare compulsus est. Gothorum quippe in Italiam expeditio iam anno antea e Constantinopoli Romam fuerat significata. Inde Odoacer per continuos exploratores de singulis Theodorici motibus certior factus, copias huic bello idoneus comparauerat /32v/ quibuscum Theodorico occurrens e regione in altera amnis ripa castra communiuit, ut solo alueo exercitus dirimerentur. Odoacer quod erat ratus fessum hostem equosque longo itinere fatigatos uiribusque exhaustos militem castris educit, instructaque acie copiam pugnandi facit, cupiens quantocius lasso cum hoste manus conserere. Gothi pudore simul iraque permoti se qui priores bellum intulissent in certamen prouocari regem exorant se in hostem tam superbe proteruientem educere. Theodoricus plus animis militum quam rationibus militaribus tribuens in praeloum descendit. Conseritur acerrima pugna, his ne partam amitterent Italiam illis ut eam indignis corriperent occupatoribus pertinacissime decertantibus, quem quisque locum occupauerat nec moriens

<sup>1123</sup>Bulgarorum *add. C*

deserebat, cadebant utrinque fortissimi quique, pugnaque longius ambiguo Marte trahebatur. Cum Theodoricus singulos ob aequitans ordines animos militum opportunis uocibus instigare coepit meminisse uelint, quid polliciti fuerint, cuius rei gratia Italiam petiuerint. *Num – inquit – ut coniuges liberosque uestros Herulis atque Turignis in seruitutem traderitis? Vestramque opum accessu ditiores efficeretis uosque ignauissimo hosti tam foede trucidandos exhiberetis? Sic uindicatis Italiam? Sic promissa uestro regi persoluitis? Sic per ignauiam quaerenda putatis gloriam? Non pudet inuictum Gothorum nomen uestra pollui secordia? Non pudet regem quem tot importunis exciuitis uocibus in hostium manibus deserere? Sed non committam per ignauiam profecto ut per ignauiam uiuus in eorum deueniam potestatem mortuum me non sine suo exitio quisquis concupiuerit habebit.* Simul his dictis ubi maxime feruere uidit praelium haud multo stipatus milite uiolentus se ingessit una et imperatoris uigilantissimi et strenuissimi militis munus administrans, cuius exemplum primum duces copiarum mox milites secuti euestigio hostem loca deserere compellunt atque in fugam uertunt, nec prius persequi de- /33r/ sistunt quam ad eum locum uentum fuerit ubi nunc Ostilia Veronensium extat.

⟨9⟩ Hic transmissio uado Odoacer ex fuga substitit in oppidis quae classe praesidioque communiuerat. Hinc deflectens Theodoricus iter exercitum Veronam admouit, qua dedentibus se ciuibus paucos post dies potitus est. Dumque in ea impedimenta imbellemque turbam cum praesidio relinquere cogitaret quo expeditior hostem quacumque fugientem persequi ualeret, ecce Odoacer cum reparatis haud contemnendis copiis in subiectos Veronae campos pugnaturus procedit, Theodoricumque facta pugnandi potestate praelio laccessit. Laetus uero oblato hoste Gothus quem totam per Italiam persequi decreuerat plurimaque fiducia plenus, eductis in praelium suis: *Habetis – inquit – milites diuino opinor munere quod uotis omnibus paulo ante expetebatis hostem in manibus in quo solo omnis nostra uictoria sita est. Nam quo humano consilio gregario cum milite illos audet Odoacer laccessere quos paulo ante cum legitimis copiis nequiuit sustinere? Deus uobis proculdubio longiorem persequendi laborem adimere uoluit et desideratam uictoriam spe uestra celerius conferre modo oblatam sciatis arripere et captus hostis ne qua ellabatur efficere.* His dictis alacris dat signum, mox in hostem impetu facto Gothi ferocius irrunt, securique uincendi audacius praeliantur, quorum nec uoces nec arma sustinere ualentes accolae Padi ceterique Itali, qui auxilio uenerant Odoacrum media in pugna deserunt, milites tamen fortunae pristinae memories uiriliter dimicando mortem oppetere non dubitant, sed pauciores quamuis acriter pugnantes a pluribus confestim uincuntur, quorum maiore parte amissa Odoacer fuga se propriens Romam profectus est nouas illic copias reparaturus. Sed aduenienti portae oclusae sunt, ciues in moeniis dispositi uim inferre conanti repugnare parati. Moniti enim iam pridem per litteras a Zenone Theodoricum tamquam legitimum regem laetis animis praestolabantur tanto quidem propensius quanto illi fortunam quam semper /33v/ populi sequi consueuerunt magis fauere intelligebant. Odoacer cernens se urbe exclusum uniuersa agri aedificia flammis absumpsit maiores de Romanis poenas sumpturus si maiores exigere potuisset. Sed partim commeatus inopia quem Romani id metuentes multo ante in urbem munitioraque oppida conuexerant, partim non ausus diutius commorari, tota iam Italia ad defectionem spectante, maturauit se Rauennam recipere ad suos.

⟨10⟩ Interea Theodoricus omnibus Transpadanis potitus ciuitatibus Mediolani copias maiores auxiliaque comparabat, Odoacrum ubicumque constitisset petiturus. Ceterum cum eum Roma exclusum Rauennam rediisse cognouisset, laetatus supra modum animisque auctus

impedimenta cum coniugibus Ticinii cuius moenia arcemque communiri curauerat cum idoneis reliquit praesidiis. Ipse cum expeditis cippiis Rauennam contendit, Aemiliam seu Flamineum agrum ingressus omnes eius regionis urbes oppidaque extemplo per deditionem accepit, Cesena Ariminoque exceptis, quippe quae ualidis Herulorum tenebantur praesidiis. Compulsum intra Rauennam Odoacrum Theodoricus obsidere coepit, castris in antiquis Halarici stauis in loco nomine Candiano diligentius communitis, ea ratione ut alia castra quibus Cesenam obsidere decreuerat commodius inde tutari ualeret. Sed Rauennae obsidio longius quam Theodoricus ab initio sperauerat protracta est cum uirtute hostium tum loci natura. Rauenna quippe a mari ea tempestate commode obsideri nequibat, ut pote in ipso freti litore constituta. Testatur quippe Strabo temporibus Tiberii Augusti Rauennam urbem maximam intra paludes fuisse positam totamque ligneis compactam aedificiis aquis fluminum ac pelagi cunctam diffusam pontibus ac lembis ut nunc Venetiis cernimus peragrari solitam. Ceterum per ea tempora quibus Gothi Italiam inuaserunt crescente tellure exsiccata urbem exporrecta latu quae a salsis inundationibus defendebant. Sed spatium castrametandi /34r/ adhuc concedebant nullum, a continenti autem partim fossa tuebatur ex Pado deriuata, partim stagnis paludibusque haud facile peruiis. Muris praeterea quibus eam Tiberius cinxerat imperator incorruptis adhuc ualidisque muniebatur. Haec uero omnia difficiliora redebant Odoacri praestantior quam felicius uirtus qui frequentibus eruptionibus nequaquam minores obsidentibus inferebat molestias quam pateretur obsessus. Accedebat ad haec pelagique commoditas quibus cum pateret aditus commeatus auxiliaque obsessis abunde supportabantur. His datis commoditatibus contingebat ut Odoacer non solum commeatu sed etiam copiis non numquam afflueret, quibus fretus bis ausus est in patentibus Candiani campis iusta acie decertare bisque fugatus intra moenia reiectus est, non sine graui hostium incommodo ac detrimento.

<11> Repulsus totiens Odoacer cum tot pugnandi temptasset rationes, quamuis in omnibus fortunam sentiret aduersam, unam tamen quae supererat certaminis rationem noluit praetermittere inexpertam ne prorsus quicquam uel intemptatum relinqueret uel ulla in re sibi ipse defuisse uideretur. Itaque contracta quam ualidiore poterat manu intempesta nocte oppressis euestigio qui in statione excubant castra hostium adoritur eis proculdubio potiturus nisi quidam ex his qui in statione steterant inter tumultum noctis beneficio manus hostium elapsus prior aduentum Odoacri in castra nuntiasset quo exciti Gothi, alii ad portas discurrunt, alii ad eas castrorum partes unde tumultum maximum iam exoriri haurieban, multi non dum somno discusso stupendium similes attoniti perstabant, multi inermes ut sese e stratis corripuerant per castra discurrebant citare socios, equos sternere, expedire arma, castigare moras, mutuis se cohortari sermonibus. Trepidatio ingens cuncta tabernacula sollicitabat, hi capta dicere castra, alii portam unam occupatam, alii perruptum uallum, ut metus cuique et incerta noctis umbra suggerebat. Et iam Theodoricus ad suos aduolauerat aegre portas tutantes, quoniam inter trepidationem et Odoacri celeritatem non tantum habuerant spatii, ut eas firmo munimine /34v/ obstruere ualuissent. Dimicabatur ergo uehementer ac multa utrinque et inferebantur uulnera et accipiebantur, res quippe ipsis in portis comminus eminusque gerebatur. Confirmati praesentia regis Gothorum animi unusquisque pro sua uirili in oculis ducis enixius decertari adnitebatur, haud segnius et aliis compluribus in locis pugnabatur militibus Odoacri, nunc uno in loco nunc in alio uallum rescindere pertinacissime conantibus. Res una Gothis maximo adiumento fuit. Pilae quaedam ex pice, taeda sulfureque compactae quas succensas late iactari inter hostes iusserat. Theodoricus ille conceptis

latioribus flammis, hostes Gothis obscuro in aere existentibus clarissime ostendebant prospectum eorum qui ex uallo pugnabant penitus adimentes. Lux quippe nocturna ex tenebris speculantibus cuncta circumstantia perspicua facit, aciem uero oculi suo in lumine existentem ad opaca penetrare nulla ratione permittit, qua re fiebat, ut quicquid Odoacri milites agerent, Gothi optime cernerent, atque ita tormenta certius excutientes plurimos prosternerent, missiliaque insubeuntes non irrita iactarentur. His affecti incommodis milites Odoacri non adeo ferociter instare coepere, qua re cognita iubet Theodoricus suos tela inhibere metumque nisi necessitate postulante quo adquirent assimilare cupiens pugnam usque ad auroram protrahere, quod et consecutus est. Nam haud repugnatoribus uehementius Gothis saepe hostibus capiendorum castorum spem fecere. Interea Theodoricus equites ad pugnam omnes instruxerat adiectisque lateribus sagittariis cupidos ad eruptionem praeparauerat. Igitur ubi primum aurora tenebras noctis coepit discutere patefactis extemplo omnibus portis errumpunt in hostes qui partim saucii partim totius noctis fatigati laboribus impetum iniquiore loco diutius sustinere non ualentes uertuntur in fugam, eos Gothi usque ad portas urbis consecrati incredibili caede affecere.

⟨12⟩ Theodoricus hac potitus uictoria idoneo praesidio in castris relicto cum reliquis copiis euestigio ad Ariminum contendit. /35r/ Milites Odoacri cum subito eius aduentu territi, tum cladis suorum nuntio consternati, praeterea ciuium fidem iam pridem suspectam habentes, cum Theodorico pacti ut incolumibus abire liceret, ciuitatem tradunt, qua pro uoto accepta naues contrahit quanto plures ualet. Iam olim quippe intellexerat Theodoricus libero mari Padoque Rauennam expugnari non posse, sed classis parandae nulla erat facultas et quamuis Ariminum ad eam comparandam accommodatissimum intelligeret, tamen ad ipsum expugnandum diuidere copias usque ad illum diem minime fuerat ausus, et obsidionem Rauennae soluere perniciosum recte fuerat coniectatus. Potitus igitur per hanc occasionem Arimino, nactus est in portu multum dromonum numerum – sic enim Graeci nauigia subductiora appellant, tabulatis per circuitum in speciem castelli munita – impositis in eis militum lectissimis Portellionis amnis qui nunc bidens ostia occupat, simul et in insulam in ipsis ostiis Portellione, Pado marique cinctam. Ipse reliquo cum exercitu castra sub ipsis admota moeniis diligentius communit, itinera singula occupat statuens hostem inedia expugnare, quod breui effecit. Exclusos namque commeatu haud multo post in tantas difficultates adduxit ut fellibus, muribus, ranis, omnifariis radicibus et aliis immundissimis quibusque uesci compellerentur. Tandem Odoacer tantis euinctus malis, simul et Iohannis Episcopi sermonibus persuasus, pactus sibi Herulisque Italiae portionem Theodorico se dedit. Patefactis portis rex Gothorum ab Episcopo uniuersoque clero et sanctorum reliquiis summo cum honore in urbem deducitur usque ad palatium quod dicebatur Hilautum.

⟨13⟩ Potitus per hunc modum Theodoricus Rauenna in cuius obsidione tres totos consumpserat annos coepit Odoacer exigere, quod ei solemniter foedere erat promissum. Theodoricus rem ad amicos referens prohibitus est promissa adimplere homini calidissimo, facinosissimo audacissimoque stultissimum esse sperare ipsum umquam quieturum /35v/ aut in fide potestateque mansurum. Imperare quippe solitum certum est numquam seruitutis iugum aequo animo toleraturum, umquam regnandi libidinem depositurum, sedulo ab eo dolo expectandos, fraudes, prodiones, insidias, semper aduersa machinaturum, semper regio capiti exitium moliturum, certamque regni labem, pestem Italiae, seminarum omnium malorum futurum, non fouendum tam pestiferum anguem, uerum ita caput comminuendum ut nulla spes uitae relinquatur. Naturam imitandam ducem quae duos in summo consistere

minime patitur. His rationibus persuasus Theodoricus uocatum ad conuiuium post cenam una cum filio non nullisque Herulorum primoribus ferro intercipit solusque regno potitur Italiae. Nam antequam Rauenna discederet multarum urbium missi legati deditionem faciunt, quae supererant in itinere antequam Romam deuenisset in potestatem omnes accepit. Vrbi appropinquanti senatus populusque uniuersus obuam effusus est, regemque Italiae consulatum incredibili omnium applausu in Capitolium deducunt. Vbi complures dies componendarum rerum gratia commoratus est, permisit omnes ciuitates Italiae suis uiuere legibus. Herulis Turignisque qui ex Odoacri militia supererant apud Augustam praetoriam extremas Italiae oras ad Apenini radices inhabitandas concessit, constitutisque rei Romanae diligentius rationibus, ipse Rauennam Vmbrorum quondam oppidum sed a Thessalis olim conditum ut monstrauius claram sedem regni praelegit, uel quod Romanorum fidei minus crederet, uel quod aduersus barbarorum crebreas incursiones illum locum magis duxisse idoneum, exemplum Octauiani secutus, qui dum bella per praefectos cum Germanis Pannoniisque gereret, quo eis uel interuenire facilius uel non longius abesset, ea in urbe haud parum est uersatus.

⟨14⟩ Ad hanc rediens Theodoricus de uniuersorum rerum successu Zenonem certiore facit hostium spolia nobiliora signum uictoriae /36r/ transmittens, quibus laeto animo susceptis imperator Theodorico scribit, ut quemadmodum a populo Romano fuerat rex appellatus, ita et sceptrum regale purpuramque ac sellam, quae illi regni mittebat insignia, assumeret seque regem Italiae et nuncuparetur et gereret. Theodoricus iussu imperatoris deposito gentis priuato habitu regum ornatum magna omnium laetitia inductus de stabilienda dominatione coepit cogitare. Fundamenta ipsius circumuicinorum regum fauore communiens, quos omnes uariis necessitatis uinculis sibi statuit deuincendos. Proinde a Francorum rege Ludouicho Audofleda filiam in uxorem postulatam legitimo sibi matrimonio compulauit, Childeberti, Heldeberti, et Theodeberti qui postea Francis imperitarunt, sororem. Halaricum autem Visigothorum regem qui per ea tempora Hispaniis dominabatur Theudigothae filiae quam antequam in Italiam uenisset, in Mysiam ex concubina susceperat connubio societatem iniuit. Pari nexu et Sigismundum Burgundiorum regem sibi obstrinxit, alia illi filia cui Ostrogothae nomen erat in consortem tradita et ipsa et concubina nata. Interea Audofleda regina Amalasuendam illi ex Amalafredam peperit, quas cum solas sine spe fraternalis sobolis primogenita de Amalorum sanguine quo stirpe ipse oriundus erat regni quaerere successorem, ut quod ipse praestare nequiuisset filiae connubio nancisceretur. Sollicitus enim supra modum erat si quomodo Amalorum iam deficiente progeniem instaurare potuisset. Haec quippe familia non modo nobilissima apud Gothos aestimabatur, uerum etiam ex ea progeniti omnes heroes uel semidei habebantur quos ipsi lingua sua Vsos cognominabant. Dum Theodoricus eo desiderio uehementius laborat, et animum uestigando per omnia uersat, comperit tandem quod uotis omnibus impensius optabat. In Hispania inter Visigothos Eucharicum Vitherici filium Amalorum sanguine cretum et a communi proauo cui Achiulfo nomen fuit sextum / 36v/ a quo et ipse Theodoricus similiter sextum suum ducebat genus. Achiulfo namque inter ceteros duo filii fuisse memorantur Hermenericus et Voltulphus, ex hoc Theodoricus quintus descendebat, ex illo Eutharicus itidem quintus. Nam Voltulphus genuit Valarauantem, Valarauas autem Vinitarium, de quo natus est Vandalianus. Huius tres fuere liberi Thindemerus, Valamerus, Vidimerus, qui procreauit Theodoricum. Porro ex Hermenerico natus est Hunimundus qui Thurismundum genuit, ex hoc Berimundus, ex Berimundo Vithericus Eutharici pater. Huic ex Hispaniis accersito Theodoricus maiori spe quam felicitate



filiam Amalasuendam in matrimonium tradidit, germanam autem ipsius Amalafredam Trasimundo regi Vandalorum in Africam coniugem transmisit e qua natus est Theodatus qui postea scepra tenuit Africae. Huius sororem Amalobrogam neptem suam Theodoricus Thurignorum regi Ermenfredo connubio copulauit. Amalasuenda uero ex Eutharico Athalaricum genuit, quem Theodoricus orbatum patre uix decem annos natum heredem regni, immo uero uiuens regem Italiae declarauit ac constituit, mandans Gothorum proceribus regem suum consueta ueneratione prosequerentur, senatum populumque Romanum diligenter, principem orientalem placatum semper propitiumque haberent.

⟨15⟩ Ipse uitae suae tempore quamuis Rauennae resideret, Urbis tamen populi senatusque Romani praecipuam habuit curam, cum sua sponte tum Zenonis commendationum memor. Tantoque studio amplificandae Urbis sedulo flagrabat, ut nulli Romanorum imperatorum facile concederet. Senatui plenam Urbis administrationem potestatemque permisit, nummum non suo sed rei publicae solito signo percutere. Incredibili diligentia omnium publicorum aedificiorum ruinas uel in pristinam uel digniorem in formam restaurare curauit, sumptus ex fisco suo large subministrans. Quin ut priuata quoque aedificia facilius a ciuibus refici possint, ingentem uim calcis ex proximis conuectam insulis uolentibus aedificare dono /37r/ dedit. Cuncta antiquitatis monumenta adhibitis publicis custodibus summa cum diligentia conseruare curauit ante omnia uero statuas tam equestres quam pedestres in perpetuum eorum uirtutis testimonium quorum opera Romana res tantam in magnitudinem excreuisset. Tecta sacra locaque religiosa praecipuo fauore atque ope prosequutus est, frequenter illa senatui impensius commendans. Ante omnia cerimoniarum illi Romanorumque pontificum dignitas curae fuit. Iustitiae seruantissimus bonorum amicus cultor praecipuus liberalis benignus tantisque aliis praeditus uirtutibus, ut nulla ex parte barbarus uideretur. Et cum dominationis zelo Italos omnes publico decreto militare prohibuisset, immo uero arma habere uetasset, suos tamen milites tanta disciplinae seueritate compescuit ut nulli uel leuem iniuriam inferri permitteret. In ipso regnandi initio per sanctum Epiphanium Ticiniensem episcopum datis ex suo pecuniis multa hominum milia quae Gondibaldus rex Burgundionum abduxerat redimere curauit, ultro quos Episcopo quamuis ab immanissimo rege sex milia captiuorum sine pretio reddita sunt. Illud quoque prudentissimo prouidit consilio quod Gothos Herulosque pro muro Italiae esset. Ab ipsis enim marinis incipiens Alpibus, quae haud procul Aquilegia pelago abluuntur, proceres Gothorum ad radices montium inhabitare iussit usque ad Tridentum oppidum. Inde per Apeninini radices apud Augustam praetoriam Herulos Turignosque collocauit, singulis in aditibus per quos uel ipse uel alii barbarorum duces in Italiam penetrauerant munita castella constituens. Interque Veruca arx quae nunc Monsfalconi dicitur in Italiae Noricique finibus fuit. Tridentum quoque ad id aetatis sine moeniis muro cinxit. Quibus rebus effecit ut temporibus suis frustra uel Octauiani uel Traiani uel cuiusuis alterius optimi imperatoris aetas desideraretur. Itaque quinque et triginta annos quibus Theodoricus post captam regnauit Rauennam Italiae felicissimo otio perfrui licuit praeteritasque resarcire calamitates. /37v/ Intra quod tempus Theodoricus res praeclarissimas gessit. Siciliam enim Corsicam, Sardiniam, et alias Italiae adiacentes insulas suae dicioni adiecit. Dalmatiam armis perdomuit, Liburniam totamque Illyrici oram quae in Adriaticum uergit, Pannoniam Sirmiensem, tot iam barbaris nationibus subinde uastatam, Noricum omne et Carnicum. Insuper et Alpes transgressus prouinciam Romanam Galliam Narbonensem illasque Transalpinarum Galliarum regiones quae secundum Burgundiam ad Theutones pertinent in potestatem redegit. Ad haec Clodonio regi Francorum socero suo Vasconiam, Alarico

Visigothorum regi genero suo ademptam, eripuit Francorum triginta milibus caesis, illamque una cum Hispania Almarico filio Alarici nepoti suo summa fide diligentiaque conseruauit. Erat autem statura satis procera, formoso corpore et facie serena cuius crispa caesaries a fronte in uerticem refugiebat. Ceruix non languida sed decenter erecta supercilia oppido uilosa pulchre tamen in semicirculum circumducta. Nasus uenustissime incuruus, labia subtilia modice aperta, hirtam barbam ex concauis decurrentem temporibus onsor assiduis forpicibus usque ad genas succidebat. Collo non obeso sed succulenti lactea cutis iuuenili perfusa rubore, quem illi crebro non ira sed ingenuus perfundebat pudor. Teretes humeri, succincta ualidaque ilia, manus patulae carnosae coxendix, crura plena modi innixa pede, princeps et corporis et animi uirtutibus quauis laude dignissimus nec immerito omni cum antiquitate conferendus, ni uitae ultima impiissimis sceleribus polluisset.

⟨16⟩ Siquidem Boethium et Symachum duos spectatissimos praestantissimosque ciues patricos Romanos ob suspicionem affectatae libertatis Ticinium relegauit, mox crescentibus suspicionibus per speciem legationis Iohannem Romanum pontificem, Agapitum et patricium consules, Atheodorum et Importunum alterumque Agapitum, senatores, uiros suae aetatis insignes ab Vrbe eiecit, atque ut simulationem maiore ueritatis umbra praetegeret. Ecclesium Rauennatem /38r/ Episcopum socium legationis adiecit cuius summa erat agere cum imperatore Iustino ut episcopis sacerdotibusque Arianis ecclesiae quae per Graeciam Orientemque ablatae eius edicto fuerant restituerentur, alioquin se Romam omnemque Italiam incendiis gladioque uastaturum. Haec non ideo postulabat quod Arianorum excidium multifaceret, tametsi ut ceteri Gothi eorum labe ab incunabulis esset pollutus, uerum quod non facilem commentus causam cupiebat aut eos diutius ablegari aut redeuntibus uel infectis negotiis irasci uel confectis prodicionis insimulare atque ita per utramuis occasionem illos perpetuo damnare exilio. Ceterum cum summus pontifex maximis honoribus praecipuaque ueneratione a Iustino susceptus impetratis quae postulabantur remeasset. Theodoricus maiorem in suspicionem adductus quod Iouannes subministrantibus ceteris legatis imperatorem coronasset coniectos in carcerem pontificem, consules ac senatores inedia consumpsit. Boetium uero et Simacum Papiae ubi aliquot exulauerant annos iugulare iussit. Ipse tantorum scelerum reus diuina uindicante iustitia octauo et nonagesimo die post admissum parricidium subita morte correptus est. Atque eadem ipse die Gregorio testante inter pontificem ac Simacum manus post terga reuinctus ad Liparim perductus uisus est in ollam uulcani iactari.

⟨17⟩ Cui cum nulla esset uirilis proles, uolentibus omnibus Gothis Athalaricus quem Amalasuenta filia Theodorici ex Eucharico Gothorum nobilissimo procreauerat in regnum successit. Et quoniam per aetatem regnum administrare non ualebat, ut pote qui non dum decimum suae aetatis annum exegerat, summa rei apud matrem erat, mulierem procul dubio supra captum feminarum singulari prudentia consilioque praeditam. Primum illi curae fuit ut filius dignus tanto principatu euaderet, quam ob rem tradidit eum Latinis literis erudiendum adhibitis tribus Gothorum proceribus, qui illum quam honestissimis imbuerent moribus regiisque formarent institutis. Ipsa regina in subiectos parentis gerebat affectum, fouere prodesse omnibus /38v/ malos coercere a uitiiis, bonos praemiis honoribusque exornare, non immemor clementiae, iustitiae praecipua cultrix, probis placida, seuera improbis, benigna ueniam deprecantibus, proteruis inexorabilis, pauperum pupillorum uiduarum oppressorumque acerrima tutatrix, inaudita erga uniuersos humanitatis facilitatisque, non modo Graeci Latiniue eloquii gnara uerum etiam ceterarum omnium nationum quae Italiam

inuaserant sonum ipsum uernaculi sermonis non dum uoces referebat. Tanta apud omnes auctoritatis beneuolentiaeque, ut reis quoque minus acerba uideretur destinata damnatio ab ea. Haec ausa est non nulla Theodorici retractare decreta ac ad mitiorem reducere formam, proscriptiones publicationesque rescindere, filiis damnatorum praedia restituere, in quibus fuerunt Boethii ac Simachi liberi, quos regina praecipua fouit pietate eo quod et nouerat et asserebat parentes eorum falsis delatoribus temereque ab rege creditis tam praestantes uiros fuisse damnatos. Nihil iniquiore ferebat animo quam iniuria quempiam affici aut damno alioque incommodo; Gothos ab omnibus maleficiis usque adeo represserat, ut nec consobrino suo Theodato pepercerit. Hunc quippe acerbis iniquitatis auaritiaque increpitum praedia quae in Thuscis suis uicina possessionibus quasi per tyrannidem occupauerat ciuibus quos erant reddere coegit. Quin et repetundarum accusatum, conuictum pena condigna mulcauit. Administrauerat enim Thusciam prouinciam, in qua non nullis ciuitatibus atque oppidis perpetuo iure a Theodorico fuerat donatus. Haec quamuis laudanda reginae saeueritas multos tamen Gothorum ei admodum reddebat infensos. Nihil est enim quod audaces iniquiore ferant animo quam iustitiam, nec quod magis quam seueritatem detestentur, quippe quod altera auiditatis substringuntur sinus, altera unguis rapacitatis retunduntur. His de causis non nulli Gothorum primates puerum contra matris potentiam fouere decreuerunt reginamque his adoriuntur uerbis: non placere Gothis regem eorum sub magistris preceptoribusque per ignauiam adolescere, nec f[r]igidis senum /39r/ moribus imbui; decere magnum regem equos arma ceteraque militaria munera meditari, non ineptam pedagogorum sedulitatem senumue odiosam morositatem tarditatemque; his enim sensus obtundi, debilitari uires, corpus eneruari, efeminari animum, illis uigorem augeri, exacui perspicacitatem, robur addici, regiis animis generositatem inspirari, peritiamque rei militaris mirificis exaugeri incrementis; non desiderari ab rege ut populis litterarum prebeat documenta, uerum ut bello et armis gloriam potentiamque extollat.

⟨18⟩ Intellexit extemplo prudentissima mulier quid sibi Gothi ea uellent postulatione. Ceterorum ne aut dominationis cupida, aut filii profectibus aduersa, aut postulantibus uideretur difficilis petita concessit his adiectis uerbis: *Non equidem putabam me Gothis facturam iniuriam si regem eorum excellentissimis principibus perquam reddere curauerim, quorum duos prestantissimos ut alios enumerare omittam. Cesarem dico et Alexandrum non ignoratis sub magistris pedagogisque uixisse ac omnium bonarum artium floruisse disciplinis existimabam regi doctrinam maxime conuenire, ut quemadmodum honore ac dignitate ita et sapientia ceteris prestaret. Turpe siquidem principi ducebam ab illis quibus imperat consilium expetere et ab eis salutis quaerere presidia quorum salus ipsi esset commissa. Sed postquam uobis rex satis sapere uidetur, gratulari uobis et mihi gaudere debeo ut quod haec precor sapientia et uobis et ipsi beneuertant uotis omnibus expetere.* At uero adulescens suo dimissus arbitrio perquam breui docuit quam sit pernitiiosa iuuenibus propriae uitae potestas. Nam inter equales constitutus cum nec uultum quem uereretur, nec uerba haberet quae extimesceret, sed contra multorum blandimenta ac lenocinia ad luxum lasciuamque pellicentia, pro disciplina laboreque militari quem uafri pollicebantur senes, in scorta illecebrasque omnes prolapsus est. Pronum est enim ad uoluptatem mortalium ingenium et uix pudoris metusque loris coeretur, quae ubi semel /39v/ excusserit, ruit petulantius in omne scelus et per uniuersa flagitia licentiosius debaccatur. Huc si impuri suasores accesserint, quorum uel exemplis prouocetur uel instigetur fauoribus, furere palam ac propemodum insanire compellitur. Sana deridet consilia, resipiscere cogentem capitali persequitur odio, grauioris auctoritatis congressum

conspectumque deuitat ac refugit. Corrupti quippe sensus salutaria monita non secus atque iacula ueneno armata reformidant ac extimescunt. In quae omnia cum infoelicis adolescentis incidisset ingenium, illos qui sua salute in matris abutebantur contumeliam omnifariis prosequebatur honoribus. Non tamen usque quaque materna abhorrebat iussa, consiliariis pueri inclitam Iustini uirtutem metuentibus. Hinc honos sapientiae habitus, hinc premia bonarum artium doctoribus longo iam intermissa seculo, hinc pontificum Romanorum tanta ueneratio, hinc religionis pietas, hinc decreta pro ecclesiastica libertate dignissime perscripta, hinc populorum paterna cura, hinc restorationis a Theodorico inceptae dignissima illa perseueratio, qua deficientibus Romae marmoribus aliunde magnis cum impensis aduecta sunt. Hinc denique cetera omnia bona quae Cassiodorus amborum regum scriba nomine Athalarici suis in epistolis facta fuisse frequenter commemorat. Terrebat namque Gothos preclara imperatoris uirtus, cuius admiratione omnes ferme nationes mirificam in sui beniuolentiam amoremque attraxerat. Id formidantes Gothi, quaecunque regina suae deseruiens innatae probitati honesta suasisset, abnuere non audebant, non quod illa suis congruerent moribus, sed quod his solis populos ne ad imperatorem deficerent retineri posse existimabant.

⟨19⟩ Vnde mortuo Iustino confestim apparuit laudanda illa Athalarici opera non data fuisse probitati, sed potius imperatoris beniuolentiae obiecta. Mox nanque pestiferi illi educatores adolescentem per omnia transuersum egere, nihil iam pridem corrupto animo nisi quod libidinem uoluptatemque explere posset suadentes. Hinc contumax proteruusque in /40r/ matrem factus, nequicquam salutaria monentem deridebat ac usque adeo aspernabatur, ut eam nec uidere pateretur nedum alloqui aut consultare. Sed non est passa generosissimi animi mulier per scelus ac flagitium et se regno et probitate filium spoliari. Proinde missis clam percussoribus tris Gothorum proceres tantorum malorum auctores merita morte affecit. Ipsa cum filio in gratiam rediens, regni administrationem resumpsit, quod ni fecisset actum proculdubio fuisset de Gothorum regno. Theodobertus enim rex Metensium ualida Burgundiorum Francorumque manu occupata Romana prouincia, cuius caput Massilia Septimanorum est, in Italiam irruperat, insignem cladem Gothis regnoque illaturus nisi prudentissimo Amalasuetae consilio per legatos fuisset inhibitus, quibus ad auunculos eius missis Clodonium et Childibertum Francorum ad reuocandum ab armis Theodobertum his rationibus induxit, quas unus Gothorum nomine Athalarici hunc in modum dicitur disseruisse: *Poterat optimo iure gentium rex noster Athalaricus parem Theodoberto uestro referre gratiam, quando ipse nulla lacessitus iniuria contra ius fasque ruptis federum sacramentis bellum prior intulerit (nihil tale ab eo uel expectanti uel commerenti uoluit). Tamen hanc uobiscum prius expostulare iniuriam, quos et directores et adiutores Theodoberti non ignorat, cupiens causam turbatae intelligere pacis, quam prius cum Theodorico initam deinde uobiscum nuper confirmatam optime meministis. Si quam Athalarici culpam monstratis, uenimus satisfacere parati, sin minus Deum hominesque contestaturi ultoresque uiolatae fidei imploraturi. Illud uero coelo terraque testatum cupimus nos ultos cum ad omnia externa tum precipue ad Iustiniani confugere presidia, non ignari ea primum uobis omnibus excidio deinde fortasse nobis molestiae futura. Sed postquam seruiendum est imperatori, certe Romano malumus seruire quam Theodoberto, eo mitiorem seruitutis conditionem habituri, quod ex legitimo seruiemus domino et Iusti-* /40v/ *nianum opera nostra uoti compotem efficiemus. Nisi fortasse creditis domitorem Asiae, Africae uindictorem, Gepidarum, Bulgarorum totque aliarum nationum per Thraciam, Mysiam, Illyricum Panoniasque*

*uictorem, de occidentali non cogitare imperio? Ille uero et cogitat et studia uiresque omnes iam pridem huc intendit, arripiendam prestolabatur occasionem; ecce uestra Theodobertique opera oportunitissima illi oblata est. Tedet uos adeptae foelicitatis, sortiti pro arbitrio alienas prouincias, non quiescitis iam libertatis piget, in seruitutem properantes dominationis paenitet atque ideo precipua mortalium fastidientes bona, ius gentium fidemque publicam uiolastis, prophanastis, conculcastis. Dignam his meritis gratiam si ab Athalarico acceperitis, non tam iusto eius dolori quam iniustis uestris factis imputare debetis. Nam omnem contumeliam quam a Theodoberto accepit, a uobis profectam non ignorat; uos quippe eum Methensium fecistis regem, uos Burgundiones et adiacentes Alemanos ditioni ipsius addixistis, uos arma uires sufficistis, uestris ferox presidiis in socios hospitesque grassatur. Patientiam nostram putat ignauiam et sinceritatem fidei pussilanimitatem credit, dolos suos prudentiam uocitat et federum religionem ludibria arbitratur. Sed breui armatorum sentiet uirtutem quorum contempsit pacem, multoque amplius amaritudinis habere hostes quam dulcedinis habuerant amici. His permoti Francorum reges certoque Iustiniani metu deterriti, qui per id tempus Iustino auunculo foelicissime successerat cum multis suam excusassent innocentiam cum Theodoberto egere, ut decedens Italia pacem cum Athalarico firmaret. Romana prouincia in pignus firmatorum federum detenta.*

⟨20⟩ Non dum haec federa inita erant et Theodatus cum iniuriis Amalasuetae commotus tum uicinos Etruriae Tusciaeque Burgundiones ac Francos metuens secreto cum Iustiniano egit ut corrasis ex prouincia quam maioribus posset pecuniis tuto ociosam uitam Constantinopoli agere liceret. Quod /41r/ nimirum et facturus fuisset nisi Athalarici sperata mors consilia ipsius immutasset. Nam Athalaricum preterite uitae lasciuiam multis excruciatum langoribus ante quam duodeuiginti aetatis explesset annos humanis decedere compulit. Quo mortuo regina tanti regni gubernacula commodius uirili ope presidioque processura existimans aliquem sibi dominationis socium assistere cogitauit. Ante omnes unus et solus occurrebat Theodatus. Nam alieno pudicitiae famam ac regni dominationem tuto posse credere diffidebat. Ipsi autem Theodato et illata ab se iniuria et mores minus digni committere prohibebant. Quamuis enim litteris Graecis Latinisque liberaliter esset educatus multamque philosophiae et praecipue Platoni dedisset operam natura tamen inconstans ac imbecillis, compluribus uitiis dederat manus, nullae adeo alteri rei quam congerendae pecuniae idoneus. Vicit dubitantem sanguinis necessitudo qua melius famae consuluit quam saluti. Sed ut et huic quoque prospiceret reconciliandum sibi prius statuit, multisque placandum muneribus aliisque delinimentis, iusto amplius credula egrum uitiis animum ullis posse uirtutum meritis deuinci. Itaque accersitum honorifice suscipit, benigne compellat, adhibet consiliis, negotia paulatim mandat, gratia, auctoritate uenerabundum singulis facit ac tandem his alloquitur uerbis: *Scio te frater mihi subiratum ob meam in te magis necessariam quam uoluntariam seueritatem. Quando quidem et illud inique moribus hominum natura comparauit ut cuncti censuram laudent, nemo tamen illi obnoxius lubens faciat satis, debitum contumeliam appellant et quod in aliis commendant in se iniuriam querunt. Hinc iudicem non tanquam publicum iustitiae ministrum uenerantur sed tanquam capitalem hostem persecuntur, officium ducentes maleficium et quod suis prauis moribus deputare deberent, censoris dant iniquitati, quam ob rem saepe miserata sum presidentium conditionem, quippe qui sine suo discrimine nec absoluere reum queunt nec condemnare. /41v/ Si damnant et rei et amicorum eius certa incidunt in odia, o in legibus damnatum absoluunt, extemplo sibi populi ingentem conflant inuidiam tanto magis metuendam quanto maiorem censoris uitae necisque habent potestatem.*

*Vel me quantis in angustiis credis fuisse positam tum te uniuersa prouincia repetundarum fecisset reum. Hinc me nostrae familiae honor et tam germana sanguinis stringebat pietas, illinc partim offensi partim alienati totius Italiae populi deterrebant et consulere tuo immo uerius nostro honori cupiebam et non satisfacere cunctorum iudicio opido metuebam. His saepius exagitata angoribus animumque per omnia uersata liquido dispexi hoc ex iudicio et regnum nostrum et tuam pendere salutem. Iam parati erant ad Iustinianum totius Italiae legati copias auxiliaque adducturi. Iam formidandas seditiones tuum in caput regnumque nostrum pro palam conspirabant, arma comparabantur, deuouere se morti, omnibus exponere periculis decreuerant, si ut iam suspicari ceperant plus sanguini concessissem quam iusticiae. Post habui tantis necessitatibus utriusque uoluntatem, et te, immo me, immo totam domum hanc notam subire malui quam regno pariter uitaque spoliari; retinui tibi leui famae iactura et regnum et salutem, atque utrunque usque in hunc diem incolume conseruauit. Nunc et regnum et me tuae trado fidei, tuae curae relinquo, ut intelligas me quicquid fecerim tua causa fratrisque tui mei filii fecisse; ille quoniam flagitiosorum consilio se misere perdidit tibi magnum cauendi documentum reliquit. Quod si feceris et te et regnum conseruabis; mihi autem cumulatam gratiam reddideris, si ut te domumque nostram decet regni gubernacula administraueris.*

⟨21⟩ Ad haec Theodatus, ut erat et lingua disertus et ingenio minime rudis *Fateor inquit regina tuum sanctissimum iudicium iniquiore tulisse animo, quemadmodum et filii parentum uerbera et frenetici medentis opem. Neque enim tam culpam attendebam quam poenam quae mihi eo fuit grauior quod et abs te et publice erat illata, alterum |42r| propter pudoris confusionem, alterum propter sanguinis necessitudinem, cui te maiora etiam crimina condemnaturam stulte speraueram germanitatem potius quam personam attendens. Ceterum postquam et tempus leniuit dolorem et mens perturbatione libera uerum expendere quiiuit, malui me abs te pecunia quam ab inimicis capite mulctatum; quod mihi certe adempturi erant, nisi tu eis illo meo iudicio fecisses satis. Atque utinam ego hoc preuidissem periculum, cum substantie meae consulendo, capiti pessime consulebam. Sed deceperant me humane auiditatis peruerse rationes, quae mihi importunius ante oculos proponebat Theodorici casum, quo cum spes nostras omnes cecidisse eo uehementius metuebam, quod in Athalarico filio tuo nullam spem esse cernebam, Gothorum praeterea complures tibi infensos, regnum mutans ac infirmum, et ob tuorum perfidiam et ob Italorum instabilitatem. Audiebam a Iustiniano sollicitari populos, Romanos ad libertatem spectare nobis certum esse, nihil quod in nostris non esset criminis. His rationibus adductus ceperam uiaticum comparare, ceperam senectuti ultima presidia undique corradere, quibus impensius deditus nulla discrimina attendebam nec si attendissem, aduertere poteram animo in congerendis pecuniis iusto amplius occupato. Quae pericula quod nunc et tuo monitu cognouerim et opera effugerim meritas ago gratias referam uero tanto cumulatius quanto mihi tu ampliorem referendi tribuis potestatem. Salutem inuito olim donasti, nunc gloriam dignitatemque cupienti largiris, ac talem inquam dignitatem qualem ego optare poteram non sperare. Salus mortalibus inter prima uota est, quamuis obscura nihil distet a morte, nec uixisse dicitur cuius uitam nemo est admiratus, nec admirationi esse potest quae non in sublimi sita est, nec inficior magnum quid nobis prestare qui uitam prestant, sed qui illustrem exhibent cuncta exhibuisse uidentur. Ego me hunc in usque diem fuisse memini, sed uixisse parum, nunc uero tuo munere accepi non modo uiuere sed et foeliciter |42v| uiuere, quo pro merito illud me tibi debere non ignoro, quod mortalis debet deo, et id quamuis me tibi persoloturum minime confidem meritorum*

*tuorum magnitudine superatus, illud tamen enitar ne te tanti paeniteat benefitii et adeo liberalem in me fuisse non pigeat. Tu uitam illustras, tu uiuendi dirigas rationes, quod dabis accipiam, quod iubetis capessam etiam si morte capescendum erit, qua in re quanto facilius mihi erit parere quam tibi precipere ut primum experiri uolueris re ipsa melius quam uerbis declarabo.*

⟨22⟩ His uerbis confirmata regina recte et sibi et regno consuluisse uisa est, furuae sortis ignara. Itaque optime spei plena Rauennam, ubi haec agebantur, accitis Gothorum primoribus in illa memoranda Theodorici aula considens hoc modo exorsa est: *Ego pro uestra in me domumque meam perpetua fide ac obseruantia illud uobis debeo conciuēs mei ut dies noctesque uestris commodis studeam, uestris inseruiam incrementis opere pretium me facturam non dubitans, si et uos meae dominationis non poeniteat et me uobis et re uestra imperare contingat. Quorum utrunque praeclare assequerem si consilio uiribusque pollerem, quibus duobus et in bello uobis et in pace prodesse possem, sed sicut nobis consilii partem diuina benignitas ultra merita dilargita est ita uires sexus uitio natura negauit, quarum detrimentum quanto uos maiore tolleratis patientia, tanto me impensius operam dare oportet, ne ex hac quoque parte regnum Gothorum orbem esse uideatur, quo et foris strenum ducem et domi salubre consilium habere ualeatis. Hanc in spem filium uobis Athalaricum studiosius educabam, qui postquam uel sua intemperantia uel fato aliquo sublatus est, alius est requirendus. Qua in re deo nobis dignae et habendae et agendaē sunt gratiae qui nobis ex Theodorici parentis mei sanguine dignum Athalarico uicarium uoluit superesse Theodatum istum consobrinum fratremque meum quem et ducem sequi non erubesceritis et Amalorum regia stirpe progenitum consueta fide beniuolentiaque /43r/ amplecti possitis. Cum hoc si uobis est uolentibus scepra regni partiri decreui, non dubitans meae detrudere dignitati ut uestris adiicere incrementis, tanto uberiores preceptura uoluptatem quanto post habitis meis rationibus melius uestris consuluissem. Intueor namque et ipsum uniuersum alterna duorum luminarium successione commodius regi, naturam quoque homini ad uberiores ut autumo usum binas manus, pedes, oculos auresque consociasse, quo mutua adiute ope facilius desideratum implerent munus. Quod tanto cumulatiu<sup>1124</sup> ad hoc fratre meo sperare debetis, quanto ipsum et philosophiae et sacrarum litterarum studiis impensius esse debitum non ignoratis, in eoque non minus religionis zelum quam sapientiae uigere sensum, quorum utrunque ego bene instituto principi semper pernecessarium esse duxi, quippe quorum ex altero prudens semper inuenit, unde prudentior euadat miles, unde fortitudinis capiat incrementa princeps, unde salutare populo depromat leges. Ex altero uero quo pacto bonus optimus euadat, quibus nouaculis suas resecet cupiditates et ab iniuriis temperando omnibus se iustum omnibus exhibeat aequum. Neque enim nisi iusta ab eo singula expectanda sunt, qui se cunctorum apud caelestem iudicem causam dicturum non ignorat. Quod religioni debitis crebro accidat necesse est, quippe qui ex sacris codicibus et conditionis humane et diuinorum iudiciorum frequenter admonentur, meditari uirtutes flagitia deuitare gladium caelesti acceptum munere non nisi cum misericordia stringere, per omnia se idoneum iustitiae dei ministrum exhibere et si in alterutro peccandum est nimiae potius indulgentiae non erubescere notam. His artibus Theodatus et sapientiam adeptus est et pietatem, quae duo summa sunt regum bona, ceteris quoque regiis institutis iam pridem ita est instructus ut quid in eo data desiderant scepra habeant prorsus nihil talem quippe se iam olim comparauit, qualem ipsa exposcere uidebantur ut deliberare nescias utri maiori sit ornamento.*

<sup>1124</sup> cumulatiu<sup>V</sup>

*Proinde digna sunt nobis deo persoluenda uota /43r/ qui talem uobis donauit regem qualem et ego maxime cupiebam et uos lux optare poteratis. Nec ambigere debetis ne uestre respondeat expectationi tam eximiis uirtutibus redimitis, quas et nobilissimus Amalorum sanguis et tot maiorum suorum praecipue auunculi Theodorici clarissima exempla excitabunt in eo sedulo et ad mirifica incrementa prouehere non desinent. Nec reginae uerba leta uox acclamantium primo subsecuta est, deinde mox apprehensum Theodatum sublimem efferunt regemque consalutatam in sellam regiam quae proxima reginae ad hoc ipsum collocata fuerat fauentes imponunt, ut foelix faustusque sit dies multis precibus surdas numinum aures frustra fatigant. Quin et ad imperatorem Iustinianum communi consilio ea de re oratores mittunt et litteras tradunt quarum exemplaria adhuc apud Cassiodorum scribam illorum extant et Senatui Populoque Romano factum litteris suis Amalasuenta significat. Ipse quoque Theodatus sua qua se plurimum iactabat eloquentia accuratius perscriptam epistolam Romanis scripsit, ingenti cum regine commendatione et sue erga illam gratitudinis testificatione.*

⟨23⟩ Interea Theodobertus rex Metensium rapinis suetus morte Athalarici cognita ratus se foederibus solutum, quae cum eo auctoribus auunculis suis Francorum regibus percusserat, Burgundiones Francosque ducit in Liguros, Alemanis ad inuadendum Venetos missis, quae cum nuntiata essent reginae torpentem formidantemque Theodatum multis incitatum uerbis ualida cum Gothorum Italumque manu uix tandem trudit in hostem, qui prius Alemanos acri fusos prelio mox Theodobertum graui affectum clade finibus Italiae decedere coegit, magis regine imperio quam suo ductu fortunatus; missi deinde cum exercitu trans Alpes legati eadem foelicitate pulso Theodoberti presidio Romanam prouinciam uendicauerunt. Et quoniam eo in bello Ligures Veneti ac Emilienses complurimis damnis affecti fuerant anomam tertiae partis aliam ex publico est largitu, Ticinii Ter- /44r/ doneque Liguris ac Emiliensibus, Venetis autem Tridenti ac Taruixii horeis assignatis. Post haec reginae prudentia fedus iterum aequioribus conditionibus cum Theodoberto Francorumque regibus percussum est; ab ipso etiam imperatore Iustiniano pax et amicitia impetrata multaque preterea regine consilio ac suasu dignissime gesta. Nam ipse per se pauca admodum egit prestanti uiro digna et ea quidem monente ac impellente Amalasuenta. Quod ergo tanta ueneratione Romanos prosecutus est pontifices; quod clerum eiusque iura adauxerit ac tutatus fuerit; quod marmora e Constantinopoli ad exaugendum Urbis ornatum aduehi curauerit; quod Ligures Venetos Emiliensesque anona iuuerit; quod statuas elephantum ad iustam naturae magnitudinem apud sacram uiam fusili opere ex aere restaurari fecerit futurum posteris animositatis exemplum cum oculis conspicerent quam uastis cum beluis maiores eorum pro gloria ausi fuerint decertare; quod denique quippiam aliud dignum laude gesserit reginae opus fuit, quamuis regina per suam modestiam cuncta prudenter gesta in Theodatum referret, quae uero perperam aut ineptius per intemperantiam uniuersa sua uirtute praetegebat, cuncta non magno corrigens negotio rapinis exceptis, a quibus cum auarum ingenium minime abstineret, quin tanto flagraret uehementius quanto minus poenas metueret. Regina primum amice familiariterque eum monere cepit, contineret ab huiusmodi flagitiis manus, quae illi et magno essent dedecori et si non temperasset ingens detrimentum allatura populos quippe principum auaritiam pati diutius non consueuisse, nec regibus pecuniae audis foeliciter unquam euanisse; iustitia atque liberalitate maxima regna parari, iniuriis uero et auaritia parta amitti; idem principis quid et dei debere esse opus, beneficia conferre in subditos, maleficiis affectos ulcisci; mortales iccirco dominum expetere, ut habeant qui eos ab iniuriis tueretur, quando quidem damnis rapinisque etiam a latronibus affici possunt maximos regum thesauros, populorum esse



beniuolentiam /44v/ et fidem precipuam munitionem, horum utrunque tam innocentia munificentiaque comparari. His atque aliis huiusmodi uerbis cum saepe eum frustra monuisset tandem resistere aperte cepit et ab his facinoribus penitus prohiberem. Ast Theodatus disciplinae impatiens et continentiae difficilis auditor inhibitas rapinas, ademptum ius regnandi conqueri cepit, derisum se esse, precariis uti sceptris, suam dignitatem rusticorum post habitam commoditati ingratis meritorum persolui mercedem, reginam uacue comparari lac primum uilico prebaentis mox petulcis pedibus spargentis, se puerorum ludibriis haberi, nunc appellari regem, nunc loris cedi; assentatores non deerant sempiternae regum pestes quae et exacerbarent uulnera et ad ultionem furentem sua sponte animum irritarent. His instigatus stimulis accepit primum cum inimicis regine congruere hinc premiis pollicitationibusque compluribus corruptis comprehensam per insidias Amalasuendam in Lacum Vulsinum relegat ac non multo post filiis illorum quos regina occiderat necandam permittit tam nefario premio insigne beneficium persoluens, clarissimo edito documento, improbum ingenium ullis posse meritis nec deuinci nec immutari.

<24> Hac tam insigni perfidia non modo Gothorum optimates uerum etiam uniuersi Itali supra modum permoti, indignum reginae casum uehementius miserabantur, egre admodum ferentes adeo infamem Theodorici successorem, euestigio a Theodato proculdubio defecturi siquis idoneus per id tempus occurrisset, ad quem summa rerum deferri potuisset. Iamque res ad apertam seditionem deducta erat cum Theodatum sera incessit penitudo, ut pote qui iam aperte intelligebat ob regine necem multorum ab se alienatos animos. Sed ante omnes imperatoris Iustiniani, qui quoniam Amalasuendam ob insignem uirtutum prestantiam mirifico amplectebatur affectu casum eius grauius tulisse acceperat. Proinde ad conciliandum et imperatoris et populorum animos totis conatibus /45r/ inuigilare caepit ratus populorum animos mentita morum emendatione posse deliniri: hinc uectigalia non nullis condonauit, moderauit compluribus aes publicum, qui contraxerant uniuersis dimisit, qui ob aliquod in rem publicam demeritum in uinculis tenebantur libertate donauit. Et quamuis inuisi regis odium, gratiam munerum iam pridem eluderet; anonae tamen totam per Italiam consecuta caritas et parce et auariter ab eo prouisa grauem illi inuidiam apud omnes concitauit, uniuersis hostem cum rei publice non regem appellantibus predonem, paricidam, uita nedum regno indignum. Porro imperatoris animum uariis inceptis placere conatus est, primum litteris ad ipsum eiusque coniugem Theodoram inepta prorsus sapientia accuratius perscriptis, quas apud Cassiodorum uidere licet. Deinde solemnibus oratoribus missis, quos licet prestantissimos ex senatoribus delegisset, pro rei tamen suique timoris magnitudine cum parum duceret si solos misisset senatores, Agapitum summum pontificem cum eis ire coegit, cui cum nullos dedisset sumptus, compulsus est pecuniae inopia uasa ecclesiae aurea atque argentea faenori opponere. Qui appulsus Constantinopolim summaque ueneratione ab imperatore susceptus, cum ipse sicuti obnixie petiturus uenerat, ita scelus taciturnus potius quam diluturus maiori ex senatoribus dicendi potestatem fecit, qui hunc in morem mandata dicitur exposuisse: *Multorum fide digno relatu significatum est, piissime Imperator, te morte Amalasuende uehementius commotum atque ulciscende ipsius gratia bellum aduersus eum parare, pietatem laudat, poenas si meretur, minime deprecatur cause sue uide quantum confidat, tibi ipsi qui et aduocatus et assertor regine es eam cognoscendam permittit, sententiam quamcunque tuleris subire paratus. Illud unum hoc iudicio abs te orat petit ac postulat, ne plus miserationi dederis quam ueritati, uehementius affectum metuit quam censuram, quando quidem saepe uidemus ultimo damnatos supplicio ipsius quoque /45v/ censoribus pietatis elicere lacrimas, et quos*

*scelestes odimus, dantes supplicia miseremur adeo calamitas etiam apud hostem facile misericordiam inuenit et repentina admodum affectus mutatione uel ingentem inuidiam uertit in gratiam. In eo prae natura iudicante quod non aequae intentatas existimat insidias ut oppressas, et se per illas cum non successerint aliquo excusationis pretegit uelamine; has uero quamlibet iustissimas uicio crudelitatis accusat. Ad hec et illud causam Theodati difficiliorem facit, quod Amalasuente in eum beneficia nota sunt omnibus, insidiae exceptis conspiratoribus uix ipsi Theodato cognitae, quarum et testes et socios ad te missurus erat, nisi eum Amalasuente alia haud obscura facinora hac molestia leuassent. Neque enim ad tuas aures peruenisse dubitat eam saepe conatam, ipsum uolentibus omnibus iam olim regem Italiae et appellatum et habitum regia dignitate per speciem continentiae deiicere, quae consilia cum obstantibus cunctis primoribus et tam strenuo duce carere nolentibus, parum procedere uidet femina totiens humano respersa sanguine audacior immo uero crudelior effecta isdem artibus Theodatum pergit appetere quibus multos Gothorum proceres saepe perdidit. Quin in tanto constitutus discrimine faceret Theodatus tuam fidem implorat, o Imperator, te iudicem appellat; aut quis est tam sui oblitus, tam proprie salutis immemor, tanti pericula negligens, uel adeo compos sui, qui tam saeuum nactus hostem continuo non comprehenderet uinciret excrucieret necaret, et tamen Theodatus compresso naturae impetu, cohibita iustissima ira, post habito capitis sui periculo, spretis amicorum consiliis, Amalasuentam tantum detracta furendi potestate loco parentis et habuit et coluit, nihil de pristina fortuna dignitateque imminuens nisi quod sine suae uitae periculo non posse concedere uehementer dolebat. Hactenus nihil habes, Imperator, in quo Theodatum uel condemnare ualeas uel accusare. Semel /46r/ delatum honorem retinere curauit quem sine extrema ignominia negligere non poterat; dignitatem tutatus est suam, uite discrimina euitauit, comprehensum hostem suo capiti certum ferentem iugulum non modo uita uerum etiam fortunis omnibus donauit et sedulo pernitiem sibi machinari non desinentem tamen uiuere et foeliciter uiuere aequo animo per diu passus est, diutius procul dubio passurus si ceteri Amalasuentae inimici, qui iam partim temeritatis suae dedere poenas partim daturi sunt eandem indulgentiam in eam fuissent. Nunc quia aliorum impatientia hanc regi optatissimam inuidit patientiam et magnanimitatem aliena corrumpit ira, necis Amalasuentae reus arguitur, quoniam causas dandae mortis habuit, mortem dedisse creditur. Haec qui dictitant ac interitu Amalasuentae iusto amplius ingemiscunt nihil aliud dicere uidentur quam se dolere Theodatum ipsius insidiis non oppressum. Nam eius mortis nullam prorsus culpam apud Theodatum mostrare nequeunt nisi quod sperauerit cui ipse pepercisset manus neminem iniecturum; quod si crimen est tale crimen est, Imperator, ut nihil magis preter Theodati uoluntatem potuerit accidere, quippe qui uitam Amalasuente, tanquam indubitatum insigne et innocentiae et clementiae suae testimonium non modo diuturnius uerum perpetuum maluisset. Id sibi nunc impensius dolere atque illos totum per orbem persequi quorum temeritate ac audacia tam insigni laude gloriaque fraudatus est. Haec quantum ad casum Amalasuentae uerius quam argutius dicta sint, in quibus nihil habet tua maiestas, imperator, quod Theodato iure succensere ualeat aut ullas ab eo deposcere poenas. Porro quod ad bellum attinet, neque in eo ulla ratio dispici potest quam ob rem tibi necesse sit pacem Italiae turbare. Tua est Italia, tuus Italiae rector. Nomine Romani imperii primo a Theodorico deinde ab Athalarico est et uindicata et possessa; /46v/ nunc quoque a Theodato eiusdem imperii nomine possidetur. Tuum est Italiae ius, tua regni potestas, penes Theodatum tamen administratio est. Cum plurimos feceris sumptus, cum non leues subieris labores, cum plerasque clades et intuleris et acceperis, cum ingentem mortalium effuderis sanguinem, cum*

*multas urbes atque oppida euertere feceris, cum denique uniuersa ruinis calamitatibusque inuolueris, dubium uiceris martem, instabilem fortunam comprehenderis, cum inquam haec cuncta effeceris, nihil tamen hinc amplius quam nunc habes consecutus eris. Committenda quippe Italia alteri fortasse minus strenuo minusque fido erat, qui eam tuo nomine administret, qui imperata facit, qui per omnia morem gerat. Hec si tibi abs Theodato presto sunt omnia cur quod paratum iam habes tantis queris difficultatibus? Aut cui tu dignius curam possis committere Italiae quam illi cuius maiores absque ullo rei publice impendio plurimo suo sanguine de manibus hostium Romani imperii illam corripuerunt, qui munere tuorum maiorum possederunt, qui dignitatem amplitudinemque totius Italiae et precipue urbis Romae excoluerunt restaurauerunt exauxerunt. Quorum omnium si nulla apud uos esset memoria aut gratia, certe uel sola Theodati uirtus qua uobis pulsus Romanis hostibus Italiam incolumem conseruauit duplicem exercitum uno ferme eodemque tempore tam strenue profligauit, uel hec inquam una Theodati uirtus mereretur ut eum non indignum Italiae ministrum iudicaretis. Quod si feceritis nihil ab aequo bonoque discedetis, Italiam autem iam post tot tempestates respirantem nouis ruinis non inuoluetis, uobis uero idoneum amicum conseruabitis, qui et auxilia mittere et imperata facere semper erit paratus.*

⟨25⟩ Ad hec imperator se deliberaturum respondit et abeuntibus responsa daturum. Interea percunctatur pontificem, quid sibi de Euticiano dogmate uideretur, postulans ut labem qua coinquinatus sordebat apostolica interposita auctoritate sancciret. Pon- /47r/ tifax nefarium sacrilegumque respondit euertendam pestiferam doctrinam potius quam stabiliendam. Vt pote quae orthodoxe aduersaretur pietati euangelicam corrumperet ueritatem et sane fidei doctrineque apostolice fundamenta subrueret. Cum ob ora esset inter eos ultima de pietate fidei altercatio, pontifice ueritatem magno tuente animo et imperatore per errorem quem auidius imbiberat pertinacius astruente ac impudenter minarum adiectione confirmationem flagitante, Agapitus grandi auctoritate furentis imperatoris fregit audaciam dicens putasse se ad Iustinianum uenire, cum Diocletianum inuenerit. Hec uox simul et insignis pontificis constantia pari doctrina coniuncta imperatorem respiscere coegit atque ad catholicam redire sanitatem. Menna Constantinopolitanum in episcopum ordinato et Antonio heresis huius insanabili morbo laboranti sede eiecto, Pontifici abire uolenti merita gratiae pro salubri doctrina ab imperatore actae sunt; ad Theodatum autem pro pace quam flagitabat talia responsa data. *Nuntiate inquit Theodato pro casu Amalasuenta lubenter nos satisfactionem audiuisse; neque enim non dolere quiuimus tante reginae casum, quae priscas omnes matronas uirtutis merito uel equauerit uel superauerit. Proinde Theodato merito gratulamur si, ut nobis narastis, tam nefando paricidii piaculo non sit commaculatus; a nobis autem nihil est quod minus metuere habeat quam pacem Italiae turbatum iri, quippe qui uix tantum pro nostra salute sumus solliciti, quantum pro Italiae amplitudine ac incolumitate; nec quicquid est quod uel lubentius audimus uel intelligemus iocundius quam ipsam feliciter regi ac administrari. Nec ipse denique Theodatus quicquam nobis potest efficere acceptius quam si ita administrauerit Italiam ut nostrum solatium nequeat desiderare.* Hec ambigua inuolutaque Imperatoris responsa a pontifice Theodato exposita cum plurimum curae sollicitudinisque inicere debuissent, tantum uehementi animo securitatis prebuere, ut inclinatum rerum ipsius statum celerius egerit /47v/ in preceps. Talia quippe his fretus, ausus est inceptare quae illi ingentem cunctorum inuidiam merito conflauere. Siquidem haud multo post perfunctam legationem Agapito summo pontifice nature concedente Theodatus pretio accepto ui suffragia cleri in Siluerium extorsit, qua re cum omnium offensos cognouisset animos, non nullos etiam

ad Imperatorem accusationes detulisse, rursum ad morum rediit simulationem, qua ubi se nihil proficere intelligit Iustinianumque sibi opido infensum, nihil tamen aliud aduersum tam ualidam futuram tempestatem prudenter nihil uiriliter nihil sapienter prouidit, tantum ad ineptum sapientiae suae uel potius insipientiae rediit presidium. Legatos iterum ad Iustinianum mittit simul et epistolam magnam suae uaniloquentiae fiduciam, quibus Romam Italiamque introducit genus Imperatoris ad uoluntas supplices pacem quietemque orantes multa preterea inepta ac insulsa narantes, quae adhuc extant apud Cassiodorum.

## ⟨LIBER TERTIVS⟩

⟨1⟩ IGITVR Iustinianus ineptias uidens Theodati populorumque animos propensius ad spem libertatis erectos tempus rei bene gerendae nactum se ratus, mentem cogitationemque suam ad liberandam Italiam conuertit, quippe quod contra decus Romani uidebatur imperii perpeti diutius Italiam a barbaris occupari. Accendebat praeterea illum felix rerum successus et uictor imperatoris animus cursum fortunae prosperum ubique pollicebatur. Nam paulo ante Parthos in Asia represserat. Herulos, Gepidas et Bulgaros Illyricum deuastantes per legatos frequenter profligauerat. In Africam misso Belisario Vandalis bello superatis prouinciam abstulerat. His successibus fretus legatos mittit ad Theodatum quibus haec mandata imponit. *Dicite, inquit, Theodato quantum /48r/ nos Romae Italiaeque desiderium teneat ipse fortasse minus intelligit qui relicta sua patria lubentius commoratur in aliena, tamen uel ex eo ipso coniectare potest quam impense nostram patriam assequi cupiamus prae cuius amore ipse peregrinus suam contempsit. Accedit ad hoc quod exclusus Italia nec imperatorem me agnosco nec liberum. Quo modo enim me liberum dicam captiua patria? Aut qua ratione legitimum appellem imperatorem imperii sedem alio occupante? Quod cum sine grauissimo dedecore meo diutius perpeti nequeam rogatum illum uelim meam mihi patriam reddat, diuitiarum a me honorumque quantam uix optare posset copiam accepturus siue cum magistratu esse uoluerit siue philosophiae, cuius eum studiosissimum accepimus honestissimo perfrui otio ipsius relinquimus optioni. Haec si facere negauerit, nouerit se hostem rei publice declaratum bellumque sibi nostra hac legatione indictum.* Haec Theodato a legatis exposita quamuis non exiguum metum sollicitudinemque incussissent, tamen ut erat ingenio tardo secordiaque improuida nec oblatam accepit conditionem nec bello necessaria comparare curauit. Vbi ergo Iustinianus tam ex legatis quam ex aliis compluribus accepit Theodatum omnia negligenter agere, classem parare accelerat tamquam in Africam aduersum Vandalorum motus nauigaturam. Exploratum quippe habebat imperator insula paruo hostium praesidio et Siculos ingenti Gothorum odio teneri, per quam occasionem spem certam conceperat posse potiri Sicilia, ad inferendum Italiae bellum accommodatissima et propter loci uicinitatem et propter commeatus subministrandi copiam ac facultatem et quia ea recepta ex Graecia ad Italiam tutissima foret nauigatio.

⟨2⟩ Est enim haec insula ultimo Italiae in margine posita, ubi litora olim Bruttiorum nunc Calabrum apud Rhegium ciuitatem pedis extrema consummare diximus, modico admodum freto ab Italiae dirempta solo ita ut adhuc Aeschyli cete- /48v/ rorum antiquorum scriptorum sententiam comprobare uideatur, qua tradiderunt eam Italiae olim coniunctam fuisse sed terraemotuum uiolentia auulsam quo ex facto Rhegio inditum nomen, quod ‘rhagene’ Strabone testante frangere dictum est, quod ibi esset terra fracta abruptaque ubi fretum est angustum, una ex parte infames Scyllae habens scopulos ex altera Charybdis uerticulosum mare frequenti naufragio famosum. Haec Siciliae insula primum Sicania deinde Trinacria eadem et Trinacris dicta est, a promontoriis tribus Peloro, Pachyno et Lilybaeo, inter quae sub trianguli inaequilateris figura tota concluditur. Pelorus uicinus Italiae inter septentrionem et occidentem in caurum spectat, Pachynus ad hibernos solis ortus a Peloponneso quadringentis et quadraginta passuum milibus semotus, Lilybaeum in austrum tendens centum et octoginta milibus passuum Africae litoribus accedit. Latus proximum Italiae quod inter Pelorum

Pachynumque intercedit Siculosque abluitur pelago minimum est et in sinum modice reductum, in cuius principio uicina Rhegio Italiae Messana, deinde Taurominium, post Catana et ita Syracusae citra Pachynum sex et triginta miliaribus positae. Aliud latus quod a Pachyno Noti obtensum procellis in Lilybaeum protenditur longius priore est sed minus sinuosum in quo Camarina fuit et Agrigentinum emporium. Porro tertium latus a Lilybaeo in Pelorum reliquos longitudine uincit dorsoque in Tyrrhenum mare curuatur in quo Panormus est ciuitas septuaginta ferme milibus passuum a Lilybaeo distans. Totum insulae spatium antiquorum non nulli sexingentis et uiginti miliaribus amplexi sunt, alii duodecim adiecerunt, alii duo deuginti, nostro uero aetatis nautae septingenta miliaria impleuerunt, cum apud Strabonem Possidonius non amplius quam quingentis et quinquaginta milibus passuum uniuersam per circuitum nauigationem determinet. Tota insula cauernosa esse creditur aquis flammisque grauida atque ideo multis riuis amnisque calidis ac frigidis manans, /49r/ felici solo et tam frugibus quam aliis ad uictum necessariis feracissimo et quo uberrimo ore Romani totaque Italia utebatur.

⟨3⟩ Hoc ante omnia Gothis eripere prudentissime imperator decreuerat atque interea finitimos Italiae principes muneribus sibi conciliare, ut si auxiliariis uti nequiret hostes saltem non uereretur. Proinde ad reges Francorum nepotemque illorum Theodobertum tunc Liguriam obtinentem maxima pretiosissimaque munera mittit simul et epistolas his ferme uerbis conscriptas: *Graue nobis hactenus fuit Ostrogothos reges indignos Theodorici successores tanta patientia tolerare cum propter illatas crebrius iniurias tum maxime propter Arianae haereseos labem, qua urbem Romam uniuersamque Italiam inficere non desinunt. Insuper a nobis admonitus Theodatus non solum non resipiscit sed et conuitiis iniuriisque uir petulans procacius egit, quod cum ferre diutius Christianos principes indignum ducamus bellum illi indiximus, spem maximam uictoriae in uestris ceterorumque principum Christianorum uiribus haud minus quam in nostris repositam habentes.* His acceptis litteris reges, cum deleniti muneribus tum odio flagrantes, Theodati spem pacis faciunt imperatori, qua pro uoto habita imperator Belisarium cum instructissima classe in Siciliam soluere iubet nauigatione in Africam assimilata, alium uero ducem cui Mundo nomen erat Dalmatiam cum exercitu inuadere, ut ancipiti pariter malo perculsi Gothi facilius opprimi possint. Et Mundus quidem Dalmatiam ingressus, primo impetu praesidio Gothorum profligato, Salonas occupat belloque ac tumultu omnia inuoluit.

⟨4⟩ At Belisarius imperatoris secutus preceptum, simulans se in Africam traiecturum copias in Siciliam exponit inter Taurominium et Catanam, tamquam militem ex maris taedio refocillaturus. Praeerat autem pediti Constantius et Bessus, equitatum autem Valentinianus cum Innocentio ducebant, ceterum summa belli erat apud Belisarium. Qui refecto opportune exercitu repente Catanam urbem adortus cepit. /49v/ Indo mox patefactis consiliis ducens secundum litus militem propius Syracusas admouet, tamquam bellum ciuitati illaturus ostentansque copias intra paucos dies dedentibus se tam ciuibus quam Gothis una cum duce suo Sinderico, ciuitatem recepit urbem ab Archia Corinthio olim conditam et multarum diuitiarum gloria percelebrem et post tyrannorum rapinis opibus exhaustam. Hinc iam incredibilis cursus uictoriae creuit, uocantibus ultro ciuitatibus et milites Iustiniani laeto animo suscipientibus. Increuerat enim ingens Siculorum in Gothos odium iugumque dominationis insulam oppido habebant exosum. Huc accedebat Romani imperii auctoritas et praesens inuicta uirtus Belisarii, quem quoniam acceperant Africa pepulisse Vandalos minime dubitare poterant etiam Gothos Sicilia Italiae exacturum. Adiuuit praeterea Belisarii

inceptum Theodati imprudentia per quam in Sicilia cecerat apparatus, quippe quod in ea bellum minime futurum sperauerat. Proinde repentina Belisarii inuasionem simul et ciuitatum defectione perculsi Gothi magis cogitabant quo pacto salutem fuga peterent quam quo modo obsisterent Iustinianis. Quo factum est ut intra perexiguos dies omnes Siciliae ciuitates cunctaque insulae oppida in potestatem Belisarii deuenirent, una Panormo excepta, quae quod ualido Gothorum tenebatur praesidio sola obsidionem expectauit non nulloque tempore sustinuit. Vrbs quippe erat ipse in litore constituta a terra et natura et arte munitissima, ita ut omnes Belisarii conatus in casum reciderent. Quam ob rem mari urbem oppugnare aggressus est, cumque subiisset in portum classis animaduertit Belisarius quibusdam in locis malos nauium supra moenia attolli. Igitur in his celeriter tabulatis extractis sagittarios conscendere iubet admotisque nauibus propugnatores eminus iaculis missilibusque ferire, quod milites praestrenue exsequentes extemplo moenia defensoribus nudant. Id cum animaduertissent ceteri mox e nauibus desiliunt in terram et muros iam absque ullo periculo sub- /50r/ euntes ferro excindere contendunt. Eo discrimine territi Gothi dedidere, qua recepta Belisarius triumphanti similis remensa iterum latitudine Siciliae itinere quo uenere Syracusas reuertitur. Iussa classe rursus Lilybaeum et Pachynum obnauigare et apud Syracusas consistere, ubi magnificos edidit ludos multamque uim nummorum dirripiendam in uulgus diffudit, compluribusque aliis editis muneribus diem illum perquam celebrem esse uoluit, ut pote ipsius consulatus supremum, quem honoris gratia ob partam de Vandalis uictoriam ab imperatore acceperat, ita ueluti dedita opera fortuna uisa sit ceteras ipsius uictorias extremum quoque eius magistratus diem accessione regni Siciliae illustrare.

⟨5⟩ Dum haec in Sicilia geruntur, in Dalmatia Gothi magnis contractis copiis ad Salonas contendunt, qui cum propius castra admouissent utrinque preter opinionem manus conserere coacti sunt. Nam cum Mauritius, Mundi ducis filius, spectate adolescens uirtutis manumque opido promptus cum parte equitatus speculatum castra Gothorum existiisset, forte fortuna obuam habuit hostium equitatum, qui ubi sese mutuo conspexere haud mora infestis concurrunt telis, prelium atrox committitur, ruunt pertinacius in mutuas cedes, et utrisque uincere contententibus uitam potius quam locum linquunt, cadunt frequentes Gothorum precipui non sine magno hostium cruore. Interea tumultus utraque exciuerat castra, quibusque suis opem ferre properantibus. Mundus ex itinere cum filium in prelio cecidisse cognouisset, homo natura ferox ac bellicosus ira simul doloreque accensus fertur furens in hostem; aduenerant autem interea omnes Gothorum copie ac totis castris utriusque certabatur, cum Mundus irruit in confertissimos cuneos, ac ueluti fulmen obuia queque perrumpit disicere prosternit, cuius uirtutem milites emulati exemplumque secuti, tandem ingenti strage edita Gothos fundunt atque in fugam uertunt. Mundus uero dum uindicta expleri nescit nec seuire in fugientes desinit, longius post fusos /50v/ progressus, in sua ipse uictoria a fugientibus occiditur; ita dum filii necem intemperantius ulcisci festinat, ipse de se optam hostibus exhibuit ultionem. Ipsa ueluti fortuna decernente, etiam in sumendis ex hoste poenis modum esse adhibendum. Gothi igitur per hunc modum profligati prouincia excessere, minime ad eam reuersuri, si Iustiniani milites partam retinere ausi fuissent. Sed morte ducis conterriti, relictis Salonis et ipsi retro abiere. Non putauit hoc loco silentio pretereundum, quod ab aliis quoque scriptoribus memoriae proditum est uetustissimum fuisse carmen, quo significari uidebatur tunc Mundum cum prole sua interiturum, cum secundo a Romanis Africa fuerit debellata. Hoc uaticinium adeo perterrefecerat mortalium animos, ut recepta a Belisario Africa cuncti ferme coeli terreque ruinam pauidi prestolarentur. Sed apparuit quasi iocatum in uerbo

Sibyllam per ambiguitatem uocabuli supersticiosas hominum mentes inani metu territare uoluisse.

⟨6⟩ Igitur Theodatus, duobus his tam grauibus acceptis uulneribus, legatos ad Iustinianum mittit, cupiens per eos aliquam pereuntis regni partem retinere, quod ut facilius consequeretur, pollicetur se sponte Sicilia cessurum, militum tria milia, quandocumque iusserit imperator, auxilio missurum, senatores ac episcopos dispositioni eius permissurum, insuper quot annis daturum coronam auream triginta librarum subiectionis signum, atque, ut maiestas imperii restituta in Italiam esse uideatur, se Romae ceterisque in ciuitatibus curaturum, ut inter sacra primum nomen imperatoris efferatur, statuam aut signum regis Italiae non nisi secundo post imperatorem loco uel errigi uel pingi. Imperator legatis benigne susceptis respondit se quidem Theodati promissa minime abnuere; tamen eum uehementius hortari uelit sibi liberam Italie potestatem permittere, quod si fecisset sese ita et rebus eius et amplitudini consulturum, ut ipsum minime pigeat liberalitatis. Interea Theodatus, mortuo Mundo, /51r/ cum nullas copias in Dalmatia remansisse accepisset, habito confestim delectu, Grippam unum ex proceribus miserat in prouinciam, quo ubi primum peruenit, cum omnia hoste uacarent, et Salonas et cetera quae Mundus occupauerat in potestatem accepit. Quod factum tantum Theodato animi adiecit, ut se uel superiorem uel parem bello futurum minime dubitaret, precipue cum intellexisset Bellisarium e Sicilia in Africam nauigasse periculosissimis motibus aduocatum, quos Storzias, quidam ex ultimo militum ordine homo audacissimus, grauissimos exciuerat. Siquidem auctor secessionis militum factus, et Cirillo, Marcello, Phara aliisque complurimis iudicibus dolo occupatis, tyrannidem arripuerat, et Salomonem, qui solus in fide partibusque imperatoris permanserat, totam per Africam agitabat, ita ut res et maioris negotii et diuturnioris temporis esse uideretur. His rebus elatus Theodatus non solum minus metuere cepit Iustiniani potentiam, uerum etiam flocci facere ac contemnere, quam ob rem ausus est, retractis omnibus quae cum Iustiniano egerat, legatos eius contra ius fasque gentium captos in custodia asseruare, quod ei persuadere conati fuissent in fide promissisque permanere.

⟨7⟩ Quibus rebus cognitis, imperator unum ex familiaribus suis nomine Constantium bello Dalmatico praeficit. Bellisario autem scribit, ut quam tocius exercitum in Italiam traducat. Iam enim Bellisarius incredibili celeritate foelicitateque, oppressis seditiosis, motus Africae composuerat, atque in Siciliam illis forte diebus remeauerat. Porro Constantius, dux belli Dalmatici declaratus, extemplo in Macedoniam contendit; inde, acceptis copiis, quae sub Mundo militauerant, Dirachium se recepit, ubi in describendo milite classeque comparanda non nihil temporis absumpsit. Hinc tandem soluens, Epidaurum nauigauit, ubi cum premissi Gothorum exploratores ingentem classem insigni apparatu praeteruehi conspexissent, euestigio ad suos reuersi, rem per se proculdubio /51v/ grandem tanto grandiore fecerunt quanto eam et paor apud degeneres animos et classis facies; maiora uero semper ostentans exaugere ualebant. His acceptis Grippa inops consilii, quid ageret, sollicitus mentem in diuersa uolebat, quippe quod et pugna aduersus tantas decernere uires temerarium ac pernitiosum ducebat, et includere se Salonis nequaquam tutum arbitrabatur, quod nec ciuibus nec moeniis satis confidere poterat, illis quia animo alienatis, istis quia non nullis in locis uetustate collapsis. Confirmabat hanc ipsius sententiam et alia non imprudens ratio, quod mari, preualentibus hostibus, cito se ad inopiam commeatus redigi posse formidabat. His coactus difficultatibus, Salonas egreditur, nec longe profectus, castra idoneo loco metatus est. Interea Constantius Pharon insulae, quae nunc Liesina dicitur, adnauigarat, ubi, cum ea, quae Salonis contigerant, cognouisset, appulsa in proximum litus classe, milites exponit, quorum



quingentos delectos iubet per noctem fauces montium, quae angustissime haud procul Salonis imminet, praeoccupare; ipse cum reliquo exercitu prima luce subsequitur, offendensque a suis occupatas nullo negotio copias, deducens urbem ingressus est. Quod ubi cognouit Grippa, seque imparem Constantio intelligens, Dalmatia simul Liburniaque relicta, mari Rauennam delatus est. Per hunc modum duae prouinciae nullo prorsus labore Gothis ademptae sunt.

⟨8⟩ Haec dum in Dalmatia geruntur, Bellisarius, acceptis ab imperatore mandatis, quibus in Italiam transmitter iubebatur, opportuno praesidio Syracusis ac Panormo relicto, reliquo cum exercitu Messanam contendit. Inde, traiecto freto, Rhegium appulit; ea urbe ceterisque circumuicinis opidis euestigio potitus est, ultro uocantibus incolis et Gothorum odio certatim deditionem facientibus; quod uidens Embrinus, qui et Eurimid est appellatus, gener Theodati Bruttiorum praefectus se dedit; quem, missum Constantinopolim, Imperator honorifice habuit, /52r/ patriciumque appellatum magnis donauit muneribus. Igitur rebus Bruttiorum compositis, Bellisarius iter pedestre ingressus exercitum secundum litus ducit, classe iuxta nauigante; multa ex itinere oppida frequentesque populos in fidem accepit, pari facilitate Lucanis omnibus est potitus, quoad Neapolim uentum est urbem insignem Paleopolis uicine quondam ciuitatis et agri et populi accessione iam olim exauctam, uetustam originem a Cumanis ducentem, atque ea tempestate potenti Gothorum praesidio munitam. Vbi euestigio, classe in portu ad ancoras stare stare iussa, admotisque propius copiis, situm urbis locorumque naturam diligentius contemplatus est. Nec multo post qui arcem satis satis munitam in suburbano tenebant, hostium facie dumtaxat terri, conditionibus Bellisario eam tradidere; qua recepta alacrius ad obsidendam accingitur urbem, uineas struere, turrets locis opportunis excitare, exaedificare arietes, catapultas, scorpiones, machinas omnifarias, ceteraque necessaria expedire.

⟨9⟩ Quae cum moliri uidissent Neapolitani, legatos ad Bellisarium mittunt, quorum unus Stephanus nomine, uir inter suos et auctoritate et consilio eximio, hoc ferme modo locutus est: *Preter ius fasque agis, Bellisari, quod minime lacessitus Neapolitanis, nihil neque de te neque de imperio commereantibus bellum intulisti. Gothos persequeris; non debes id cum insontium agere clade prospiciendum tibi est, ne de Italiae regno acrius contendis, illud funditus euertas, nec habeas quo uictor gaudeas, cuius laetus domineris. Nam ut missas faciam uxore ac liberos, quos obsidum loco Rauennae Theodatus captiuos tenet; nos tam forti Gothorum premimur manu, ut necesse sit eorum nutibus per omnia deseruire, atque cum eis quamlibet inuitos ciuitatem pertinacius tueri. Vnde a nobis ut pote in aliena potestate constitutis, nisi hostile sperare poteris nihil. Quas ob res obsidionem urbis et defensorum et omnis bellici apparatus copia apprime instructae, longius quam tuorum consiliorum ferunt rationes processuram ambigere non debes. Hinc alterum /52v/ necessario obuenerit, ut uel elusus spe frustreris uel uoti nequicquam compos euadas. Roma siquidem in Gothorum existente potestate, frustra Neapolim expugnaueris, quando quidem membra absque capite conseruari nequeunt. Proinde pace tua dixerim nescio quam prudentis fuerit consilii exercitum ad has oras duxisse, aut his in regionibus uelle diutius commorari. Sedes quippe consultius primum petenda erat, quam si receperis, Neapolim quoque ac reliquam Italiam incolumem incorruptamque accipies; sin ab ea fueris excusus, et a Neapoli excluderis. Proinde illuc animum intendas, quod confectum ex maiore et usu et gloria tua futurum est. Nos iniuria indignos tuamque uictoriam nihil morantes interea missos face, quo uel uictori maiori usui uoluptatique esse ualeamus, uel cedenti clade nostra merorem non exageremus; sed in utraque fortuna tibi uoluptati esse possimus.*

<10> Ad hec Bellisarius: *Non satis prudenti officio fungimini, qui perpetuos uictores maximorumque bellorum usu apprime edoctos belligerari docetis; qui si rei militaris imperitissimi fuissetis, non erat uestrum rationem militandi monstrare. Neque huc legati uenistis de belli processu diserturi, uerum de uestra salute acturi. Stultissimum est in eo sententias dicere in quo consilium desideret nemo; proinde illud potius deliberate, utrum uobis praestet exercitum Romani Imperatoris uictorem assertoremque et salutis et libertatis uestrae recipere, an, in hac foeda barbarorum seruitute manentes, merito oppugnari miserandisque calamitatibus affici? Nouimus Gothorum ualidum presidium, sed nequaquam tale, quod uos ab offitio Romano debito imperatori uel prohibere ualeat uel retardare; immo uero quod a uobis facile occupatum et uxores incolumes poterit reddere et liberos obsidesque restituere, quas ob res uenturas uobis calamitates uestrae imputabitis peruicaciae, haud nostrae inhumanitati. Nos quippe absque pernitie uestra ex imperatoris urbe cupimus ipsius hostes exturbare; id si cum uestro accidet excidio, uestra /53r/ pertinacia in causa erit. Nobis certum est, nisi expugnata ciuitate, minime abscedere, omnibusque palam facere et Iustiniani inuictum esse exercitum et quo supplicio digni sunt, qui foedam barbarorum dominationem maiestati Romani anteponunt imperii.* Haec palam. Clam uero hortatus est Stephanum Bellisarius suis persuadeat ciuibus, gratiam potius et beniuolentiam quam indignationem ac odium experiri et inuictas eius uires fractis barbarorum armis non postponere; uelintque uno merito et se et imperatorem sempiterno afficere beneficio; se quidem urbem expugnaturum minime diffidere, morarum tamen laborisque uacatione donari a ciuibus inter insignia beneficia Neapolitano populo et omnes ipsi Stephano connumeraturum deputaturumque. Cupiebat quippe opido Bellisarius Neapolitana urbe potiri, ut pote quam non ignorabat oportunitissimam Italiae portam et ad regendum bellum maxime idoneam. Iccirco adhuc in Sicilia constitutus, huc mentem cogitationemque intenderat, tutissimum ratus eo in loco temptare Gothorum antea incognitas uires, ubi et exercitus classi et classis exercitui opitulari ualeret, quando quidem haud tantas duxisset copias, quibus quouis in loco liberius cum hoste dimicare auderet. Proinde solicitandi prius erant populi, auxilia contrahenda, uiresque hostium qualibet ratione debilitande, ad quas uniuersas rationes conficiendas Neapolitanam urbem optimo preuiderat consilio.

<11> Igitur legati in urbem reuersi Bellisarii uerba suis exponunt; ciues rem in consultationem deducunt. Primus sententiam dicere rogatus, Stephanus ita exorsus est: *Ego quidem, conciues mei, semper uobis auctor esse cupio, regi nostro, quoad nos fieri potest fidem inuiolatam conseruare, maxime si id non dicam sine damno uel incommodo, sed sine clade atque excidio fieri potest. Nam cum nostro exitio, ipsi quoque Theodato fides seruata non placeret, ea ipsum modestia ea probitate cognoui. Nunquam enim ueluti iustissimum decet regem sua commoda ex subditorum incommodis /53v/ spectare consueuit. Quam ob rem etiam atque etiam uobis uidendum est, si nostri conatus regi nostro conducibiles et nobis non exitiales futuri sint; nam si et inutiles ei et nobis perniciosi uidebuntur, stultum admodum esset et nostro principi oppido ingratum, temeritate nostra simul et nos perdere et regem ipsum grauissima afficere contumelia. Etenim si, ut uereor, uiolenter expugnabimur, de nobis, de liberis, de uxoribus deque omnibus fortunis nostris iam actum fore haud dubium est. Deinde de auctoritate cunctaque Gothorum existimatione, quippe tum eos hanc nostram urbem tam de ipsis benemeritam et tam bello oportunitam tutari nequiuisset populi Italiae intelligent, ilicet uniuersi suae consulent saluti, quando quidem in ipsorum presidio spem nullam esse cognoscent. Quod si a me quaeritis, quibus adductus rationibus difidem hanc urbem Romano*

*non posse resistere Imperatori, multas quidem monstrare poteram, sed que potiora impresentiarum succurrunt, quam breuioribus ualueram, explicare conabor. Primum quidem me mouet Romani imperii late dominans auctoritas, quam mirum uniuersus ferme orbis aut metuit aut ueneratur. Deinde uirium insignis potestas, qua tenet Asiam, Africam perdomuit ac maiori Europe parti dominatur. Quod reliquum est, Gothis solis exceptis, aut societatis aut amicitie uinculis obtinet confederatum. Theodato sola relicta est Italia et huius quidem partem iam ad Iustinianum defecisse uidemus, partem prope diem defecturam intelligimus. Neque enim credendum est, ut tam repente et tanta plenum fiducia exercitum in Italiam miserit, nisi ultro a compluribus ciuitatibus populisque uocatus. Documento nobis sunt Siculi, qui prius Gothos expulerunt quam Iustinianos uiderent; documento Brutii, documento Lucani, utriusque Sicilie exempla secuti. Documento Embrinus regis gener Gothorum primus, qui, hanc populorum uoluntatem intelligens et statum Gothorum ruiturum, tempore uti festinauit, ac sibi suisque prudentissime consuluit. Huc /54r/ accedit Bellisarii inclita uirtus et inuictus ipsius exercitus, quo repressit Parthos, Vandalos profligauit. Vendicauit Africam, totam Siciliam intra paucos dies quam expeditus eam nuncius perlustrare quiuisset; nunc intra fortissimorum hostium aedes penetrans, cernitis, qua fiducia quaeue animi firmitate primam post urbem Romanam hanc Gothorum ciuitatem tantis et presidiiis et munitionibus instructam obsidere parat, atque ab ea nisi uictor abire non cogitat. Prospexit quippe uir prudentissimus hanc ciuitatem Italiae esse portam locumque ad conficiendum, quod proposuit, opportunissimum. Et profecto, ut mihi iam uidere uideor, compos uoti fiet. Nec quispiam tam hebetis est ingenii, qui hoc ipsum cernere non ualeat, si diligentius animum aduertat, quo in loco uel nos uel res nostrae sitae sint. Vna ex parte habemus Greciam, Epirum ac Dalmatiam nuper nostris erreptam, ex alia Africam Cyprum Cretam ceterasque insulas uniuersas, quibus nuper accessit Sicilia perpetuum nostri pectoris iugulum; ita toto depulsi mari, cuius usu haec ciuitas uictitabat, ad rerum ferme omnium inopiam redigimur, ac induriores angustias in dies coartamur; exclusi siquidem mari nec ex his, quae apud nos, nec ex illis, quae apud externos nascuntur, utilitatem ullam percipere ualemus. Quando quidem nec aliena inferre nec nostra exportare licet. Recreabamur hoc continentis angusto usu et tenui agrorum fructu grauissima damna solabamur. At nunc terra marique exclusi, potentissimis undique uiribus premimur; impetimur, oppugnamur a missis prediis, uillarum aedificiis incensis dirrutisque, toto uastato agro exusto, corrupto, fedato. Atque utinam huc omnes reciderent incommoditates, et cuncte inferende ab hoste calamitates hactenus deseuerent, subeunda aequo animo censerem uniuersa pro fide regi nostro conseruanda. Ceterum admodum uereor, immo uero nihil dubito, tot tantasque iacturas, eas extemplo consecuturas erumnas, que nec nos sustinere ualebimus, nec Gothis, non modo his qui nobiscum per- /54v/ iclitantur sed ne ceteris quidem profutura. Principio famem et miserandam omnium rerum penuriam, quae plurima obsessos acerbius uexare consueuit. Deinde bonorum direptio, crudelitas, cedes et omni cede dirior seruitus non tolleranda, postremo filiorum abusio, prostitutio coniugum et inexplicabilis cunctarum turpitudinum facies ac miseriarum, quas expugnate ciuitates furenti ab hoste substinere coguntur. Que nobis singula eo grauiora metuenda sunt, quod nostre uel rebellionis uel peruicacitatis nullam honestam causam pretendere ualebimus. Iustinianum quippe Romanorum Imperatorem nouimus et reposcenti urbem et possumus et debemus; id si non fecerimus, nullum ueniae locum nobis reliquum faciemus. Quod si quis dicat tradendam quidem esse urbem, uerum non ita repente, ne pusilanimes leuisque fidei esse uideamur. Accederem utique huic sententiae, si illam uel Gothis expedientem uel nobis tutam cernerem, cuperemque uehementer mihi responderet iste quicumque est tam religiosus honestatis curator, si interea*

*dum constantiae magnanimitatisque uel commendationem uel uerius ostentationem aucupamur ac regi inuiti immo uero damnoso studio placere quaerimus; aliquis siue ciuis siue peregrinus aut auaritia adductus aut proprie saluti consulere cupiens urbem hostibus prodiderat, aut eam casus quispiam (ut sunt mortalium plerique) nobis et insciis et inuitis ademerit. Quid tandem de hac nostra futili ac fatua gloria faciemus? Aut quis non stultam uesanamque hanc nostram cunctationem sit appellaturus imprudentemque ac stultam laudem, scitis ac prudentibus rationibus condemnaturus. Optandum uobis potius quam sperandum est, ciues, ut cuncti priuatam utilitatem salutemque publicae postponant. Prodigiosa hec et rara olim uirtus fuit, ac inter tot laudatissimos Romanorum uix in duobus aut adeo tribus spectata; et quam philosophantes egre a sapientibus exigi posse censuerunt, uos ab imperitis scelestibusque sperare potestis? /55r/ Tanquam nullum accepissetis documentum, quantum uel metus uel auaritia uirium habeat etiam in prestantes uiros? Formidolosus appeller licet, tamen ingenue fatear me in tanta leuissimorum hominum copia nullum securum somnum, nullam animi quietem capere posse. Nec mihi propterea disipere uideor, si meas uestrumque omnium fortunas, si tam insignis urbis opes egenis, fugitiuis, factiosis, audacibus non tuto commissas confidam, precipue cum eis et scelerum impunitatem et maxima facinoris premia proposita conspiciam. Verum esto, ut nullius fidem nullumque fortunae casum formidandum habeamus securamque prorsus moram agere ualeamus. Illud mea sententia ante omnia uidendum est, possumus ne obsidionem perferre an non possumus; si possumus et expugnari minime ueremur, nihil neque prius neque fortius a nobis fieri potest, quam omnes difficultates, labores, fortunasque fidei nostre postponere. Sin obsidionem adeu[n]tes perpeti nequiuerimus nec ualebimus incolumem conseruare ciuitatem, quanto eam longius reddere protelabimus, tanto deteriore et Gothorum existimatione et nostra conditione faciemus. Siquidem Iustiniani milites et maiorem in Gothos concipient animum, ut pote suis oportunitate opem ferre non ualentes, et nobis ad deditionem necessitate compulsis plura uictores imponent, que nunc ultro deditibus facile sunt condonaturi. Quibus de causis exoratum uelim hunc honestatis curatorem ita dedende ciuitatis moras innectat, ita decori rationem curet, ut post agrorum uastationem non cogatur et urbis uidere excidium et eas subire leges, quibuscum uitam optet commutare. Nec uelit plura a nobis Theodato exigere quam Siculi omnes, quam Brutii, quam Lucani, quam Embrinus gener ipsius regis uel prestiterit illi uel prestandum censuerit. Neque haec istorsum dixi, quod turpem utilitatem honeste iacture anteponendam ducam, uerum, si honesti honesti decorique ratio habenda est, illud uobis uidendum censeo, ne turpius opido fuerit Romano non obtemperare imperatori quam ab illis desciscere, qui inuito eo sedem / 55v/ ipsius imperii detinent occupatam. Nam quantum ad nostram fidem attinet erga Gothos declarandam, si eam ex tot clarissimis nostris in illos meritis perspicere nequiuerunt, ne ex clade quidem nostra poterunt. Et quod nos pusilanimes non debere esse dicebatur, ego hanc notam eatenus deuitandam existimo quatenus id absque pernitie calamitateque fiat, quippe quemadmodum pusilanimitatem non probo ita detestor audaciam; et si optare conditionem cogerer, malletm securam innoxiamque timiditatem quam uesanam pernitiosamque temeritatem, quandoquidem exitialis turpitudine nuda inhonestate semper detestabilior habita est. Hinc et leuitatis nemo nos accusare poterit, nisi qui pertinacie nesciat rationem. Quas ob res censeo, ciues, urbem Bellisario sine mora tradendam, Gothis his hospitibus nostris libera cum sarcinis suis abeundi facultate impetrata, per hunc modum et nostre saluti consulemus et Gothorum existimationem incorruptam conseruabimus, quippe quibus sine nostro discrimine integrum effeciemus pro hac ciuitatis amissione potius nostram causare timiditatem quam suam prodere uel ignauiam uel imbecillitatem. Haec me diseruisse non absque ingenti capitis*

*mei periculo sat scio, sed prudens uolensque pietatem quam patrie debeo uitae meae anteponendam putauit, maluitque uestrae omnium quam mei unius salutis habere rationem. Deum autem optimum maximumque testor solum iustum omnium regnorum moderatorem, me hec quaecunque dixi nullo Gothorum odio, nullo liuore doloue malo dixisse. Verum huius miserandae meae patriae omniumque uestrum studio. Que si sequi uolueritis cunctis profutura non dubito. Sin minus et iam Neapolis nouissima instant fata, te, o patria, testor et tuos sacros cineres breui, ni tui ciues prospexerint misere arsuros me tibi neque consilio neque ope defuisse. Vosque, o iuuenes, quorum aetas longiori aerumnae grauioriquae iniuriae exposita est; memores hec mea dicta accipite, ut cum usus uenerit et hanc patriam fortunasque /56r/ uestras, quod abominor, ruere conspexeritis, per me uobis incolumes conseruatas memineritis?*

⟨12⟩ Hac oratione suam in sententiam adduxerat Stephanus optimatum animos pene omnes, presertim Antiochi cuiusdam auctoritate adiutus. Hic enim licet genere esset Syrus, quia tamen uir grauis probusque habebatur complurimosque annos negotiationes Neapoli magna cum omnium laude exercuerat, plurima apud omnes et gratia et opinione pollebat, quem cum publice priuatimque eadem quae Stephanum suadere uiderent, populus ut est cuncta in studia uehemens, haec ipsa cupere uidebatur. Iamque palam exaudiebantur uoces inclamantium, patefaciendas Bellisario portas, Iustiniani ducem intra moenia recipiendam. Quod licet cum dolore audirent Gothi, quia tamen uix octingenti erant, se ipsos represserant non audentes populi contraire uoluntati, nihilominus haud quaquam desinebant amicorum implorare opem suasque partes eorum commendare fidei, maxime Pastori et Asclepiodoto, duobus primariis ciuibus Neapolitanis, quorum et fidem et studium erga rem Gothorum satis pe[r]spectam exploratamque habebant. Hi, cum precibus eorum permoti, tum quia sua sponte adiuuabant partes molesteque admodum ferebant presentem ciuitatis statum immutari, tran[s]uersa quadam uia populum a proposito dimouere aggressi sunt, quandoquidem eius uoluntati aperte refragari non auderent. Itaque in concionem precedens, alter eorum Pastor nomine hoc modo locutus: *Non huc processit, uiri Neapolitani, contraria uel Stephano uel Anthioco suasurus, sed, quae illi et fideliter et prudenter censuerunt, laudaturus potius ac comprobaturus quippe et necessaria et salutaria cunctis fore confidimus, presertim si ea ita acceperimus, ut, quae ad salutem esse cupimus, nequeant euadere ad perniciem. Iccirco et hunc conscendi locum ut discussis diligentius dum conceditur formatisque deditiois conditionibus nunquam nos facti aut pigere possit aut penitere. Id nanque a consultoribus maxime exi- /56v/ gitur; ut et presentia bene disponant et futuris sapienter prospiciant et periculis damnisue, quae accidere possent, uigilanter occurrant. Ego hanc deditioem, ut dixi, et probo et laudo, utque nobis nostrisque posteris beneuertat deum ac beatos omnes quaeso, atque, ut id ita fiat, nos quoque nobis non deesse debemus. Sic enim prudentibus et sperandus et comprecandus est caelitem fauor, ut tamen ipsi, quantum in eis consiliis opisque est, omittant nihil. Stultum quippe est per segnitiam atque socordiam illud a deo expetere, quod per prudentiam atque solertiam ab ipso acceptam tu tibi ualeas exhibere. Nostra in manu dei benignitas situm uoluit, nobis nostraeque posteritati perquam optime consulere, modo oblata sciamus uti facultate. Tradere siquidem urbem tam insignem, tam bello oportunitam sine cede, sine labore, sine impendio, sine denique omni mora non exigui meriti esse debet. Nec nostrum hoc tenue beneficium apud Iustinianum collocatur. Verum ita prestans, ita eximium, ut nobis maxima queque ab eo et speranda sunt et postulanda. Nam licet urbs expugnari possit, potest nimirum et defendi, potest et obsidione liberari. Sed dicet quispiam magnis opus esset Gothorum copiis; haud*

*profecto maioribus his, quas habent paratas modo Bellisario maiores non accesserint, quae, etiam si accederent, uidimus saepe parua admodum manu magnam fusam multitudinem et in domo, ut in communi est prouerbio, foeta sus aper esse solet. Sic haec ciuitas et Poenorum et Vandalorum longas grauesque obsidiones nullis externis adiuta presidiis et tulit grandi animo et ingenti gloria pertulit. Sed concedamus, quod nulli unquam fortuna concessit, belli certum euentum et exploratam Bellisario uictoriam utique eius maximam nobis debebit partem, quippe qui eam non solum non retardauerimus cum potuimus, uerum et adiuuerimus et accelerauimus. Proinde dubitare non debemus munus ab illo deprecari tam excellenti beneficio dignum. Est autem quod et ipse absque ullo rerum suarum dispendio prestare ualeat et nos grauissimis leuare miseriis. Vacatio militiae, tri- /57r/ butorum diminutio et missio complurium imperialium munerum, que patricos premere, populum uero miseranda seruitute enecare consueuerunt. Quae singula in tabulis publico decreto censeo diligentius exaranda atque a Bellisario nomine totius ciuitatis postulanda, quae si obsignare uoluerit merito illi et urbem tradere poterimus et dignas gratias agere. Certum in his illud uobis signanter cauendum est, ut quicquid pollicitus fuerit iure iurando faciat sanctum. Nam ab iniurato nihil uobis sperando praedico, ciues, nihil ratum expectandum. In hanc eandem sententiam et Asclepiodotus multa locutus est. Quae quidem non dolo sed sui beniuolentia credulus nimium populus dicta, cum putat decretum, in eorum praescribit sententiam cunctaque prout censuerant ex ordine digesta; Stephano ad Bellisarium deferenda traduntur, erant uero talia, quae neque Pastor neque Asclepiodotus eum concessurum sperauerant, presertim cum preter morem ius iurandum ab eo exigeretur. Sed Bellisarius, et quia moras omnes abrumpere cupiebat et quia natura benignus erat, cuncta annuit, iureque iurando obseruanda sancciuit. Haec ubi Stephanus ad ciues detulit, populus laetitia gestiens clamitabat discurrendum ad portas, Bellisari[u]m in urbem accersendum.*

⟨13⟩ *Quae cum Pastor et Asclepiodotus preter spem euenisse cernerent suasque artes minus processisse, calidissimo ex tempore inito consilio exclamat e medio Asclepiodotus: State uiri, state ciues, state! Ne in uestram festinaueritis ruinam, neue in pernitiem uestrorum tam precipites properaueritis! Quo discurritis? Quo amentes ruitis? Facile est portas pandere, facile Bellisarium intra moenia admittere, ceterum, an hec admissio saluti uobis uel excidio futura sit, uidere difficile. Iccirco etiam atque etiam dum datur pensate, dum tempus est consulite, ne uos frustra temeritatis paeniteat, ne sero pigeat incepti. Maturius deliberasse paenituit neminem, cito fecisse multos; non unius mensis moras postulo, non unius ebdomadae spatia flagito. /57v/ Vnicam a uobis diem immo unicam oram uestrae saluti donandam peto, uestrae incolumitati tribuendam. Ad has uoces non solum conuersus est populus, uerum etiam insperatis excitus uerbis intentis animis, quid noui Asclepiodotus afferat, suspensus expectabat; cum ille, obstrepentibus studiosius non nullis partium Iustinianiarum silentio manu imposito, hunc in morem sermonem prosecutus est: Ego, ciues, ut audistis, censebam Bellisario urbem dedendam neque aliud modo censeo, si id saluti uestrae si incolumitati sit futurum. Ceterum opido uereor immo uero prope modum exploratum habeo hac nos deditioe, illa in mala precipitari, quae toto studio deuitare conamur, hoc est in ruinas, cedes, dirreptiones et extremam huius urbis eersionem. Id unde coniciam, prius queso patienter attendite, deinde quicquam uobis statuendum uidebitur deliberate, agite, efficite. Accesseram Pastoris sententiae multa magnaue a Bellisario postulanti, non quod omnia impetranda sperarem (erant quippe non nulla huiusmodi quae uix uictoris a uictis exigere ualerent, queque saluam perantis dignitate minime concedi ualebant),*

*sed morem nobis omnium sequendum putavi, qui plura petere assolent, ut accipiant pauciora et fortasse quod nunc potius credo diuinum aliquod numen miseratum futuram huius urbis ruinam tale quid animos nostros ad petendum impulit, unde manifestum ad salutem nostram fieret, quod caeca futuri corda ad perniciem latitabat. Idemque, non dubito, numen et ipsum coegit Bellisarium, illa nobis concedere quibus manifestum faceret et se nequaquam sperasse uel urbe potiri uel potitam retinere posse. Longe siquidem aberrat, quicumque putat tanta cum nostri beniuolentia teneri, ut sui decoris oblitus illa nobis condonet aut condonata teneat, que uix a capto extorqueri ualerent. Quid si nobis quantum predicat, afficitur, cur hic potius manens nos in fraudem mauult illicere, quam contra Theodatum dimicaturus procedere? Nempe haud aliam ob causam nisi quia notam habet Gothorum uirtutem simul et potentiam, / 58r/ quam uehementius reformidans Romanorum Imperator Zeno multis Theodoricum exorauit ad recuperandam pergeret Italiam, de manibusque Odoacri uendicandam, non tam Italia barbarorum oppressione, quam se imperiumque suum Gothorum metu cupiens liberare. Non ignorat preterea Bellisarius Theodoricum cum septem tantum milibus Gothorum (neque enim plures ab initio Italiam ingressi memorantur) tot Odoacri delesse legiones, Italiam illi erripuisse, subiugasse Dalmatiam, Siciliam perdomuisse, Corsicam ac Sardiniam suae adiecisse ditioni, compescuisse Gallos, et, superatis Alpibus, totam ferme Vltiorem Galliam ingenti cum gloria peruagasse. Nouit etiam Bellisarius usque adeo Gothorum creuisse potentiam, ut plusquam centum milia pugnatorum in campum prodire soleant, exceptis sociis atque auxiliariis, quorum longe amplior est numerus. Nouit et Theodati insignem strenuitatem, qua nuper Alamanorum Francorumque duos potentissimos exercitus uno eodemque tempore fudit, profligauit, protriuuit. Theodobertum Metensium regem Italia expulit, et Romanam prouinciam, quam uiolentius occupauerat, uiriliter illi erripuit. Percurrite, obsecro, cogitatione paulisper tot insignes Italiae urbes, quanta in una quaque earum sint Gothorum presidia, quam electa et ualida populorum manus, quae simul contracta nec aspicere audebit Bellisarius nedum expectare etiam decuplis horum efeminatorum stipatus agminibus. Propterea et hic litori heret neque cum suis nautis usquam a nauibus in apertos campos longius progredi audet; stat intentus uigilantibus oculis ut, si ingruentes in se Gothos conspexerit, refugiat in naues. Aut creditis hos imbelles histriones formidare eum, qui cum ferocissimarum gentium duobus numerosissimis exercitibus manus conserere non dubitauit? Bellicosissimum ducem totius occidentis superauit ducem et hunc orientalem uerebitur Catamittum, qui contra Hesperium stetit Herculem, non pertimescit uxorium Paridem, nec mulieres metuit uiros uincere suetus. Non est ergo quod nos mouere habeat aut occupata Sicilia aut quorundam defectio ignauorum, /58v/ quando quidem facile recipi potuit quod nemo custodiebat. Populorum autem nostis nisi uilissimos quosdam defecisse agrorum uastationem pertimescentes, quo metu ubi se primum liberatos intelligent euestigio ad Gothos redibunt. Nemo est enim qui Gothis, quamuis barbaris appellatis, seruire non malint quam his obsoletis Graeculis, quorum auaritiam libidinemque nullus unquam explere quiuit nec fastum atque superbiam tolerare. Qualia in Gothis nullus adhuc iuste potuit accusare, praesertim postquam inter nos constitutis domiciliis degere consueuerunt. Cernitis eos ita nostros imbibisse mores, ut nec liberalitate, nec continentia, nec humanitate, nec quibusuis aliis uirtutibus ulla ex parte nobis cedant, plerumque etiam uincant. Sermone utuntur nostro, legibus, institutis, caerimoniis. Haec atque talia uniuersa sexaginta et eo amplius annos communia nobiscum habentes paene coaluerunt, uictoresque in uictorum leges transire non erubuerunt, quod Graeci nec fecerunt unquam neque facturi sunt. Tanta est hominum elatio, tanta morum insolentia, qui exceptis litteris nescio quid in se habeant quod non sit*

*detestabilius quam in quouis genere barbarorum. Reposcendae Urbis iustam se praedicant habere causam. At quo iure reposci potest semel liberius concessum plenoque iure donatum? Autem qui nesciat Zenonem imperatorem Gothis Italiam permisisse et iure perpetuo Theodorico possidendam tradidisse, Anastasium uero ac Iustinum qui post eum sceptrum tenere imperii donationem implorasse! Qua igitur honestate, quae iustitia modo Iustinianus, ne minima quidem lacessitus iniuria, Italiam a Theodato extorquere festinat? Nulla alia profecto nisi ardenti fortuna elatus, qua his diebus desides ignauosque Vandalos ex Africa pepulit. At non tales Gothos offendet, sentiet propediem rem sibi cum uiris esse, ac cum talibus inquam uiris, quos praestitisset minime prouocasse. Ceterum haec illi melius inter se decernent, immo uero inter ipsos Deus, qui semper innocentium causae fauere consuevit superbiorum autem retundere audaciam et insolentiam infringere ac proculcare. /59r/ Nos quod nostra interest curemus, saluti honorique nostro prospiciamus. Non prodamus uxores, liberos fratresque nostros, tam hos qui Graecae flagitia petulantiae uestris in oculis passuri sunt, quam illos qui nunc Rauenne in uinculis constituti uestram implorant fidem uestra promissa in quorum pignus a uobis obsides dati sunt petunt, flagitant, orant, et extremis uocibus deprecantur. Videre miseros uideor singulos artus grauissimis cathenis colligatos, manus oraue tendentes et presentis mali et futurorum cruciatuum metu pallentia, atque instantis mortis imagine inter singula uerba dolendis gemitibus hiscencia. Respicite, crudeles, naturum corpora ob uestram inconstantiam immanius dilacerari, attendite, impii, uel fratrum uiscera uestris confido gladiis, uestris mucronibus dilaniari, et si peieratos non timetis deos, homines saltem ueremini, qui uos omnifariis probris perpetuo acturi sunt, ac desertors, periuros, scelestos, nefarios, impios, paricidas merito appellaturi, et uita uobis odiosa esse debet uestrorum interitu comparata et salus tot tantisque adepta criminibus inuisi. Proinde malimus proborum sequi constantiam quam perfidiam improborum, non explicauimus nos prouincias, non repetundarum accusati sumus, ut supplicii metu cum Embrino Constantinopolim fugiamus. Nolumus frustra tante infidelitatis subire notam, nolumus nos certo exponere discrimini aut belli aleam uel fortunae exhibere ludibrium. Adhuc stant integre Gothorum uires, adhuc ciuitates oppidaue Italiae uniuersa in nostrorum sunt potestate, adhuc nullum commissum est prelium. Si faciem exercitus metuimus, Gothorum exercitum magis timere debemus, ut pote et maiorem et potentiolem. Urbem habemus munitissimam optimis defensoribus et omni bellico apparatu apprime instructam, arma bellica prestantiora. Quae tanta est ignauias ut solum hostium aspectu sustinere nequeamus? Aut ueremini ne facti extemplo grifi per aera uolitantes nos superne feriant et in urbem cum uoluerint transiliant? Medius fidius tot hic uideo /59v/ prestantia corpora, tantum robur militum, quibus iusta acie cum his bracchatis congregari auderem, et hec tam munitissima moenia, quae uel solae mulieres tutari possent contra ignauissimos hostes, defendere formidabimus. Maiores nostri, fractis Romanis uiribus et copiis apud Cannas ad internitionem deletis, ita ut nec auxilii nec opis ulla spes superesse uideretur, et tamen in eorum partibus permanentes frequenter minas Hannibalis, bis agri uastationem et semel durissimam pertulerunt obsidionem, celebrique tum omnium populorum gloria fidem Romane rei publice conseruauerunt, et nos incorruptis nostrorum uiribus tantoque muniti presidio horum imbellium obsidionem ad paucos dies sustinere uerebimur. Hanc Pelasgam metuemus turmam, qui nuper Genserici Vandalorum regis uictrices contempsimus copias, quibus captam Romam absque habitatore reliquit, Capuam euertit et nos longa obsidione fatigauit; prestat nos potius urbe nostra pro castris uti, quam eam perpetua in statuta Graecis traddere. Neque enim putetis aliam ob causam, hac ciuitatem Bellisarium adeo cupere, nisi quia in campo aduersum Gothos stare reformidat,*



*atque ideo in hanc se tanquam in castra recipere festinat, bellum hinc cum Gothis assidue gesturus, nos interim caloniibus usurus famulis, seruis, uxoribus, pellicibus, liberis militum nefariae libidini licentiaeque expositurus, quae antequam uideam morti me meosque omnes certe deuoueo. Nunc quibus uel honor uel salus curae est sequimini me uirili animo; ego me uobis hodie uel uindictam uel asertorem uestrae libertatis prestabo.* Haec dicens simul sese ad Gothos proripit, commitante eum Pastore ceterisque compluribus factionis Gothorum.

⟨14⟩ Quibus rebus animati Gothi ciuitatis defensionem resumunt, accitosque armant Iudeos, quorum ingens Neapoli numerus degebat; reliquus uero populus, partim uerbis Asclepiodoti persuasus, partim metu Gothorum percussus, parere potius quam quicquam audere cogebatur. Itaque firmatae sunt custodiae, excubie locis oportunis dispositae cuncta sublata colloquia, omnes tuendae urbi intenti, singula quae ad defensionem expedire /60r/ uidebantur parata. Quae ubi intellexit Bellisarius apparatus ac machinas quas ad obsidionem comparare instituerat urgere coepit, obsessosque omnibus rationibus premere. Aquaeductum, qui unicus ciuitati potus copiam sufficebat intercidere iussit, non tam ut exercitui eam faceret, quam ut adimeret ciuitati; sed puteorum frequentia facile fontis leuabat inopiam, multa et alia ciuitatis commoda nequicquam inferre conatus est. Insuper et urbem sepe agressus, multo suorum cum detrimento est repulsus, propterea quod moeniorum pars mari in offensa reddebatur, pars locis constituta saltuosus, et ubi naturae defuit presidium diligenti artis ope adiuta, paucis defensoribus facile hostem arcebat. Freque[n]te[r] igitur frustra expugnatione tentata iam de dissoluenda obsidione Bellisarius cogitabat, cum militem quendam Isauricum intercisi aqueductus et iam pridem exsiccati explorandi libido inuaserat, per quem cum usque ad moenia penetrasset, offendit natu lapidem qui angustiori foramine quam ut armatum capere quiret latices intra moenia solitus fuerat subministrare, quem contemplatus miles oportune intellexit latiore facto foramine aditum in urbem fore. Id confestim Bellisario indicat, qui collaudatum militem multisque honeratum promissis iubet fidis adhibitis sociis foramen pro rei desiderio aperire et inter aperiendum ne facinus proderetur temperare a sonitu. Isauricus probe admonitus limando abradendoque lapidem liberum armato aditum intra breue tempus absoluit. Nam potiunde urbis potestate habita subiit Belisarii mentem ruiture ciuitatis miseratio et quamuis urbe quam primum potiri cuperet futurum tamen facinus exhorrebat et insontium imminentem calamitatem humano miserabatur affectu, ardentem animi indignationem future uindictae sacietas penitus iam extinserat. Optabat praeterea tam nobilem Italiae ciuitatem incolumem potius recipere quam corruptam. Proinde quamuis multorum laccessus iniuriis, quamuis compluribus suorum damnis offensus, tamen rursus ad se euocatum Stephanum his uerbis alloquitur: *Non talia Neapolitanorum in me /60v/ sunt merita, quibus uel clementiae quicquam debeam uel ueniae, sed ingenita mihi benignitas nullis iniuriis superari potest, nullis contumeliis extingui; haec me modo compellit non solum uobis parcere uerum etiam uestrae consulere saluti et de ea conseruanda maximam gerere sollicitudinem. Urbem habeo in mea potestate illamque iam ingressus essem nisi me cedis, rapinarum, stuprorum, uiolentiarum, ceterarumque calamitatum miseranda facies retardasset. Videre mihi uideor uestras dirrumpi opes, uestra uiscera diuelli, acutam iam olim uestris iniuriis militum aciem per indiscretas uestrorum deseuire ceruices, plateas insontium cruore manantes, debacchantes in omnia furibundos uictores, matronas passis crinibus misere pectora plangentes, liberos e complexu parentum ad obscenissima queque abstractos, honestissimas coniuges turpissima queque pati, constupari uirgines, uiduas per ludibria exagitari, sacra prophanaque omnia eadem tempestate obrui, eisdem conflagrari incendiis,*

*horresco animo et miserandis ululatus, quos mihi iam exaudiri uideor totus mente discrucior. Et cupio tanta ciuitatis non cernere mala et introductus militari uolentia euitare non ualeo. Age dic ciuibus nunc saltem respiscant, et salutem, quam sua prodiderunt peruicacia, uictoris benignitate donatam amplecti non tardent. Si rationes rei militaris ferrent, nunc tibi ruinam Neapolis ostenderem, nunc periture ciuitatis excidium aperirem. Intremisceres sat scio et conspecto in foribus lato igne, certum ciuibus incendium nuntiares. Neque est quicquid quo magis nunc angar, quam, quod intelligo me nisi excidio uestro fidem dictis meis facere non posse, tanta est Neapolitanorum uesania tanta pereundi libido, tanta perfidiae obstinatio, uerum ut deo hominibusque testatum relinquam Neapolitanorum urbem non tam hostium uoluntate quam ciuium suorum interiisse furore.*

⟨15⟩ Haec reuersus Stephanus multis cum lacrimis gemitibusque nequicquam ciuibus retulit /61r/ nemine uerbis fidem adhibente, cumque repulso e moenibus totiens hoste se inexpugnabiles arbitrabantur, tumque Gothorum auxilia pro quibus Romam miserant prope diem uentura non dubitabant. Proinde complures uerba subsanabantur Bellisarii, se inuictos arte Pelasga apeti, et qui uiribus uinci non potuerunt astu nunc Graeco dolisque oppugnari. Igitur Bellisarius cernens Neapolitanos fatali furore correptos, nullam sanitatis admittere consilium statuit urbem hac ratione inuadere. Primis tenebris quadringentos deligit milites torace, clipeo gladioque armatos, hos Magno Eneaeque, spectatae et sibi notae uirtutis uiris, ducendos tradit. His sub medio noctis consilium aperit, uiam edocet ac per eam accensis facibus iubet in urbem penetrare et ex occupata aliqua murorum parte signum tuba dare; se uero cum scalis, quarum ad hoc iam pridem multam uim comparauerat, presto futurum. Milites de tertia uigilia iter ingressi, cum aliquanto coecas per latebras processissent horror quidam primum inuasit opace insolitaeque uiae, deinde timor corripuit ignaros ubi nam locorum essent quorsumue euaderent, aut quas nocturnas difficultate discriminaque essent offensuri, cum ulli neque urbis situs neque callium moeniumque facies esset nota, quam ob causam uereri ceperunt, ut si uel paululum per ciuitatem errabundi cessassent facile se intra claustra deprehensos a multitudine circumfundi ac trucidari. His rebus uehementius conterriti, ducenti qui Magnum secuti fuerant ducem frustra hortantem deserentes retro rediere. Quibus grauioribus uerbis castigatis Bellisarius ex his militibus quos ad corporis habebat custodiam totidem diligentius cohortatos post Eneam mittit, quod uidentes hi qui substiterant pudore simul exemploque permoti iniussi alios subsequuntur. Inter hec Bellisarius quo populum ac uigiles a porta septemtrionis, que nunc Fornelli dicitur, abduceret, ad quam milites erant peruasuri partem exercitus diuersam urbis plagam, quae ad mare uergit, /61v/ oppugnare iubet, ipse cum reliqua manu ex additis scalis propius muros intentus signum expectabat. Iamque milites intra moenia penetrauerant, et quamuis ampliorem nacti locum, ubi tamen euaderent ignorabant. Circuit enim uariis anfractibus ille aquaeductus totam pene ciuitatem lateritia testuodine satis ample difusus, subiens omnium ferme potiorum ciuium domos, quibus per latiora quam nunc uisuntur puteorum ora aquas subministrare consueuerat; ad quorum primum progressi milites coelum suspiciunt, sed euadere in sumum nulla facultas erat, cunctantibus diu omnibus tandem unus subrepens egre altitudinem putei superauit ac in proximam irrumpens casulam anum solitariam offendit, cui silentium morte interminatus funiculum abstulit, et per eum ex oleastro, qui uicinus puteo adoleuerat suspensum, socios omnes recipit incolumes, qui facto euestigio impetu in proxima moenia conscendunt, oppressisque custodibus duabus turribus potiuntur; dant tuba signum, ad quos Bellisarius confestim aduolans scalas muris admouet, per quas dum scandere festinant breuitate retardati

sunt, sola quippe coniecture ratione exaedificate, altitudinem assequi nequuerant; celeriter igitur conduplicatis scalis ad suos transcendunt, inde ad portam delati ualuas efringunt ac reliquam copiarum partem intra moenia recipiunt.

⟨16⟩ Eodem tempore et ad portam orientalem, cui nunc Reale est nomen, similiter et ad eam, quae ad mare ducit, acriter pugnabatur, sed ad mare acrius, quod ad eam partem Iudei constiterant, homines temerarii ac pertinaces et qui uniuersam spem salutis in sola defensione nouerant esse repositam. At ubi ciues hostem intra moenia penetrasse sentiunt, euestigio moenium relicta propugnatione ad suam quisque domum tutandam dilabitur, quo factum est ut porta orientalis, quae iam succensa flagrabat citius patefacta hostem in urbem admitteret. Ingressi sub auroram milites, hi, quorum uel socii uel fratres superioribus in oppugnationibus ceciderant, crudelius dese- /62r/ uiunt, nulli neque aetati neque sexui parcentes obuium quemque cedunt, trucidant, dilaniant; uniuersam urbem captam dirripiunt, populantur, foedant. Soli adhuc Iudei obstinatissime repugnantes angulum ciuitatis quem occupauerant pertinacius tuebantur, sed circumuenti a Graecis magna strage funduntur, profligantur, sternuntur. Bellisarius, presidiis per portas et loca ciuitatis oportuna dispositis, modum calamitati imponere cupiens saepius per precones milites in contionem uocatos uix tandem coegit. Deinde huiusmodi alloquitur uerbis: *Cum semper in omni uictoria modestia sit adhibenda mortalibus, tum maxime in ea non tam suis uiribus quam diuina ope adepti noscuntur; quippe quod in ea non tantum cauendum est, ne iura humanitatis transcendas, uerum etiam ne Deo per insolentiam similis esse uelis in quod piaculum tunc maxime prolabimur; cum ultra illa supplicia quibus deus nostram uicem ultus hostes uoluit afficere, aliis grauioribus per intemperantiam et furorem excruciare festinamus, tanquam diuino non contenti munere eius censuram condemnantes. Quod si maiores nostri nunquam nisi armatum in hostem seuire consueuerunt, captum autem etiam tua uirtute necare duxerunt turpissimum, quam turpius esse debet illum occidere quem uel nulla penitus uel parua admodum tua uirtute cepisti. Putatis nos tantam et talem urbem nostris expugnasse uiribus, nostra uirtute superasse et non creditis Deum ductorem Isaurico uiam capiende ostendisse, nobisque tam facilem potestatem potiundae fecisse. Ego uero hoc diuinitus datum usque adeo credo ut sine eius numine fieri potuisse nunquam sperauerim. Aut quis alius Isaurico scrutandarum tenebrarum accendit desiderium, quis ad illa usque loca penetrare animum soli dedit, ad quae quadringenti milites uix sunt ausi persuadere; caeleste proculdubio aliquod numen quod et iniustam Neapolitanorum pertinaciam ulcisci uoluit et iuste imperatoris causae fauere, quam ob rem non abuti tanto eius debemus munere, nec per furorem ac libidinem eius /62v/ captiuus procaciter insultare. Nephastum est per ingratitudinem perdere quod habueris per gratiam, stultum uero nescire consilio conseruare quod consilio paraueris. Neapolitanam hanc urbem non tam quod inimica esset oppugnauius quantum quod bello quod gerimus peroportuna; nunc eam partem uelle subuertere ac delere paruae prudentiae est. Praeterea meminisse nos oportet, haud ideo stipendia ab imperatore accepisse ut Italiam ferro igneque desolaremus, uerum ut nostra uirtute hostibus erreptam, eius imperio restitueremus. Neapolitani quicquid in uobis deliquerunt satis poenarum dedisse noscuntur, nec quemquam modo eorum stultitiae magis quam ipsosmet penitere certum est. Aurum, argentum, uestis, ceteraque suppellex quam hactenus dirripoistis non contempnenda merces uestri laboris esse debet. Ciues quos ex hostibus subiectos imperatori fecistis missos facite, seruos, liberos, uxores inuiolatas reddite ne delesse potius ciuitatem quam eam imperatori uendicasse uideamur. Sic et aduersum*

*hostem oportunitate eius quam tot laboribus quesiuimus melius uti ualebimus, et debitum imperatori offitium cumulatius persoluemus.*

⟨17⟩ His admoniti milites iussa non inuiti faciunt. Neapolitani interea metu simul extremisque perculsi malis ac sibi grauiora in horas metuentes atoniti ac ferme amentes perstabant, quidam hiscere non audentes tacitis lacrimis ora rigabant, aliis intestinus dolor ipsum quoque oculorum humorem absorbuerat, multis interclusus merore spiritus uocem edere conantibus denegauerat. At ubi domum dimissi quisque suos repetiit lares receptisque uxoribus ac liberis honestius quam sperauerant habitis, tum uero erumpunt in fletus, ruunt in mutuos complexus, alter alteri pietatis impendens lacrimas tanquam uel seruatis e naufragio uel ex incendio erreptis, largioribus fletibus se inuicem perfundunt, mutua ora rigantes sinusque omnes plurimo oculorum abluentes flumine, totam noctem uario sermone transigunt insomnem, partium suos partim aliorum casus, quae /63r/ quisque uel uiderat uel perpressus fuerat recensentes; nunc suam deflebant fortunam, nunc cesorum fata misereri, modo propriam accusare imprudentiam, modo Asclepiodoti ac Pastoris perfidiam execrari. Mulierum, cum omnium tum precipue earum quarum uel filios uel cognatos uel fratres aut uiros furor ille militaris abstulerat, intollerabilis ululatus omnia compleuerat, uixque illum exsiccati lacrimarum fontes et exhausta humore precordia finire potuere. Ciues collecto paulatim spiritu, mente uiribusque resumptis, laudare omnes Bellisarii clementiam et hostis insperatam benignitatem maximis eferre preconiiis. Stephanum ad celos extollere, eius sermonem in ore habere, illum uirum bonum, illum sapientem, illum patrem patrie appellare. Contra Pastorem atque Asclepiodotum factiosos scelestes, paricidas, patriae proditores omni supplicio omnique cruciatu dignos. His cogitationibus uerbisque instigati et iam meliora sperare ausi, ubi primum dies illuxit, domibus egressi ira furoreque perciti Pastorem Asclepiodotumque tantorum malorum auctores totis plateis requirebant, et cum nusquam apparerent facto agmine ad domos eorum furibundi discurrunt, et Asclepiodotum quidem inuentum domi laribus euellunt ac per uniuersam tractum urbem lacerant, dilaniant. Pastorem uero, cum multum diuque quaesitum uel metu uel dolore extinctum, tandem inuenissent pari furore tractum discerpserunt, Bellisario iusto dolori ignoscente ueniamque merite indignationi concedente. Vix credi potuisset quam benigne usus fuerit Bellisarius hac uictoria non modo in ciues uerum etiam in Gothos qui presidio ciuitati fuerant; neminem enim post primum illum turbinem ulla uel leui contumelia affici passus est uolentes etiam suis cum sarcinulis incolumis abire permisit, apud se autem militare cupientes non inferiore loco quam suos habuit.

⟨18⟩ Haec omnia ubi Romam perlata Gothis innotuerunt non sunt rati preterea per segnitiam atque secordiam Theodati, perpeti /63v/ rem Gothorum pesum iri. Itaque cum Bellisarium non dubitarent prope diem cum exercitu affuturum, confestim aliis Gothorum qui uicinas incolebant ciuitates ad se euocatis rerum discrimina demonstrant, desidiam Theodati, quam prius clam accusare consueuerant, apertis uocibus damnant et quid optimum factu[m] sit in communem consulunt. Visum est quam tocuis hosti occurrere et imminens periculum preoccupare. Igitur mutuo se ipsos cohortati, insalutato relicto Theodato, Roma egrediuntur, ac quinto et trigesimo ab urbe miliario ad Regetam oppidum, cui nunc Rugliade nomen est, castra communiunt. Vbi multa de torpore ac negligentia Theodati liberius questi rursus quid facto opus foret singulorum sententias exquirunt; censent uniuersi deponendum Theodatum et alium, qui melius res Gothorum administret, loco eius sufficiens. Et cum idoneus tanto muneri quaereretur, discussisque singulis uota omnium in unum Vitigem conueniunt uirum

non quidem regia stirpe ortum, rei tamen militaris gloria clarum. Hunc audiens Theodatus regem constitutum profugit ex Vrbe Rauennam preoccupare festinans. Sed Optaris, cum equitatu a nouo rege missus, assecutus in itinere nefandum caput absceidit atque ad Vitigem detulit, tertio regni eius anno, Deo ut reor partum per flagitium regnum diuturnius non patiente talique exitu iustissime claudente.

⟨19⟩ Porro Vitiges cum intellexisset Bellisarium in componendis Neapolitanorum rebus occupatum, stabiliendi noui regni gratia Rauennam quam primum contendere est ratus; unde maioribus contractis copiis Bellisario facilius resistere posset, itaque ad urbem reuersus conuocato senatu ac populo fertur ita locutus: *Qua necessitudine populi regibus deuincti esse debeant ipsa natura singulorum in corporibus pulcherrime expressit, quae uniuscuiusque membra capiti regenda subiecit, ipsum uero caput omnibus instructum sensibus summo loco extulit, unde et prospicere melius et consulere salubrius singulis membris posset, dolenti membro condolet, fouet, sanum /64r/ custodit, periculis subtrahit, et aduersum omnem iniuriam communit, protegit ac defendit, ipsis quoque membris uicem capiti per omnia reddentibus. Nam et illi deseruire non cessant sufficere necessaria, salutem incolumitatemque procurare, uenerari, ornare, colere, custodire. Languenti cuncta condolent, periclitans ab omni tuentur iniuria, tela in eum cadentia excipiunt et pro eo tuendo extremis se periculis obiectare non dubitant. Quod ad reges pertinet si quis uos accepisse negaret, Quirites, testis est primum Odoacer de cuius miseranda tiranyde Theodorici benefitio erepti estis. Testantur predia uestra crebris prius hostium incursionibus uastata, nunc longa pace cultuque uirentia. Testantur uicine Italiae insulae in cineres cementumque redactae atque ad restaurandas huius urbis ruinas aduectae; testatur tota Liguria ad renouanda uestra moenia a Theodorico conducta. Testatur Graeciae insulae que uix ad explendum huius urbis ornatum marmora regiis cesa pecuniis sufficere ualuerunt. Testantur totius pelagi nautae, qui Gothorum ditati aere uobis cuncta et usui et ornamento oportuna conuehi minime cessauere. Testantur uniuersa tam publica quam priuata huius urbis aedificia regum uestrorum impendio uel optime restaurata uel in meliorem formam reducta. Testantur liberalium artium studia, longo intermissa tempore, regiis opibus reuocata. Testantur relligionis sacra pietate regum Gothorum amplissime illustrata magnificentissimeque culta. Testantur iura, leges, magistratusque uestri, quorum post longam aetatem soli uobis Gothorum reges plenam potestatem fecere. Testatur felicissima uniuersorum pax, qua non modo uobis sed et uniuerse Italiae, multis incognita seculis, iam supra sexagesimum annum benefitio regum uestrorum cumulatissime perfrui licuit, per quam exaedificastis domos, plantastis uineas, liberos procreastis, educastis, bonis artibus instituistis. Aut quotus quisque uestrum est (quod sine exprobratione dixerim), qui non sit aut Theodorici aut Amalasuetae expertus liberalitatem, /64v/ clementiam, munificentiam, auxilium, patrocinium, aut aliud quodpiam presidii munus? Quis construxit domum sine Theodorici ope, nisi qui eam liberalitate qua exhibebatur non acceptauerit? Quae sacra aedes non est regiis opibus restaurata? Quae ecclesiae uasa aut que sacerdotum pontificumque ornamenta non sunt aere regio uel fabricata uel empta? Atque, ut innumera breui sermone concludam, nullum regum offitium monstrari potest, quod sit unquam Gothorum temporibus uel minimo ciui desideratum. Quam ob rem cum quod regum fuit semper sit uobis affatim persolutum, tempus nunc exigat summaque Iustiniani iniuria, ut uos regi debitam uicem reddatis, tanto quidem propensius quanto eum cernitis genus Gothorum Romano de imperio adeo benemeritum iniuste inhonesteque uexare. Nulla lacessitus iniuria, nulla contumelia prouocatus bellum nobis intulit quieti nostrae et uestrae*

*inuidens felicitati. Reposcit a nobis locupletem florentemque Italiam, quam exustam ac desolatam, hortante impellenteque Romano imperatore, nostro sudore nostroque sanguine eorum erripuimus hostibus, nobisque optimo iure uendicauimus, Deo hominibusque approbantibus, trium imperatorum multo eo praestantiorum nostris insignibus meritis liberalitate donatam. Aut si tanta eum Italiae tenet cupido ut missum sanguinem labores iacturasque nostras faciam, persoluat tot annorum stipendia, quibus sedulo illam tutantes aduersum Herulos, Turignos, Francos, Burgundiones, Vandalos, Alanos ceterasque nationes militauimus; aut si uel non est soluendo uel tanto grauatur aere, cur nobis eam nostro labore partam, nostro uendicatam sanguine, ipsius nomine possidendam non sinit milites, uectigalia, tributa, primos ubique honores, et cetera cuncta imperialia munera ultro persoluturis? Sed non eum, Quirites, affectus Italiae mouet, non huius urbis amor, uerum ingenita compellit auaritia, cuius rationibus hac uia satisfacere conatur et debita militibus tot annorum stipendia uestRARUM fortunARUM dispendio persoluere. Iniisse /65r/ rationem putat per quam creditores aut perdat aut alieno aere absoluat. Iamque Neapolitani uniuersis suis facultatibus partim Iustiniani debita persoluerunt, non sua quidem culpa sed illius inuisi monstri, quod per scelus et flagitium Gothorum regnum usurpauerat. Cuius turpissimos impiissimosque mores dum Gothi execrantur, dum furiosa mandata contempnunt, dum ipse torpet pigetque non parua plaga accepta est. At non letalis quidem et quae confestim sanari non possit. Sunt nobis opes, sunt amici, sunt huiusmodi uires, quibus non modo nostrum curabimus uulnus, sed et tale nostro hosti infligemus, quod nullo quibit medicamine uel obducere uel obligare. Et quamuis nostris tantis in uos meritis omnia debeatis, nihil tamen a uobis hoc tempore nisi fidem constantiamque petimus; sat nos pecuniarum, sat armorum militumque habemus, quibus et uos egregie tutare ualebimus et nostram iniuriam perquam strenue propulsare. Horum uero untrunque pulcherrime fiet, si memineritis membra absque capite uiuere non posse, nec uicarium eius, cum quo coaluerint, sine sua pernicie admittere.*

⟨20⟩ In hanc eandem sententiam Vitiges multis hortatus est et Siluerium pontificem, quem ut docuimus Theodatus pecunia corruptus ordinari procurauerat, et quia nouus erat rex sacramento seruande fidei tam pontificem quam senatum populumque Romanum obstrinxit. Inde, Ludere quodam ex Gothorum proceribus cum quatuor milibus electorum militum ad presidium urbis relicto, ipse Rauennam ut statuerat contendit, quam ingressus haut multo post cupiens generis sui obscuritatem regio sanguine illustrare Mathasuintam Theodorici nepotem, Amalasuente filiam, quam Theodatus illum ad usque diem in custodia habuerat, duxi uxorem. Inuitam quidem opidoque renitentem, quod genus Vitigis indignum pro connubio duceret ipseque armigerum Theodati fuisse non ignoraret. Quam ut facilius deliniret Vitiges et sui in amorem illicere, nuptias insigni pompa exquisitoque apparatu celebrauit, nullum propterea apparandi belli studium omittens. Contraxit quippe /65v/ interim undique Gothos, quorum precipuum robur circa Padum Ticiniumque degebat, omnes armis atque equis pro cuiusque conditione aprime instruxit. Ac ne Galliam Cisalpinam presidiis nudatam indiscrimen adduceret, cum regibus Francorum per legatos fedus amicitiamque constituit, quippe quos nouerat a Iustiniano aduersum rem Gothorum sollicitatos irritatosque fuisse. Regni etiam cupidine multae grauesque eis simultates intercesserant, ditionis fines, quos iuga Alpium determinabant, utrisque trans montes prorogare molientibus.

⟨21⟩ Inter hec Bellisarius, compositis rebus Neapolitanis, exercitum supplementis exauctum et armis egregie instructum Romam uersus Via Latina ducebat, Herodiano cum idonea militum manu presidio Neapolis dimisso et alio Cumis imposito. Quibus rebus Rome

cognitis, auctore Siluerio pontifice, publico consilio decretum est non esse fas exercitui Romani imperatoris Romae portas occludere, quin potius honorifice pandere eumque benigne suscipere. Quam ob rem missus est fidelius uir nobilis Mediolanensis, olim sub Athalarico regie domus prefectus, qui uoluntatem senatus populique Romani Bellisario nuntiaret hortareturque, ne dubitaret urbi admouere exercitum, quod et fecit Bellisarius complurium etiam aliorum relatu confirmatus. Porro Gothi, qui presidio urbi relictis fuerant, intellecta populi uoluntate, liberam abeundi potestatem exorauere, Ludere prefecto eorum excepto, qui uel saeuitiam regis ueritus uel creditam suae fidei urbem turpe deserere ratus incerte se fortunae committere non dubitauit. Itaque eodem die, quae Iduum Decembrium fuit, Gothi relicto duce Via Flaminia egressi sunt, et Bellisarius per portam Asinariam ingressus incredibili cum letitia ab uniuerso populo exceptus est, ad quem huiusmodi uerba habuisse accepimus: *Maximum iocundissimumque omnium meorum laborum fructum hodierno die sum consequutus, Quirites, cum uideam pristinam illam Romanorum uirtutem uestris uigere in animis et sacratissimam imperii maiestatem uenerationemque penitus non extinctam; solet enim /66r/ diuturna seruitus etiam ingenuis uiris generositatem adimere et amplitudinis gloriam longa disuetudo abolere; cuncti quippe humani affectus sicuti excitantur usu, ita intermissione elanguescunt. Quod uobis non euenisse eo maiore laude digni estis, quod uix milesimum hic uestrum astare non dubito, qui uel libertatis dulcedinem nouerit uel splendorem Romani uiderit imperii; septuaginta enim et eo amplius annos utroque spoliati caruistis, et patria captiua uos ferme omnes eadem conditione debuit procreasse. Qui ergo et fortunam et naturam superaueritis uobis gratulor; mihi uero eo impensius gaudeo quod neque imperatorem neque me uestri fefellerit opinio, quodque labores pro uestra susceptos amplitudine gratos uobis esse uideamus. Facile enim ex hoc colligimus hanc uestram dignitatem, quam magno recuperastis animo, maiore constantia seruaturus, quandoquidem turpius est munus susceptae uirtutis per secordiam amittere quam inexperte per ignorationem negligere. Sane imperator quid pro uestra libertate facturus sit, ex his quae fecit coniectare potestis, quin etiam tanto amplius uobis polliceri quanto amplioem illi uestra gratitudine occasionem praestiteritis.*

⟨22⟩ Post haec Bellisarius ratus illud quod futurum erat Vitigem maximis cum Gothorum uiribus, quas eum parauisse acceperat, aduersum se propediem uenturum, cui quoniam suae paucitatis conscius imparem se nouerat ad tollerandam se obsidionem coepit accingere; quam ob rem, misso ad imperatorem Ludere digno recepte urbis teste, collapsa uetustate moenia summa diligentia restaurare curauit, humiliora errigere aggere ac fossa, ubi res exposcere uidebatur studiosius communire, non nullis locis pro rei desiderio turre excitare, propugnacula locis oportunis disponere, machinas, tormenta et alia necessaria singulari solertia prouidere. Annonae grandem copiam mari aduehi curauit ac publicis horreis recondi. Que omnia, quamuis precipua cum omnium admiratione prouisa, multorum tamen animos offendebant, quod dicerent tam potentis imperatoris ducem debere ea potius compa- /66v/ rare que ad oppugnandum essent expeditiora, non ad propugnandum. Per hoc ipsum tempus quod muniende urbis datum est, Bellisarius Narniam, Spoletum ac Perusiam per prefectos in potestatem accepit. Missum enim ad sui obsidionem cum copiis Bessam Narnenses quam primum urbi appropinquauit intra moenia recepere. Eadem facilitate Spoletani ac Perusini Constantino portas aperuere. Quibus rebus cognitis, Vitiges duos ex ductoribus, Vnilam ac Pissam, cum ualida Gothorum manu confestim mittit in Tusciam, qua et reliquas ciuitates in fide continerent et quae defecerant recuperaret. Hos ubi aduentare intellexit Constantius,

paruo presidio Spoleti relicto, reliquas copias ad se Perusium contrahit, quo diutius distentis in obsidione ciuitatis Gothis longiorem Bellisario facultatem faceret prouidendi quae Romane urbi necessaria uiderentur. Ceterum, ubi non Vitigem uerum Gothorum ductores cum parte copiarum addesse cognouit, eductis urbe copiis aciem decertaturus instruxit. Sane et Gothi, pugnam minime detractantes, ad prelium se accingunt, hi multitudine illi uicine urbis presidio freti. Instructis igitur utrinque ordinibus ineunt certamen, iactisque primum eminus telis, celite, missilibus aliquandiu puognauere. Mox, iustis connessi aciebus, conserunt manus; res gladio geritur et utrinque cadentibus multis, fit prelium atrox et nunc Gothis nunc Iustinianis preualentibus ad plurimum tempus dubia uictoria pugnatum est. Donec Constantianus, coacta extemplo in cuneum equitum manu, aciem Gothorum perfregit et per decliua loci disiectos, precipites egit, cedens ruentibus terga, multos Greci sed plures Perusini contractum ulti odium neci dedere. Pauci ex tantis fuere copiis qui non aut uulnere ceciderint aut uiui in hostium deuenerint potestatem, inter quos ambo Gothorum ductores fuere, quos Romam ad Bellisarium uinctos Constantius transmisit.



<1> PORRO Vitiges, ubi accepit male a suis pugnatum multaque ad Graecos defecisse oppida, non amplius cunctandum ratus uniuersum Gothorum robur celeriter coegit armis equisque instructum apud Rauennam in Candiani recenset campis. Cuius qui maximum ducentorum milium, qui minimum centum milium numerum fuisse memoriae prodidere singulos bello suetos disciplinaque militari apprime exercitatos. Catafractos seu loricatedos equitum quam plurimos peditum absque decentibus armis neminem. Cum his tantis talibusque copiis Vitiges Nonis Februarii signa e Rauenna mouens assiduis itineribus ad urbem contendit, adeo spe uictoriae plenus, inflantibus eam supra modum adulatoribus ut nihil magis uereri uideretur quam ut territus Bellisarius urbe profugeret omnia uiribus suis, nihil uel fortunae tribuens uel rationi, tanquam uictoria solam potentiam sequi sit solita. At Bellisarius cum tantam belli molem, ut erat ab initio arbitratus, in se ruere cerneret, neque eam cum illa quam circa se habebat paucitate sustinere confideret, accersit ad se Constantianum ac Bessam; et Constantianus quidem Perusii ac Spoleti paruo relicto presidio ceteras copias Romam ad Bellisarium reducit secundo postquam profectus fuerat mense; Bessas tardior fuit. Quippe qui dum Narniae necessaria procurat prima Vitigis agmina per proximam ciuitati uiam Romam uersus ingredi ceperant, quos adortus Bessas retro fugere compulit plurimaque cedere affecit, quoad a superuenienti multitudine oppidum repetere compulsus est. Et quamuis Vitiges, cum ob recentem Narnensium defectionem tum hac iniuria prouocatus, admodum cuperet de eis sumere poenas, noluit tamen aliis se bellis implicari aut ulla oppidorum expugnatione distineri, ardens quam primum Bellisarium nancisci et cum eo, in quo nouerat totam consistere uictoriam belli, fortunam armis experiri.

<2> Itaque institutum prosequitur iter et Bessas /67v/ diuerso itinere cum ea quam secum habebat militum manu ad Bellisarium peruenit certa aduentus Gothorum secum indicia deferens spolia equosque non nullorum quos sub Narnia ceciderat. Et iam Vitiges ducens per Sabinos apud Tiburem substiterat, sperans oppidanos multitudine copiarum territos deditonem facturos. Quod quidem propter loci opportunitatem apprime consequi cupiebat. At ubi nulla nisi hostilia responsa ab oppidanis reddi cernit, multa comminatus in agrum Romanum descendit admotasque ripis Anienis copias uado amnem transire temptauit, ceterum, cum aquarum exundantia tum abruptis nimium ripis prohibitus, ad pontem, qui Via Numentana Anienem iungit, iter deflectit. Verum hunc iam Bellisarius et utraque ripa claustris turribusque excitatis diligentius communitum idoneo presidio tutandum commiserat, quo prohibiti transitu Gothi castra in proximo ponunt. Milites qui presidio ponti impositi erant ubi maiores quam sperauerant copias adesse cernunt ac tales quidem, quibus nihil prorsus posse resistere credunt, incredibili metu trepidare coeperunt, quem quidem illis superuenientis noctis horrenda facies plurimum adauxit; cernebat quippe totos agros, quantum oculis amplecti poterant, crebris collucere ignibus, confusumque hominum ac iumentorum uocibus sonitum seuientium fluctuum aut ruentis coeli persimilem hauriebant; multorum praeterea turres subeuntium minas et in lucem si expectassent poenas horrendas comminantium, quibus rebus territi, atque hinc barbarorum ferocitatem inde Bellisarii seueritatem metuentes, intempesta nocte pontem clam deserunt, in Campaniamque profugunt. At Bellisarius, quod acceperat Gothos iuxta pontem consedissee, ubi primum sol noctis tenebras discutere cepit delectis

secum mille equitibus ad pontem contendit, ualidiore presidio ipsum firmaturus, locumque castris idoneum delecturus. Decreuerat enim urbem copias educere et citra pontem e regione barbarorum firmare, transituque amnis hostes /68r/ prohibere.

⟨3⟩ Cumque iam ponti unius stadii spacio uicinus esset, repente in Gothorum incidit equitatum, quibuscum preter opinionem manus conserere compulsus est. Itaque cohortatus suos et pro temporis angustia quid facerent admonitos pugnam iubet capessere. Concurrent utrinque, infestis telis et totis animis uiribusque decertant, audent uiriliter Graeci sed et Gothi haud segnus preliantur. Bellisarius totam discurrens per aciem, nunc hortando nunc docendo suos, hos collaudando illos instigando, ullum uigilantissimi solertissimique imperatoris munus negligebat. Verum ubi uidet obstinatissimum certamen Gothosque loca sua egregie tutantes, ira simul doloreque accensus *Postquam inquit monita mea temnitis, commilitones, uel facta sequimini ego uobis actutum ostendam, haud alios esse hos Gothos, quam qui totiens a nobis uicti nostro munere uiuunt, e quorum conspectu ad urbem reuertit (quod semper in nostra est manu) non edito aliquo insigni facinore, nihil turpius esse potest.* His dictis inter primos se coniciens strenuissimi militis partes superabat, hostem qui contra ferox steterat primo congressu hasta transfixum equo prosternit, deinde arrepto gladio, incredibile est quot Gothi uulnera inflixerit. Ipsius exemplo animati milites quisque pro sua uirili acrius in hostem incumbabant. Quorum impetum Gothi ulterius ferre nequeunt loca deserunt et usque ad pontis munitiones reiiciuntur. Vbi, quoniam magna iam peditum constiterat manus, missilibus ac sagittis Grecos submouent; deinde, ualidiore equitum reparata manu, interiectis inter equos sagittariis, rursus in prelium descendunt spreteque Bellisarii paucitate ferociter irruunt in Iustinianos, qui aliquandiu egre impetum passi tandem peditum magis quam equitum uirtute repulsi proximum in collem se recipere coacti sunt.

⟨4⟩ Hic uero atrox instauratur prelium utrisque acerime decertantibus, illi multitudine hi et uiribus et superioris loci oportunitate freti. Spectanda ante omnes facinora Bellisarius edebat equo sub rutilo insidens, cuius totum caput a summo usque ad ima cadens linea distinguebat. / 68v/ Ex hoc, cum Bellisarium pugnare a transfugis didicissent, Gothi acclamare ceperunt cuncti Vallam peterent, eo quippe nomine Gothi equum illa nota insignitum lingua patria. Vniuersi igitur, quibus per presentia licebat negotia, reliquis omissis, tela in unum Bellisarium conuertunt. Hunc ex omnibus appetunt, huic infesta inferunt arma, hunc eminus cominusque ferire contendunt. Quod animaduertentes Iustiniani conglobati circa Bellisarium ducem mira uirtute studioque tuentur, tela in eum uolantia quae umbraribus repellere nequeunt, corporibus suis excipere non dubitant. Instantes uiriliter arcent, temerarius irruentes gladiis excipiunt; moriuntur Gothorum frequentes, sed et Bellisarii strenuissimi quique aut sauciantur aut conficiuntur, precipue complures Bellisarii familiares perquam strenue suum dominum tutantes opetiuere. Inter quos Maxentius, uir eximiae uirtutis, compluribus fortitudinis suae editis testimoniis mortem suam multorum hostium nece reddidit insignem. Nec Bellisarius quidem in tanto sibi deerat periculo, uerum et monendo prudenter milites et rem manu strenue gerendo quorumuis priscorum laudem sine inuidia est consecutus. Qui, ubi uidet Gothorum se uniuersis circumdari copiis et iam diem in uesperum inclinari, cohortatus suos et cunctos in cuneum conglobatos cursu sese omnibus erripuit atque ad Pincinam portam perfugit, ad ipsa usque moenia hostibus terga prementibus, quos infestius dorsis Iustinianorum herentes, iuuentus Romana iam pridem efusa moeniis longius submouet, Bellisario ac equitibus tutum in urbem faciens receptum. Cecidisse eo in prelio refer[t] Procopius Gothorum mille, cum

Bellisarii non amplius quam octoginta fuerint desiderati, quorum maior pars in tutando duce occubuit.

⟨5⟩ Igitur Bellisarius sub noctem urbem ingressus uigilias per circuitum omnibus moeniis agere instituit, singulasque portas singulis suis prefectis, adiecta ciuium manu, custodiendas tradit, mandans atque edicens, ut, siqui per noctem tumultus oborirentur, nemo loco decederet, /69r/ suo quisque muneri esset intentus. Ad hec per singulas plateas alios excubare iubet, qui, excitatis quocunque rumoribus, occurrerent tumultusque sedarent. Ipse uicatim totam perlustrans urbem ciuium singulos cohortari, hos monere alios accendere, omnium errigere animos, optima spe explorare, nihil denique omittere, quod nouum atque insolitum ciuibus periculum uel auertere uel minuere posset. Per eam noctem bis tumultus excitatus est, semel ad Ianiculum inanis quidem ac penitus uacuum, et ad portam Salariam semel sed non absque causa; uenerant enim Gothi a Vitige ad sollicitandum ciues submissi, quorum unus Bacchius nomine Romanis apprime notus exitos custodes his uerbis est allocutus: *Quid agitis Romani, aut quid uobis preterea uultis? Nondum uos stultitiae pudet, qua leuissimis hominibus uix rei nautice histrioniceque idoneis uos uestraque credidistis? Posthabetis Gothos inuictis uiribus, quibus uno eodemque momento ignauissimos homines et fusos cernitis et obsessos. Atqui non talia in uos Gothorum fuere merita, quibus tam ingrate proditiōis premia rependeretis. Vna uobis si sapitis satisfaciendi monstratur uia, si portas Gothis panditis non aduersum uos sed aduersum Gothos ingressuris. Quod si resipiscere nolueritis et incepta perseueraueritis dementia certum excidium expectate. Haec uobis Rex Vitiges mandata denuntiat.* Ad quae cum nullum redderetur responsum Gothi aliquandiu commorati rediere.

⟨6⟩ Postridie, quae fuit Nona Calendarum Martii, rati tempestiue Bellisarium in pugnam descensurum, instructis ordinibus propius urbem ueniunt decertare parati, sed, ubi iam inclinata die nullum uident prodire ad prelium, reductis copiis obsidionis rationem inire ceperunt, quae huiusmodi fuisse memoratur. Partitis pro rei exigentia militibus, inter Flaminiam ac Penestrinam sex locis castra posuere. Vallo fossa, crebrisque ex materia excitatis turribus insigni opere communita, quibus quinque urbis porte obsesse tenebantur. Septima uero castra trans pontem Miluuium eo impensius instruunt, quo illis trans Tiberim positus /69v/ tardius auxilium ferri poterat. Haec et Aureliam obsidebant portam et totam ferme trans Tiberim plagam reddebant infestam. Per hunc modum crebris circumquaque excursionibus nihil pacatum nihil sinebat quietum. Interciderunt preterea omnes aqueductus, qui numero quatuordecim miro constructi opere diuersis e regionibus largissimas aquas in urbem sufficiebant, ita ut pluribus in locis pristinis quoque largam moliendi facultatem exhiberent, praecipue illis qui per Ianiculi perclium erant diposci. Aquae, siquidem per prona cadentes, rotas rapida celeritate uolebant. Quibus deficientibus Bellisarius haec contra instituit. Portam Pincianam, contra quam maiora Gothorum steterant castra, similiter et Salariam, quae ad dextram proxima est Pincianae, et quicquid intra eas meniorum sibi tutandum absumpsit. Flaminiam, quae ad sinistram est Pincianae, Constantino deputat. Besse Penestrinam, aliis item ductoribus prout locorum discrimina exigere uidebantur. Et quia intercisi aquaeductus pristinatorum inopia multa urbi incommoda afferebant, nam penum aquarum Tiberis unda leuabat. Bellisarius huic necessitati solertissime prouidit. Post primum pontem, qui fert trans Tiberim, binos contignatos limbos ad utramque ripam funibus religatos in rapidissimis fluminis undis solerter disposuit in his casulas exaedificat atque in singulis collocat molas, quas subiectae ad fluctus rotae, fluminis cursu citate, idoneae impetu

contorquebant; ne autem immissa per fluuium materies aut mole sua aut flammis aedificia corrumpere posset, cathenae ad pontem obiectae efficiebant, quippe quae cuncta excipiebant incidentia et hominibus utraque ripa dispositis auferenda prebebant. Per hunc modum tam aduersam fluminis quam hostium uolentiam molis optime communitis munus pristinorum frustra desideratum est.

⟨7⟩ Interea Gothi uniuersa moliebantur, quae ad expugnationem necessaria uidebantur: scalarum infinitum numerum, frondium et aliae caesae materiae ad complendas fossas uim ingentem. Turres ligneas complures moenium altitudinem /70r/ aequantes, quarum singule quinque rotis uehebantur; ad hec arietes maximos quatuor, quorum forma huius modi erat. Erecte pari inter se sed quadrato spacio quatuor ligneae columnae, totidem utrinque trabibus uinciebantur, tota machina coriis circumquaque obducta quadrate edicule speciem efficiebat, quo ab incidentibus e moeniis telis milites qui eam agunt tutiores redderentur. Huic transuersum impositum erat tignum e cuius summo pergrandis trabs catenis pendeat, frontem habens ingenti ferro munitam et ipso quidem quadrato in pyramidis figuram desinente. Haec retro acta confestimque remissa obuia queque magno impetu perumpere ac demoliri consuevit. Vniuersam hanc molem quatuor rotis intuentem pauciores quinquaginta hominibus agere nequi[e]bant. Igitur Vitiges, ubi cuncta satis apparatus uidet, iubet omnes prima luce ad inuadendam urbem esse paratos, quibus presto existentibus mandat quae faciendae putabat, rationem oppugnandi edocet, partitur munera preliandi, in ordines digerit, instruit acies, et suum cuique locum assignat; ante omnes turres ligneas loricatis sagiptariisque comitatas procedere iubet e quibus propius aggerem adductis propugnatores moenium ferirentur, ut fascibus ac cesa materie ab his qui secundo loco eam supportabant fosse facilius complerentur ac ita arietes quos secundo loco agere disposuerat admouerentur. Post quos ingens scalarum copia ferebatur, ultimo loco expediti sequebantur milites muros scandere parati, laeti iussa capessunt summaque omnium alacritate ad moenia contendunt. Porro Bellisarius qui lectissimis suorum stipatus pro portis in agere constiterat, cernens turres bobus admoueri non non ridere hostium stultitiam, qui sperarent nudas boues ad hostem armatum machinas pertrahere. Itaque iubet in eos sagiptas excutere quibus euestigio coniecti confecte boues concidere machinasque immotas destituere. Sane materiam fossis ingerere conantes multitudine telorum superne uolantium repulsi sunt, ita nec arietibus /70v/ nec scalis ad muros aditus est datus, tantusque apparatus reductus inutilis dumtaxat eminus missilibus certabatur. Non nunquam etiam barbari acta testudine agere peruincere conarentur, sed a Bellisario multis acceptis uulneribus reiciebantur, et quo pertinacius instabant eo grauius scorpionum, catapultarum balistarumque et aliorum tormentorum telis sauciati repellebantur. Animaduertens Vitiges Bellisarium eo certamine occupatum, clam parte copiarum subducta Penestrinam ad portam confestim aduolat et Bessam acerime oppugnat.

⟨8⟩ Eodem tempore et aliis duobus locis Roma oppugnabatur ad Ianiculum et ad Aureliam portam; sed ad Ianiculum periculi erat nihil, Paulo Bellisarii prefecto militum ualida cum manu locum egregie tutante ipsa natura monitum. Ita enim abruptis est precipitii saltibusque intercisus, ut illum nec conscendere liceat nec in eo consistere etiam nullo prohibente. Porro ad Aureliam, quae uia Cassia est, res propior periculum fuit, haud enim procul ab ea porta trans pontem moles grandis erat imperatoris Adriani cineribus dicata; huius primus ambitus quandam habens figuram candidissimo marmore politissima arte constructus est, ad summum pulcherima uariarum imaginum corona cinctus; ex huius medio moles rotunda innixa testudinibus prealta consurgit, in summo arcam habens, cuius diameter ducentorum pedum

spatium exuperat, totam areae coronam frequens equestrium pedestriumque statuarum ac curruum numerus exornabat, nobilissimorum artificum clarissimorumque uirorum insignia monumenta. In medio insignis perstabat columna caput imperatoris et cineres aere inclusos sustentans. Hanc molem tametsi extra urbem sitam (nam urbs per ea tempora ad fluuium tantum pertinebat), quia tamen non negligendo munitionis obtinebat speciem, ne Gothi occuparent, Bellisarius Constantino tuendam commiserat, ea ut potirentur barbari huiusmodi dolum machinati sunt. Rates per Tiberim demittunt armatis completas, qui eam partem moeniorum, quae campum Martium pontemque /71r/ Adrianum intercedit, oppugnare simulant; erat enim murus secundum flumen nec altus nec satis munitus, quam rem ueritus Constantinus, cuius in conspectu res agebatur paucis suorum ad custodiam relictis cum reliqua manu illo properat, ubi perrumpi in urbem posse arbitratur, quem postquam conspiciunt Gothi, quorum non parua manus ad hoc ipsum patrandum facinus in porticu basilice Petri latitabat, transisse pontem et cum suis implicitum esse, repente ex insidiis euolant molemque totis uiribus aggrediuntur, admotisque euestigio scalis subito impetu prima claustra capiunt. Fit prelium acre, his ad summam euadere conantibus, illis quamuis paucis contra egregie repugnantibus. Sed inter pugnandum rem nephariam commiserunt. Siquidem statuas areae circumlocatas uniuersas corrumpunt, quasdam integras alias comminutas subiectos in hostes demittentes. Ita siue necessitate, siue militum ruditate, multorum insignium artificum longo tempore quesita laus simul et prestantium uirorum memoria una hora interiit. Fleres disiecta membra et comminutos clarissimorum uirorum, uiuos pene artus compluribus lacrimis ablueres. Palpitantia adhuc uidebantur pectora et ora quamuis fede lacera extremo alitu spirantia, non nulla Gothorum respersa sanguine crederes suo manare cruore. Tanta quippe solertia ars singula naturae lineamenta expresserat, ut diligentius quoque inspectis nec spiritum deesse putaueris. Interea Constantius hostibus a flumine repulsis, ubi apud molem tumultuari sentit, cognitoque periculo, mox per pontem accurrit, quem conspicati sui aucti animis hostes submouere ceperunt. Ipse cohortatus suos in ambitum penetrans grandi caede expulit Gothos atque ita per magnum discrimen apud Aureliam portam deuictus est.

⟨9⟩ Quo tempore longe periculosius ad Penestrinam imminebat; erat enim haud procul a porta locus, cui nomen Viuario fuit, duplicibus moeniis cinctus paruo spatio sed planissimo quidem distantibus. Hunc /71v/ aggressus Vitiges oppugnabat, et, quamuis ei uiriliter resisteretur, obstinata tamen pertinacia prima moenia peruicit; iamque secunda perrumpere totis conatibus adnitebatur, cum Bellisarius certior a Bessa factus cum lectissimis militum accurrit suis animum opemque ferens, redintegratur pugna obstinatissimisque animis utrinque decernitur; complures uulnerantur Gothorum sed fessis uel sauciis per murorum aditum, quem perfregerant barbari, integri succedebant et prelium incredibili ardore inter bina ciebant moenia, cum Bellisarius cernens laborantes suos ipsemet lectorum militum robore stipatus in prelium tanto impetu descendit ut Gothi multis confecti uulneribus per Fenestram quam patefecerant uix dimidii euaderent, quorum formidine perturbati qui in presidiis steterant pedem referre ceperunt; quos persequutus Bellisarius tam longo submouit, ut militibus suis omnes exurendi machinas latam fecerit potestatem. Quod cum intellixissent qui ad portam Salariam a Bellisario relictis fuerant et ipsi eruptione facta Gothorum contra se dimicabant in fugam conuertunt aedificiaque uniuersa igne corrumpunt. His finis oppugnationis fuit, in quo barbarorum ad tria milia cecidisse memorantur, uulneratos autem innumeros extitisse.

⟨10⟩ Et cum nihilo secius Gothi ab obsidione non discederent, Romani, tametsi uirtutem solertiamque Bellisarii et laudarent et admirarentur, fessi tamen tot malis nequebant eum

non accusare audacie, quod cum adeo exigua manu ingens concitasset bellum seque tantas in difficultates ac pericula coniecisset, quibus aut succumbendum esset, aut non sine graui iactura euadendum. Has querelas cum ab amicis cognouisset Bellisarius (neque enim iam secreto aut per angulos susurabantur, uerum per plateas palam fundebantur), concedens iustissimo ciuium dolori, imperatoris et tarditatem et auaritiam secum tacitus indignabatur. Scripserat enim saepius eam ob causam Iustiniano et quanto in periculo res uersarentur edocuerat auxiliaque frustra /72r/ totiens postulauerat. Ira doloreque permotus simul et ueritus, ne quid grauius post haec lamenta Romani statuerent, rursus liberius ac uehementius scribit imperatori: adhuc urbem obsideri, nec eam nisi nouis quam primum missis ad se copiis sperare dissolui; sua paucitate aduersus tantam barbarorum multitudinem Romam defendi non posse; illorum copias centum et quinquaginta milium numerum superare; sibi uix quinque milia esse, reliquam exercitus partem Panormi ac Syracusis presidio reliquisse et per Italiam, Neapoli, Cumis, Perusii, Spoleti, aliisque compluribus oppidis; et, quamuis intelligeret Romanos tantorum discriminum insuetos, longius obsidionem minime laturos; se tamen propterea nihil sibi timere, ut pote qui se suumque caput iam olim Iustiniano deuouisset, atque illud quandocunque res postulauerit lubenter persoluturum; sed de dignitate Romani imperii se precipue esse sollicitum, utrum uero conducat et ducem et socios optime meritos deserere ipsi esse statuendum.

⟨11⟩ His litteris imperator uehementius ut par erat permotus nouum delectum habendum decernit. Valeriano autem et Martino prefectis copiarum, quae per Etholiam Acarnaniamque hy[e]mauerat, mandat in Italiam cum militibus extemplo nauigare. Haec Romae nuntiata uniuersos spe optima expletos in fide continuerunt, dubitante nemine auxilia primo quoque tempore affutura. Eadem tempestate et Salonae in Dalmatia dura premebantur obsidione ab Asmario et Vsigilao ducibus Gothorum, qui a Vitige ualido cum exercitu et non spernenda classe in prouinciam missi, iunctis secum ingentibus barbarorum auxiliis, Constantianum tantis uiribus imparem Salonis inclusum obsidebant. Sed Constantianus urbem optime munitam idoneisque firmatam presidiis non unquam egredi audebat ac hostes terra marique maximis damnis perquam strenue afficiebat.

⟨12⟩ Per hoc ipsum tempus Theodobertus rex Methensium, intelligens Gothos bello Italico implicitos et Galliam Cisalpinam predam uictorum futuram, indignum se committere arbitratus est, si quod /72v/ sibi uendicare poterat, aliis permisisset diripiendum. Turpem quippe iacturam semper auarus animus ducit, qu[o]d usurpare possit, negligere omnes lucri causas honestissimas esse; quam ob rem cum Romanam prouinciam nullo custoditam presidio facile Gothis ademisset, Coctias Alpes transgressus uniuersam Liguriam suam in potestatem redegit et cu[n]ctam Etruriam usque ad Vituruuium depopulatus est, ut ferunt illi qui Francorum regum res gestas memorie prodidere. Ceterum sicuti Theodobertum ad ea usque loca penetrasse parum compertum habetur, ita uniuersa potitum Ligura satis manifestum. Illud quoque ambigitur a nemine, paulo postquam descenderat in Italiam, graui morbo correptum, et, praemissa quam egerat ingenti preda, egrotum in Metenses relatum, Burelino, Iothari et Amiugo maximis cum copiis presidio Ligurie dimissis, atque ex ea egritudine haud multum post humanis excessisse.

⟨13⟩ Interea Romani duriore premebantur obsidione. Siquidem [Vitiges], turpiter ab expugnatione repulsus, incredibili torquebatur angore, ad modum sollicitus si quo pacto posset inustam diluere notam et obsessos pro accepta plaga grauius ulcisci; hoc cogitare, hoc

moliri, hoc parare, hoc unum die noctuque agere ac studere. Locus ab urbe est duodeuiginti millibus passuum Hostia appellatus, ubi se Tiberis in mare exhonerat, in quo Ancus Marcius colonia deducta urbem eiusdem nominis condiderat. In dextera uero fluminis ripa Claudii imperatoris opera portus extabat, maxima artis ope munitus; huic oppidum portuense incumbibat ualidis cinctum muris, apud quod naues honera deponere consueuerant. Eius potiundi iam pridem Vitigem cupido incesserat, quod per ipsius solam uiam commeatus in urbem supportaretur, cum relique omnes obsesse tenerentur. Itaque mittit illo sub uesperum grandem lectissimorum militum manum, qui noctu iter emensi tertia ferme uigilia quatuor ab oppido stadiis substitere; reliquum noctis curandis corporibus datum, insidiis /73r/ circa portas oportune dispositis, ubi primum illucescere cepit. Oppidani nihil hostile metuentes, ut superiores dies consueuerant, securi ad opus egrediuntur, non dum ad purum noctis tenebris discussis, nec multum progressi repente ab hostibus circundantur, capiuntur non nulli, qui non dum longius processerant insidiis cognitis dum intra moenia refugere festinant, custodibus occludendarum portarum facultatem ademerunt. Siquidem Gothi confestim aduolantes admixti fugientibus inter trepidationem et tumultum portas occupant, signo suis qui longius substiterant tuba dato, qui mox allapsi suos in portis dimicantes offendunt; custodes nanque portarum et uigilum parua manus perquam strenue aditus urbis tutabantur, sed ingruente maiore hostium uiolentia loca deserunt et ad tutandos proprios lares dilabuntur. Nec dum e cubilibus multi processerant, alios adhuc ignauus sopor in stratis detinebat, complures inopinato trepidabant casu, alii per urbem exanimis discurrere, hi percunctari tumultus causas, illi subito correpti metu hiscentes deficere, multi inermes, complures male armati pro moeniis nequicquam co[n]sistere. Nam Gothi iam muros conscenderant et paucos repugnantes partim trucidauerant partim agebant precipites, quod ubi uidere ceteri armis abiectis supplices manus [t]endere, orare ueniam et in omnia descendere in que ultimum discrimen uictos compellere consueuit. Per hunc modum Gothi portu potiti, tantum presidii imposuere quod et ad tutandum oppidum et ad obseruandas Tiberis fauces, ne quid in urbem supportaretur foret satis.

⟨14⟩ Qua ex re multae Romae difficultates abortae sunt, precipue rei frumentarie grandis inopia, adeo ut coactus sit Bellisarius tam Romanis quam militibus edicere cunctam inutilem bello turbam partim Neapolim partim in Syciliam transmittere. Romani egro quamuis animo iussa tamen faciunt, imbellemque uniuersam multitudinem partim uia Hostiensi, que per sinistram Tiberis ducit, partim illam mediteraneam, quae maxime a Gothorum /73v/ castris diuersa erat, dimiserunt. Neque enim omnes aditus urbis a principio Gothi obsederant, sed tantum eos qui inter Aureliam et Penestrinam portam intercedebant; ceteras nec frequenter nec temere adibant; quocumque enim longius a castris euagabantur detrimenta necemque offendebant, adeo ut absque potenti manu nusquam discurrere ualerent; proinde et Hostiensi uia et Appia homines tuto commeabant. Vitiges, ubi accepit liberos ac coniuges ad ciuitates locaque hostium Romanos transimisisse nec quicquam nouandarum rerum spei in ipsis superesse, quam usque ad ullam horam non penitus abiecerat, uehementius ira commotus misit Rauennam, qui cunctos obsides Romanos quos ipse secum Roma eduxerat ad unum interficerent. Res pro imperio gesta est. Omnes enim ferme necati sunt, paucis exceptis qui re precognita paulo ante fuga se internitioni subdlexerant, inter quos Triuerinus fuit uir magne nobilitatis et Reparatus Germanus uigilii qui postea summi sacerdotii fastigium tenuit. Bellisarium et suis difficultatibus et Romanorum malis merentem aduentus Martini ac Valeriani paululum recreauit; adduxerunt enim mille ac sexingentos equites, maxima ex parte

Hunos singulos armis equisque egregie instructos, quibus copiis auctus confirmatusque Bellisarius non iam intra urbem inclusus teneri uerum quotidie milites educere, nunc una nunc alia hostium castra subire, locorum edocere situm, mo[n]strare itinera quousque progrediendum sit, ubi consistendum edocere, obseruare imperium, signa sequi, ordines et habere et commutare, leuia temptare prelia, paulatim milites assuefacere, modo eminus ferire hostem, modo cominus manus conserere, concurrere uiriliter, uelociter se periculo subducere ac in tutiora recipere loca, modo subitis eruptionibus hostem frangere, modo collocatis insidiis temere progressos intercipere, modo repentinis incursionibus barbaros uexare. Hinc frequentia accendebantur prelia, nullumque genus pugnae sinebatur inexpertum. /74r/ Ita, cum uirtute sua quotidianaque bellandi consuetudine tum ducis peritia milites Bellisarii frequenter abibant superiores; quibus rebus animati ceperunt contemnere hostem et uel maiores barbarorum copias minime formidare. Hinc breui effectum est, ut missis certaminum proluuiis iusta acie congregari audent.

⟨15⟩ Igitur Bellisarius cernens suos et animi audacia et peritia certandi hostes antecellere, multitudinem floccifacere plenus optima spe totis copiis conflagrare decreuit, quas hunc in modum partitus est. Valentinianum prefectum cum una equitum acie iubet uia Cassia egressum non longe a mole Adriani consistere tanquam castra Gothorum, quae inter pontem Miluuium et sepulcrum Adriani trans Tiberim erant, inuasurum; ex ueteranis quoque militibus peditum non paruam manum multis Romanorum adiectis, qui id munus sponte sibi expetierant; his mandat sinistros colles qui ex Ianiculo procurrunt occupare. Vtrisque edicit ne certamen ineant nisi lacessiti. Neque enim aliud hos facere uolebat Bellisarius nisi ut barbaros illis in castris existentes a feren[da] Vitigi ope prohiberent. Nam ipse equitum duabus instructis aciebus, una per portam Salariam et per Pincianam alia, Vitigem aggredi decreuerat; eas sub ortu solis educit, post utranque firma peditum manu in subsidiis collocata. Vitiges pridie illius diei certior a transfuga factus Bellisarium in pugnam descensurum, iam egressus castra acies instruxerat, pedites in medio collocauerat, ex utrisque cornibus equitum alae protendebantur, ita utrinque instructis aciebus strenue conflagunt.

⟨16⟩ Committitur ingens prelium et ab utrisque uiriliter dimicatur; duces ambo prestantissimi uigilantissimique obibant ordines; uterque pro sua uirili suos et hortari et monere non desinebat. Iustiniani proculdubio superiores uidebantur. Longe quippe et allacrius decertabant et uiribus preualebant; frequentioresque Gothorum cadebant, sed numero habundantes confestim detrimenta explebant et in occumbentium loca integri succedentes hostibus instaurabant labores. Nihilominus Bellisarii milites nec animis nec uiribus deficientes sub ipsis barbarorum castris magna uirtute dimicabant; Gothi tantum patientia ac multitudine perdurabant; ita utrorumque pertinacia protractam usque in meridiem pugnam exequauerat. Dum hec gerebantur Gothi qui trans Tiberim stationabantur conspicati in collibus Romanos e castris longius procedunt. Neque enim adhuc Valenti[nia]ni uiderant equitatum et subeuntes collem, pedites in prelium prouocare ceperunt, qui sine mora descendentes manus cum hostibus conserunt, et nunc Gothos locis depellunt nunc ipsi depulsi in editiora se receptant; tandem accensis animis sub ipsis collium radicibus utrique consistentes totis uiribus preliantur, quos cernens Valenti[nia]nus grauiore certamine implicitos aciem equitum, quacum ad molem Adriani sustiterat, in latus Gothorum inducit, complures eorum primo impetu proterit; quo facto animati qui in collibus perstabant irruunt in hostem. Barbari, cum Valenti[nia]ni impetu concussi tum ue[he]mentium Romanorum multitudine territi, primo se in castra recipere conati sunt, ast ubi cernunt et a peditibus et a



Valenti[nia]ni equitibus iter preoccupatum, diuersam arrepti uiam longius profugiunt. Romani castra deserta inuadunt, dirruunt ac dirripiunt; idem faciunt et equites prede cupidine illecti. Iamque Gothi neminem cernentes persequentem proximis in montibus constiterant. Vnde, cum prospicerent castra sua dirripi, predam temere agi, nullo militaris disciplinae ordine seruato, cohortati se muto, in compositos et sub honeribus impeditos celeriter inuadunt, fundunt, fugant, castra predamque omnem facile [a] profligatis erripiunt.

⟨17⟩ Simul et apud Bellisarium fortuna mutari coeperat. Et enim Vitiges, uidens equites Bellisarii ferocius instantes, magnam uim peditum ex proximis accersit castris, eam scutis protectam in testudinis siue Macedonice phalangis similitudinem coactam, equitatu Bellisarii opponit. Lanceisque pro scutis obiectis iubet in equites infestis spiculis paulatim procedere. Equitibus Bellisarii quia iam /75r/ hastas contriuerant gladiis rem cominus gerere per obiectas lanceas non licebat, et quamuis diu prementibus obsisterent; coacti tamen sunt pedem sensim referre. Id ubi animaduertunt hostium equites qui dextram tendebant alam, confestim facto cuneo conceptisque animis, latus eorum inuadunt; qui graui concussi uiolentia conuersis equis effusoque cursu ad peditum suorum aciem se recipiunt, sed nequicquam quidem mox enim ellatis uictoria animis consecuti Gothi in ipsam aciem impetum faciunt; quae et fuga equitum perturbata et barbarorum multitudine conterrita, multis suorum amissis ad extremum terga dare coacta est. Omnibus ergo in fugam conuersis, duo centuriones, quorum uno Taurunti alteri Principio nomen fuit, praeclarum facinus edidere; sua quippe capita pro ceterorum deuouentes salute ausi sunt paucis cum militibus uniuersam Gothorum uim excipere et eam tam diu remorari quoad ceteris recipiendi se in urbem spacium esset. Principius nanque quadraginta militibus stipatus incredibilia uirtutis sue testimonia edere non destitit, quoad, cunctis suis commilitonibus acerime pugnando confectis, ipse toto saucius corpore concidit extremus. Tauruntem, paribus editis operibus, morti deuotum compluribus fedatum uulneribus frater certamini uiolenter subtraxit. Sed cruore iugiter manante perductum Pincianam ad portam uita uiresque deficiunt, et iam Bellisarii militum maior pars in urbem confugerant. Postremis quia permixti hostibus aduentabant portae occluse sunt, qui aggerem fossasque transgressi uersa ad hostes facie muris herebant, solo presidio armisque eorum qui in propugnaculis steterant freti, quando quidem ipsi sua arma partim in prelio amiserant partim in fuga abiecerant. In hos barbari ferocius ruentes lapidibus aliisque missilibus submoti sunt, et qui confugerant conseruati in urbemque recepti.

⟨18⟩ Hoc in prelio quamuis complures Gothorum occubuissent, Bellisarii tamen permulti desiderati sunt. /75v/ Nam prestantissimi quique aut mortem opetiuere aut multis acceptis uulneribus egre seruati sunt. Ita Iustiniani milites hinc nimiae ducis audaciae illinc suae auaritiae eodem tempore penas dedere, quibus repressus Bellisarii ardor temeritati frena iniecit. Quamuis enim pugnandi arderet desiderio, complures tamen dies prelio abstinuit contentus tantum moenia tutari; et modo Valenti[nia]ni accusabat cupiditatem, qui dimisso e manibus hoste ad predam se conuertisset, et cum utroque potiri posset, amiserit utrumque; modo suum ipse damnare consilium qui nimia certandi auiditate paruorum tantae multitudini obiecisset, seque ipsum eximia libertate priuasset et intra urbis claustra rursus per imprudentiam conclusisset. Incredibili discruciabatur angore quotiens amissae recordabatur potestatis qua uexare solitus erat barbaros elludere affligere et pro suo arbitrio quotiens libitum erat uariis incommodis afficere, nunc in id necessitatis compulsus feminarum ut more sat habeat parietes defensare. Huc accedebat et alia haud quaquam leuior animi anxietas, quam ex annone inopia plurimam contraxerat. Et enim frugum penuria iam Theodati cepta

temporibus adeo per uniuersam inualuerat Italiam, ut et Gothi ipsi nequaquam minore quam Romani difficultate laborarent. Vnde a Dacio Mediolanensi episcopo memorie proditum legimus cum urbs Romana a Gothis obsideretur, Mediolanensem populum pre rerum inopia eo calamitatis deuenisse, ut coacta sit misera mater famis in portu acta rabie filioli membra, quae paulo ante genuerat, auidius uorando rursus in uterum recondere. Igitur Bellisarius, quamuis tantis premeretur difficultatibus, ubi militum uulnera curata uidet, bellandi impatiens recreatos confirmatosque rursus in certamina educit, leuia tamen ac furtiua, magis enim per insidias militaresque dolos rem gerere quam iusta acie aut legitimo prellio uires experiri. Memoranda tamen non nulla plurimaque laude digna fuere, /76r/ precipue quae trans Tiberim aduersus septima Gothorum castra gesta sunt. Haec quippe castra trans pontem Miluuium posita ad Cassiam uiam molemque Adriani spectabant; pulcherima in medio expandebatur planities, quae tunc campus Neronis nunc Prata nuncupatur, quorum in medio uetustum extabat theatrum ludis gladiatoriiis aedificatum; hoc frequenter preoccupato Iustiniani pro castris utebantur ex eoque res insignes edebant. Non nunquam eodem Gothi peruenientes Graecis insidias tendebant, sed nec astutia nec uirtute pari. Tanta enim damna Bellisarius hinc Gothis frequenter intulit, ut sit ex eis maiorem et peritiae et uirtutis laudem consecutus quam ex uniuersis bellis legitima pugna confectis. Non nulla etiam ad Pincianam ac Salariam portam gesta sunt, uerum et numero et praestantia inferiora.

⟨19⟩ Cernens ergo Vitiges obsidionem longius procedere et urbem ui expugnari non posse, cepit inire rationem si quo modo fame obsessos ad deditionem compellere posset, quando quidem exteris frustratus haec una expugnationis uia superesset. Quamuis enim ademptus portus multas Romanis affert difficultates, non tamen frumentandi facultatem abstulerat, propterea quod naues Hostia subire solite Antium appellebant, indeque, ut est solers in necessitate hominum ingenium, tam annonam quam alia necessaria pedestri itinere Romam supportabantur. Hanc opportunitatem quo pacto Romanis preripere posset, cum diu Vitiges uaria consilia pensasset; illud tandem potissimum uisum est, octauis positis castris uiam Apiam quae ad illud usque tempus tuto uidebatur praeccludere. Locus est inter Apiam ac Latinam quinque millibus passuum ab urbe positus, in quem duo aquaeductus excelsis fornicibus conueniunt, in desecatis itineribus ueluti brachiis longius porrectis iterumque reductis oblongi circuli speciem efficiunt. Huc Vitiges locum nactus ad oportunam altitudinem prope omnia fornicum inania muris expleuit, propugnacula locis idoneis disposuit, impositisque septem milibus equitum /76v/ utranque uiam longe lateque crebris excursionibus infestissimam reddidit, ita ut neque die neque nocte iter cuiquam totum pateret nec per eas quicquam importandi facultas esset ulla. Ea ex re non modo annone inopia uerum etiam certa fames Romanos durius premere cepit, sed eam, quamdiu segetes in agris fuere, militum industria atque audacia tollerabilem hac ratione faciebant. Exhibant clam Bellisarii milites et per noctem collectas segetes ciuibus magno pretio uendebant. At ubi preteriit mensis tum uero miseranda inedia cunctos importunius uexare coepit, cruciare, enecare, extinguere. Plena omnia desperationis erant, miseranda ubique rerum facies, quocumque uel mentem uel oculos uerteres, nihil nisi horrendum occurrebat; hinc barbarorum ferocitas, illinc dira fames, omnibus uero ex partibus saeuissima pestis, quae sub ipsum aestiuum solstitium crudelissima etiam in Graecos grassari occeperat et quod fames nondum consumpserat lues implacabilis extinguere properabat; cadebant passim per uias alii presentaneo furentis morbi appetiti ueneno, alii exhausta inedia corpora uix reptando trahebant, multis exsiccatas fame uniuersus humor lumen quoque oculorum extinxerat, compluribus arrentia precordia etiam lamentandi

solatia et omnino loquendi facultatem ademerat. Pallida mortis imago ora cunctorum occupauerat, mestitia erat in uultu, corda singulorum meror acerbus exeserat, denique dirissima quaeque Romanorum in exitium conspirasse uidebantur. Quae cum amplius Romani sustinere nequirent, Bellisarium adeunt, suam queruntur fortunam, qua se fidem imperatoris secutos in tam arduas coniecisset calamitates; uxores natosque ab se diuulsos per aliena dispersos domicilia distineri potioem sui partem Rauennae tam crudeliter enectam; urbem a barbaris foede obsessam, agrum exustum uastatumque uniuersum, se ipsos fame, peste omniumque rerum penuria supra quam humane uires ferre queant premi ac pesundari; orare atque obsecrare Bellisarium se in hostes educat longe sibi pre- /77r/ stabilius fore, in prellio ferro cadere quam intra muros tantis tabescere malis. In tantum salutis desperationem rerum omnium calamitas Romanos adduxerat ut leuiore mortis tenebras ducerent quam tam odiose uitae lucem.

⟨20⟩ Quibus Bellisarius minus clementer, ut pote tantis exacerbatus angustiis *Non est inquit mihi ignotum aut inexpertum, ciues, consueuisse populos impetu magis quam ratione niti neque mihi nunc contra usu uenit, cuncta nihilominus ratione consilioque administrare et in quantoscunque fortune incursus forti potius quam querulo excipere animo. Num fides imperatoris, quam uos pro uestra libertate secutos penitet, luem uobis immisit, aut accersiuuit famem aut ceteras prouocauit difficultates? Aut soli in Italia sunt imperii studiosi qui peste fameque laborent? Tanquam Gothi neutram sentiant nec eorum quisque eisdem malis ruat. Aut si et ipsos simili calamitate consummi cernitis, speratis ea Iustinianum potentia, quae etiam clementis ex aequo cum deo imperet, et uobis preteritis aeris inclementiam in uestros tantum inimicos effundat? Nam quantum ad bellum pertinet locum nullum iuste habetis querelae, quippe qui nec laboribus nec facultatibus suis nec tanto suorum parcat sanguini pro uestra libertate amplitudineque, neque etiam defuturus est, ut intra paucos dies re ipsa cognoscetis. Putatis me hec uobiscum uolentem pati? Aut creditis extra sortem uestram positum, non eisdem difficultatibus urgeri? Video non lubens uestra incommoda sed mea dolens sentio; nec tamen iccirco deo irasci ualeo, aut cum ipso iniurias exposcere. In uestris malis meorum prorsus oblitus sum, cum iusque uestrum calamitas me plurima ex parte contigit. Sed eam facilius fero, quod illa propediem et uos et me leuare confido, idque ago sedulo, auxilia procuro; immo iam pridem procurata atque parata propediem expecto, maxima cum annone copia, quibus rebus celeriter et fame liberabimur et optata uictoria ingenti cum laude potiemur. Vos interea quod uobis iubetur curate; rationem autem belli ad quos pertinet administrandam relinquitte. /77v/*

⟨21⟩ His uerbis uel territi uel confirmati Romani conqueuere, qualemcunque sortem fortuna tulisset aequo animo perferre parati. Bellisarius, dum auxilia ab imperatore prestolatur, solertissimam excogitauit rationem, qua commeatu Gothos exclusit. Frutim ac Martinum quingentis cum equitibus Tiburem mittit, Constantium ac Traianum Taracinam ducendos iubet, Albam aliam equitum destinat manum; omnibus mandat illud unum enixe curare, ne rem frumentariam ad Gothorum castra sinerent deferri. Romam petentibus opem ferrent, adiuotosque presidiis uia Hortensi apud Basylicam sancti Pauli dirigerent. Apud illud enim templum Bellisarius ualidam militum imposuerat manum aduersus octaua Gothorum castra, quae ostendimus apud aqueductus constituta. Pepercerant quippe Gothi ambobus apostolorum templis atque, ut Procopius testatur, per totum illud tempus presbiteros libere ad illa commeare persoluereque diuina permittebant. Licet hostiarius in uita Siluerii asserat eos non modo in phana uerum etiam in sepulcra ossaque sanctorum deseuisse, quod de aliis

templis factum fortasse fuit, constat tamen ambas apostolorum basylicas intactas permansisse. Quod sine Gothorum indulgentia fieri nullatenus potuit, utrisque extra moenia positae et precipue Pauli apostoli ab urbe mille passibus distante. In qua basylica milites impositi magno usui fuere. Quotidie enim, longe lateque excurrentes, barbaros extra octava castra haud procul sinebant uagari et suis ex Ancio annonam portantibus tutum urbis aditum efficiebant. Constantius quoque et Traianus, deducta Neapolim Antonina Bellisarii coniuge, Taracinam reuersi circum uicina oppida, quae commeatum in castra barbarorum submittebant, adeo infestare perseuerarunt, ut nihil penitus ad eos perferri permetterent. Similiter Fruthis et Martinus, relictis confestim Tiburis moeniis quae non nullis in locis minus firma erant, frequentissimis incursionibus itinera infestando intra paucos dies effecerunt, ut nemo ad illa accedere nedum quippiam perferre quiret. /78r/ Non segnior et illorum diligentia fuit qui Albam profecti erant. His artibus effecit Bellisarius ut non minore annone inopia quam obsessi laborarent, et intra breue tempus fame ipsa uexarentur. Nam peste iam pridem et ipsi uastabantur.

<22> Interea supplementa a Iustiniano missa in Italiam traiecerant. Erant autem equitum duo milia ac centum, quorum octingentis et ipsis Thracibus preerat Iohannes Vitaliani fratris filius; mille uero et trecentos qui ex delectu erant Alexander Maxentius et Zeno ducebant; peditum tria milia Paulo ac Conone ducibus classe uehebantur. Ad haec Procopius Cesariensis Bellisarii medicus cuius testimonio frequenter utimur Neapoli quingentos pedites descripserat. Hae omnes simul copiae ingentem uim commeatus non solum classe uerum etiam maximo uehiculorum numero; frequentes secundum litus classe iuxta ad nauigante Romam contendebant, quos aduentantes ne hostes adorirentur Bellisarius tali machinatione prouidit. Portam Flamineam, quam ab obsidionis principio obstrui fecerat, per noctem celeriter pandit. Diogeni ac Traiano iubet egressi mille cum equitibus per Pincianam portam summo diluculo, magno tumultu ad Gothorum discurrant castra, excitosque hostes simulata fuga usque ad portam eliciant ibique conuersi prelio lacesant. Mandatum duces impigre exequuti; Bellisarius cum lectissima militum manu repente Flamineam portam egressus castra Gothorum postergum, unde minime sperauerant, aggreditur parumque omnino abfuit quin illis potiretur; at ubi primo impetu ea non capit deflexo confestim cursu ad portam Pinciniam contendit, nactusque medios inter se Traianumque ac Diogenem hostes incredibili cede prostrauit. Vnde tantus terror barbaros inuasit, ut omnibus castris die noctuque duplicatis excubiis uix se tutos sperarent, neque ulla alia de re uehementius erant solliciti quam ut Bellisarii insidias possent precauere. Formido enim, ut assolet trepidantibus animis, nihil securum relinquebat et ultra certa pericula infusa super addebat inania. Quo factum est ut copie cum classe ad Hostia peruenientes tuto in urbem et se reciperent et commeatum supportarent.

<23> Quod ubi cognouit Vitiges, uidens quoque maiorem suorum numerum partim ferro partim morbo absumptum, multos preterea uulneribus languoreque debilitatos, coactus est de dissoluenda obsidione cogitare. Cuius duo Gothorum proceres acceptis mandatis apud Bellisarium hoc modo uerba fecere: *Misit nos ad te Vitiges, Bellisari, iniurias tecum expostulare, quibus immeritum Gothorum genus afficere non cessas. Si nos ferae aut aliquod hominum agreste genus armis lacesserent, uana esset nostra expostulatio, quando quidem stulte ab illis exigitur ratio quos natura exsortes finxit rationis. Sed cum nobis tu bellum intuleris, homo et Latinus et Graecus cuius utrunque genus ceteras nationes inhumanas ac barbaras habere consueuit propriumque sibi et humanitatis et iusticiae honorem usurpare,*

*non possumus non abs te eam exigere rationem, qua potissimum adductus tu nos contra ius fasque ferro infestas. Quid tibi nobiscum est? Qua lacessitus iniuria pacem orbis perturbas? Cur quietos sollicitas? Cur uiros in mutuas armas caedes et iustissimi mitissimique imperatoris animum in amicos sociosque instigas? Neque enim credendum est illum iniusti belli auctorem qui et parens et assertor publice est iustitiae. Non consuevit contra leges legum conditor agere, nec legitimus imperator maiorum praeuaricari instituta. Atque utinam ipsum imperatorem, cuius nos hostes insimulas te autem ducem appellas, huius nostrae causae nunc iudicem haberemus; minime utique dubitarem ne plus cupiditati tribueret quam aequitati. Dum quiescimus, dum in officio manemus, dum Romanorum suasu imperatorum erreptam hostibus nostro sanguine Italiam componere adnitimur, dum dirutas restauramus urbes, Romam nostris exaugemus ac exornamus impensis et titulos atque imagines uestrorum imperatorum nostris inscribimus operibus, nostris monumentis apponimus. Interuertisti /79r/ nobis Siciliam, Dalmatiam extorsisti, et nunc Italiam erripere conaris, minime cogitans quam sit graue tota illos pellere prouincia contra quos unam urbem egre queas tutari. Qui Gothos Italia exactos cupit, non intra moenia clausum teneri oportet sed in campum prodire ac in certamen descendere et quibus uiribus ualeat perstrenue experiri. Quod sine complurium cede fieri disipit qui credit. Gothi loca deserere neque mortui sunt soliti et in cruentam uictoriam hosti minime concedere. Totidem tuorum capita te morti deuouere necesse est, quot Gothis solum erripere uolueris. Quod ut multo tuorum erripias sanguine, centum tibi urbes ualidis Gothorum munitae presidiiis per Italiam centum grauissimos instaurabunt labores, in quibus singulis non leuiora subeunda erunt pericula quam apud hanc unam subiueris, nec minus fundendus sanguis quam hic effusus est. Cuius te fieri reum nescimus quam ob causam expetas, aut in tantae fortunae discrimina cur properas non intelligimus. Siquid uel tibi debemus uel imperatoris quippiam iniuste occupauimus, en sine ulla ui reddere sumus parati. Sin minus et nostra est Italia nostro parta sanguine a Zenone nobis benigne concessa et a Iustino confirmata ac per septuaginta ferme annos cum pace possessa, cur dei hominumque indignationem frustra tibi conflas? Cur tante impietatis alligas et inexpiabili scelere te inuoluis? Putas te impune laturum tot exustos agros, tot uastatas prouincias tantum mortalium effusum sanguinem, tot uirorum capita Orco destinata, et quia serum est ad uindictam diuinum numen iccirco eius patientia abuteris? Solet fortuna haud minore impetu deferre in preceps quam extulerit in sublime et uictoriarum clarissimas palmas miseranda ruinarum fuligine denigrare. Solus ille ludibria fortunae securus contempsit qui cursum rerum suarum recta pietatis ratione temperauit. Temeritatis non solida est gloria et rapine spolia nec perpetua sunt nec iocunda. Haec non eo dicimus quod nobis abs te quicquam er- /79v/ reptum iri metuamus, quippe qui plane confidimus quod nobis minus aeque ablatum est aequissime uendicare. Sed deo hominibusque testatum relinquere placuit Gothos non minus laborare ut boni uiri quam ut fortes agnoscantur, magisque iustitiae quam uirium praestantia gloriari.*

<24> His Bellisarius ita respondit: Nimirum recte a sapientibus usurpatur iniquum in se iudicem esse unum quemque, in alios seueriorem censorem. Medicos sua palpare uulnera, aliena igne inclementius exurere. Nemo adeo scelerosus est, qui propriis non patrocinetur criminibus suis grauissimis indulget, alterius uel leuissima exagerat. Id si Vitigi uobisque ceteris Gothis non contingeret, neutiquam hanc quam appellatis iniuriarum expostulationem mecum faceretis. Si uestris ueris peccatis erubescere sciretis, ficta aliis non impingeretis. Exigere creditum iniurias inferre dicitis et non reddere debitum, suum ius tueri. Idem faciunt

*et omnes mali debitores, qui pro acceptis beneficiis non nisi ingratitude premia reddere consueverunt. Hanc mercedem et Theodoricus Romano persoluit imperio. Hanc Theodatus Iustiniano retulit. Quid mirum si et uos maiorum uestrorum sequimini monstrata. Haud Iustinianus aliud a uobis expectat quam quod Agrippe, Domitiano, Traiano, Caracalle, Gallo, Volusiano, Valeriano, Claudio, Philippo, Aureliano, Constantino, Valenti, Gratiano, Theodosio, Honorio, Archadio, ceterisque Romanis imperatoribus patres uestri reddiderunt. Concessam uobis a Zenone iactatis Italiam, sed occupatam Iustino Siciliam Dalmatiamque tacetis. Non debent patrocinari leges legum uiolatoribus, nec iura iniuriis suffragari. Perdidit ingratitude sua apud Iustinum Theodoricus quicquid a Zenone donatum accepit. Quin et tantis se obnoxium fecit criminibus, quibus nec capitis iactura facere poterat satis. Diuinam humanamque polluit maiestatem religionem prophanauit, heresibus orthodoxam inquinauit fidem, fouit pestiferum Arrianorum uirus. Catholicos quacunq[ue] potuit iniuriis cedibusq[ue] affecit. Ecclesiam /80r/ sacerdotibus, Urbem senatoribus orbauit. Summum pontificem eundemq[ue] uirum sanctissimum Iohannem fame excruciatum necauit. Simacum, Boetium cum tot prestantissimis consularibus uiris crudelissime damnauit. Cum Gallis ac Burgundionibus aduersum Romanum conspirauit imperium. Idem fecit et Theodatus. Insuper et Christianam subuertens religionem, summum sacerdotium plus danti uendidit. Quod pollicitus est Iustiniano minime adimpleuit, immo et legatos ipsius contra ius gentium in uincula coniecit. Quibus iustissimis de causis, haud meis instigationibus, ut uos non uere calumniamini bellum uobis intulit Iustinianus imperii simul et religionis iura defendens, pro quo non iram metuimus a deo sed larga pietatis premia ab ipso expectamus, pro cuius fide ac legibus iam olim capita nostra morti deuota tenemus. Lubenter quancunq[ue] uoluerit uota persoluturi, quamuis ut de ipsius benignitate plene confidimus, cultoribus suis potius quam rebellibus uictoriam daturum speremus, quam si differt non aufer[t], et quanto protelat longius tanto donabit glorijs. Proinde nullis frangimur laboribus nec ulla pericula subire ueremur, uestras munitiones uiresq[ue] facile contemnimus diuina ope iustitiaeque nostre causa freti. Cui si uos quoque adeo fiditis et Iustiniani arbitrium desideratis, non prohibeo iudicium qualem uultis experiundi facio potestatem.*

⟨25⟩ Pluribus preter haec de cause iustitia ultro citroque dictis, post longam tandem disceptationem utrisq[ue] placuit rem ad Iustinianum deferre et definitionem controuersiarum ab eius auctoritate expectare, quibus de rebus legati utrinque sunt missi, induciaeq[ue] trimestres cum obsidibus datae, Gothis in castris remanentibus et utrisq[ue] absq[ue] alterius iniuria quiescentibus. His ita constitutis, Bellisarius relaxandi animi gratia Neapolim proficiscitur Vrbe et nouis presidijs et habundo commeatu munita. Per eosdem dies litterae Siluerio pontifici e Constantinopoli misse redduntur, quibus illi iubebat /80v/ augusta, uti uel Anthemium amoto Menna in ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae sedem restitueret uel ad se quam primum Bizantium nauigaret. Fauebat Anthemio cum per se augusta Euthitanae hereseos labe corrupta tum uero ardentius Vigili Diaconi persuasionibus instigata, qui Romanum ambiens pontificatum pollicitus fuera[t] mulieri, si se in Petri poneret sedem, Anthemium quem Agapitus relegauerat eiecto Menna in sedem suam restitutum; et quia minime dubitabat Siluerium cupiditati Theodore refragaturum, persuaserat ardenti sua sponte foemine eius modi litteras ad pontificem dare, nec eum dolosa fefellit opinio. Rescripsit enim augustae Siluerius Anthemium a suo predecessore Agapito iure ac merito damnatum nunquam se ab exilio reuocaturum; suam ad ipsam profectionem compluribus difficultatibus excusauit. His litteris Theodora uehementius permota dat Vigilio ad Bellisarium litteras, alias ad Antoninam eius

uxorem, quibus mandat ut quacunq̄ue adinuenta causa Siluerium pontificatu deponant Vigiliumq̄ue subrogent.

⟨26⟩ Bellisarius interea, Neapoli rebus compositis, Romam redierat, ubi et littere augustae a Vigilio redduntur, qui, rem tam nephariam detestatus, negotium mandat uxori eiusque arbitrio exequendum permittit, quae inito cum Vigilio consilio testes falsos submittit iure iurando affirmantes Siluuerium cum Gothis sentire eisque aditum porte Asinariae Lateranensis palatii esse pollicitum. Vocatus ergo ad Pincianum palatium pontifex, quem per id tempus Bellisarius inhabitabat, ubi nunc inter Flaminiam et Pincianam maxime uisuntur ruinae, clerus qui eum sequutus fuerat, in uestibulo tentus est. Pontifex deducente Vigilio ad Antoninam introductus, cui tunc ex itinere Neapolitano fatigatae in lectuloque decumbenti Bellisarius patricius assidebat, quae conspectum pontificem foeminea audacia impudentiaque truci uultu procacibus uerbis ita compellat. *Quid tantum, inquit Silueri, uel Bellisarius uel Romanus populus de te commeruit, ut nos barbaris prodere destinaueris /81r/ et urbem hanc feris gentibus euertendam delendamque permittere? Haec tua est erga imperatorem fides, haec erga Romanos patris pietas? Aut hoc Bellisarii meaque erga te perpetua obseruantia postulabat?* Ad hec pontificem respondere conantem mox parati comprehendunt satellites, detractoque pallio cuculam monasticam iniciunt et Vigilio in aliquod monasterium retrudendum tradunt. Iohannes autem diaconus primae regionis et alii partium Vigili ad sacerdotes clerumque egressi, Vigilium pontificem Siluero subrogatum anuntiant. Obstupuere cuncti tantae rei tam subita inopinataque mutatione, multi, dolos sentientes nullumque uel priuationis uel subrogationis canonicum seruatum ritum, taciti secum indignabantur, alii Siluerii fortunam miserabantur. Complures laeti atque exultantes partim rerum nouarum cupiditate partim factionis studio Vigilium pallio episcopali amictum ad palatium Lateranense deducunt. Qui paulo post Siluerium exilio damnatum cum retinere ac tueri simulasset, tandem in Poncianam insulam deportari permisit, in qua celeberrima cum sanctitatis opinione uita excessit.

⟨27⟩ Interea Paulus prefectus Isaurorum, qui cum classe ad Hostia remanserat, oppidum Portuense a presidio Gothorum ob annonae inopiam derelictum occupauerat. Ciuitas Centum Cellae quae in Tuscis erat, similiter et Alba quae in Marsis eadem ratione in potestatem deuenerat, quas, quoniam magno usui ad bellum fore intelligebat, plurimasque commoditates allaturas diligentius communiri curauit; quibus de rebus legati a Vitige ad Bellisarium missi uiolatas indutias questi sunt tria illa oppida contra ius fasque esse occupata, se quidem spe indutiarum fretum milites ex illis euocasse, stipendio ac commeatu dato mox ad ea remisurum, quam ob rem petere ac postulare, ut quae per indutias capere non licuit per aequum et bonum restituerentur. Ad haec Bellisarius nulla in re ab se suisque uiolatas respondit inducias, nec quicquam perperam factum quin sancte seruatum induciarum legem, quae sicuti erripere /81v/ custodita uetit, ita derelicta occupare uolenti non denegat. Nam quod de militum allegatur euocatione constare esse comentitium et quam ob rem oppida deserta fuerint obscurum esse nemini. Legatis infectis negotiis reuersis permagne simulantes suspitionesque exortae sunt, studentibus barbaris parem gratiam Bellisario referre. Et iam hyems aduentabat, quam ob rem Bellisarius, partem copiarum in hiberna dimittere statuens, duo milia Ioanni Vitaliani in Picenum ducenda tradit; proficiscenti mandat ut, si Gothi quietum indutiarum tempus longius procedere permiserint, ipse itidem conquiescat et ab inferendis iniuriis omnino absteat. Sin turbare coeperint, predas ex Gothorum agris agat, rapiat, incendat, tumultu ac bello omnia inuoluat, oppida expugnet, quando quidem intelligat

expugnationem nullius difficilem futuram, propterea quod ex uniuersis illis oppidis Gothi populariter ad obsidionem Romae accesserant, tantum uxores ac liberos illic reliquisse. Ceterum in his illud unum cauendum edicit, ne ad ullum oppidum in hostium potestate derelicto; consueuisse enim eam in rem in bellis multas difficultates plurimaque detrimenta afferre.

⟨28⟩ Cum his mandatis Iohanne dimisso, uenit ad Bellisarium Dacius Mediolanensis Episcopus cum non nullis primoribus ciuitatis a populo missis, petens aliquam militum manum, quam si uel me mediocre habuerint ob solam imperialis accessionem se satis superque potentes futuros, non Mediolano solo uerum tota Cisalpina Gallia barbaros depellere. Hos Bellisarius benigne susceptos honorificeque habitos bene sperare iussit, pollicitus se postulata facturum idoneaque auxilia ubi primum tempus aderit missurum. Et cum undique omnia prospera ac laeta Bellisario arridere uiderentur, optata mortalibus quies maius repente periculum peperit quam tantarum rerum turbulentia unquam producere potuisset et quod exiguo admodum momento pene uniuersa subuertit. Erat quidem ciuis Romanus Presidius nomine, qui Rauennam /82r/ inhabitare solitus, ab ipso belli initio clam illinc profugiens, tum Romam peteret. Milites Constantiani gladium illi pretiosius ornatum apud Spoletum abstulerant, quem sepius apud Bellisarium questus reddi sibi postulauerat; et Bellisarius quidem pluries restituendum Constantiano iusserat, sed rerum gerendarum perpetua sollicitudo exequi mandata prohibuerat et ad hoc usque tempus ueluti dedita opera fata reseruauerant ut ostenderent non leuioribus discriminibus pacata tempora quam perturbata uacare summamque rerum haud minore in periculo in pace quam in bello uersari. Siquidem Bellisario per urbem equitanti Presidius fit obuiam doloreque multae iniuriae uehementius commotus equum freno apprehensum sistit, Bellisariumque magna ac querula uoce multis audientibus his uerbis compellat: *Hoccine abs te, Bellisari, ciuis Romanus mereor, qui facultates omnes hostibus dirripiendas relinquens tuam fidem sum secutus, ut a tuis militibus spoliior et tam indignis efficiar probris? Illius me serui depredati sunt in cuius tutelam confugeram; et saepe uim illatam questus, inania tamen abs te uerba retuli; illi interim publici grassatores mearumque rerum uiolentissimi raptores et in urbe et in oculis tuis superbi quotidie uersantur tanquam preclarum gesserint facinus et neque dignitatem tuam neque paupertatem meam ullo latrocinio uiolassent.* His uerbis uehementius permotus, Bellisarius domum reuersus Constantianum presto esse iubet accersitum; grauioribus castigat uerbis, quod imperata totiens floccifecerit, quod suum honorem militum posthab[er]it cupiditati, quod fomentum concitandarum nutriat seditionum. Hac castigatione superbus animus uehementius quam par erat offensus proterue ac contumaciter *Ego uero inquit eum gladium undis Tiberis potius reddam quam illi nebuloni.* Quo responso accensus Bellisarius interogat *subes ne tu mihi an non?* – *Subsum inquit ille quando ita uult imperator, uerum hac una in re tibi minime parebo.* Inflatu supra modum ira Bellisarius /82v/ apparitores inclamat. Constanti[an]us, putans eos in suam accersiri perniciem, educto pugione Bellisarium infra stomachum percussit. Et nisi mox a circumstantibus comprehensus geminare uulnus esset prohibitus, illa dies Bellisario suprema fuisset ingentem Gothis allatura uictoriam, regnum fortasse latius quam amiserant restitutura. Constanti[an]us, a[p]paritoribus traditus, haud multo post iussu Bellisarii necatus, intemperantiae temeritatisque suae debitas exoluit poenas. Bellisarius uero quia non letale uulnus acceperat celeriter conualuit.

⟨29⟩ Interim Gothi bis per noctem furto capere sunt conati. Semel per quendam aquaeductum non sat explorata uia in urbem penetrare nitentes suis ipsi luminibus proditi



sunt; conspecta quippe a uigilibus luminaria fraudem facile detexere, aditusque ita obstructus ut insidiis locus relictus sit nullus. Porro dolus qui per Tiberim structus est plus habuit discriminis, quippe cui et proditio accessit opido periculosa. Erant duo ex infima plebe apud Basilicam Petri habitantes, quonam ut superius ostendimus Gothi apostolorum ueneratione et templo et uicinis pepercerant aedificiis, minime in habitantibus molesti erant. Hi duo magna spe mercedis adducti cum Vitige de prodenda urbe egere. Facile per Tiberim aditum demonstrantes iuxta campum Martium quodam in loco, ubi ciues annis fortasse munimento freti perexigua admodum moenia communire neglexerant. Vitiges, explorata probataque facultate et proditoribus maximis promissis honeratis, lintres ratesque ac omnifaria nauigia quam maiore potest numero ad pontem Miluuium contrahit, noctu militibus completa per Tiberim dimissurus et occupato additu ualidiorem manum ex opposita ripa facile traiecturus. Hoc tam insigne facinus sola uigilum morabatur diligentia, quorum quamuis exiguus numerus, impensius tamen demandatum obibat munus diligentissimisque uigiliis nullam fraudi sinebant facultatem. Proinde hos quesita a Vitige /83r/ pecunia duo illi proditores amicitia sibi familiaritateque deuinxerant, non tamen tanta cum initi consilii rationem credendam putarent tucius se rati soporifero medicamento uno admixto illos consopitos fallere. Cumque omnia parata essent, alter proditorum tanti sceleris poenitentia ductus rem omnem Bellisario aperit, qui confestim apprehenso socio et medicamen a rege acceptum et cunctam rei seriem tormentis expressit, deinde auriculis nasoque preciso, impositum asino per Pincianam portam Gothorum in castra transmittit, ut intelligeret Vitiges fraudem dolosque detectos. Igitur Bellisarius, cum sibi tot insidiis fraudibusque appetito non amplius inducias cum hostibus seruandas duxisset, Ioanni confestim in Picentes scribit quod proficiscenti aduersum Gothos mandauerat impigre properaret. Ille lubens iussa facessit, preda rapinisque omnia perturbat, complurimas Gothorum uxores ac liberos captiuos abducit. Copias hostium, quas Vitiges cum Vgletheo patruo suo aduersus eum destinauerat, prelio fundit prosternitque, ipsum uero ducem magna cum exercitus manu obruncat, reliquos discit ac disipat, ita ut plane uictor effectus uniuersa liberius peruadens omnibus ferme Piceni oppidis potitus est, Auxino excepto, cui cum propius copias admouisset quamuis illud non multo Gothorum presidio teneri, intelligeret loci tamen natura ardua perdifficilique contemplatam obsidionem longius quam presentes ferebant rationes processuram ratus; contra Bellisarii imperium missam fecit. Hoc ipsum et de Urbino censuit, inutile arbitratus spem suam quam in celeritate maxime collocauerat longioribus obsidionibus remorari. Itaque ambobus oppidis pretermisissis, ducens per oram maritimam Fanum Pisaurumque recepit. Inde copias Arimino admouet, non tantum in suo exercitu quantum in ciuium uoluntate spei habens (intellexerat enim eos odio Gothorum teneri), nec sua spe frustratus est. Siquidem Gothi aduenientes conspicati copias, cum concepto hostium metu tum ciuium mentem ueriti, deserta urbe Rauennam /83v/ profugiunt. Ciues uero Iohannem lubentibus animis portas pandunt. Hanc expeditionem tametsi contra mentem Bellisarii esse non ignoraret Iohannes, ut pote qui Auximum Urbinumque, duo insignia oppida, in hostium potestate post terga dimiserat, iccirco tamen facere uoluit, quod minime dubitaret, Arimino Gothis adempto adeo Rauennae propinquo, barbaros Romanam obsidionem soluturos.

⟨30⟩ Nec uanum fuit consilium. Mox quippe ut audiuit Vitiges Ariminum captum concrematis omnibus castris signa ab urbe mouit, sed in transitu Anienis ingenti detrimento affectus est. Siquidem Bellisarium dimidium exercitum citra pontem nactus cum omnibus suis copiis aggressus est, et quamuis Vitiges id metuens lectissimos suorum in presidiis reliquisset,

impetum tamen Bellisarii sustinere frustra conati sunt, animo nanque ad iter magis quam ad pugnam parato, segnius torpentiusque pugnabant defendendi sui potius quam offendendi studiosi. Ademerat barbaris animos et infecti negotii dolor et discessus fuge similis et suarum rerum felix per Italiam cursus. Contra Iustinianis ea omnia alacritatem uiresque sufficere uidebantur. Itaque uehementius instare, hostem audacius ferire, urgere pertinacius, complurimos neci dare, atque ita primo pedem referre deinde terga uertere compellunt, qui effuso cursu permixti ad pontem pariter contendunt. Cernere erat tanquam pecudum agmina seuientes lupos fugientia suumque ipsa cursum mutuo impediunt; precipue cum ad pontem uentum est, miserabilior erat fugientium facies, cum enim latitudo pontis tante multitudini non sufficeret properantium frequentia adeo constipatus est, ut nec procedendi nec retrocedendi ulla esset facultas. Et Iustiniani inclementius tera cedentes aut transire aut occumbere barbaros compellebant. Quibus ad pontem aditus per multitudinis non patebat frequentia, ante oculos rapidus submergendis fluuius offerebatur, implacabili pone gladio seuiente. Multos in ripa decidebat suspensos hinc cer- /84r/ uicibus imminens acies, illinc unda inuoluens complures ex equis desilientes fluuio se credere malebant quam hosti. Non nullos cum ipsis etiam equis precipites in amnem sese deicere ater metus adigebat, plerosque ancipiti malo at[t]onitos inimicus gladius in ipso transfigebat stupore, alii ex ipsa ferri cuspidate saltu se in profluentem hosti subducere. Sane ex pontis angustiis complures, cum se aliter expedire nequirent, spondarum transcendentibus latera in fluctus se demit[t]ere non dubitabant. Nec minus crudelis erat et natantium facies: alios quippe armis graues mox amnis aurire; alii in uortices delati suorum ante oculos absorberi; multi ad alteram fluuii partem nequicquam transnatare, quod altiores abrupteque amnis ripe uel nullam penitus uel omnino difficilem euadendi dabant facultatem, ut iam peniteret non nullos citissime se in inimicorum morti subtraxisse; herentes siquidem ripe hinc hortabantur a suis illinc a hostibus sagittis misilibus impetebantur. His casibus multo maior hic quam ullo alio superiore in bello barbarorum multitudo consumpta est. Tali exitu post annum et nouem dies durissima Romae obsidio finita est.

## ⟨LIBER QVINTVS⟩

⟨1⟩ [V]RBIS obsidione soluta Vitiges Rauennam petere festinabat. Sed ut ciuitates per Etruriam in fide contineret Tuderti quingentos reliquit equites, mille Vrbemueterem mittit, Clusium totidem. Et per Picentes transiens Auximi quattuor milia collocat, Vrbini duo milia, in Monteferetro quingentos, pares Cesenae, ipse reliquo cum exercitu Ariminum obsessurus. Id ueritus Bellisarius mox ut Vitiges ab Vrbe discessit Martinum atque Ildigerum mille cum equitibus et peditum satis firma manu Ariminum properare iusserat, mandans peditum imposito praesidio /84v/ Ioannem cum equitatu inde reuocare, prudentissime decernens pedites obsessae urbi et minus graues et maiori usui futuros; non ignarus quanto difficilius equites quam pedites obsidionem soleant tolerare. Praeterea stultum esse ducebat opportunum sibi ad res gerendas equitatum conclusum teneri. Vix etiam sperare poterat ut Vitiges cognoscens equites Arimini non esse animum ad eius obsidionem inducat, quam etiam si temptasset inanes tamen eius conatus se facturum non dubitabat, propterea quod ex Ancona quae nuper in fidem uenerat facilem et subsidii et commeatus per mare supportationem intelligebat. Igitur Ildiger ac Martinus Gothos ob multitudinem copiarum tardius incedentes diuerso itinere praeteruertunt prioresque Ariminum deuenientes Bellisarii mandata Ioanni exponunt, qui cum rebus prospere gestis elatior factus tum Ariminenses suam fidem sequutos deserere turpe ratus, et ipse parere noluit et Damiano patrueli suo cum quadringentis ipsius equitibus posthabitis Bellisarii iussis ut secum remaneret persuasit. A qua sententia cum neque Ildiger neque Martinus eum dimouere ualuisset, relictis ambobus cum militibus eorum reliquum equitem quem Ioanni Bellisarius attribuerat secum abducunt.

⟨2⟩ Vix inde abiuerant, ecce Vitiges exercitum urbi admouet, metatisque idoneo loco castris Ariminum obsidet, parat quae ad oppugnationem necessaria uidebantur, praecipue turrim unam ligneam ingentis magnitudinis moeniis quae humiliora notauerat admoturus. Eam non bobus trahendam ut apud Romam sed ab intra arietis more a militibus agendam machinatus est. Cumque iam perfecta haud procul a destinato murorum loco ardua perstaret et omnia ad oppugnationem necessaria essent comparata, iussis omnibus in crastinum esse paratis, Ioannes eductis per noctem militibus iuxta moenia latam profundamque fossam ducit, egestamque ad muros aggerit et unius noctis labore multorum dierum apparatus hostibus inutilem efficit. Id cum illucescente /85r/ die animaduertisset Vitiges prosequi tamen inceptum cupiens, mandat militibus caedere materiam, frondes et alia ad complendam fossam comparare postridie ciuitatem oppugnaturus. Ne autem per noctem egressi Ioannis milites machinam igne corrumpant, iubet eam retro abducere. Gothos iussa facientes et in opere occupatos Ioannes eruptione facta repente aggreditur commissoque acerrimo proelio obstinatissime ab utrisque pugnatur, pudore instigabantur barbari Graeci uirtutis laude accendebantur, illis machinam uerentibus his uel corrumpere incruentam non permittere adnitentibus, et nunc a turri globo facto Gothi hostes submouent nunc uirtute Iustinianorum post machinam reiciuntur, quo fiebat ut illi qui turrim retrahere nitebantur cernentes suam salutem aliorum praesidio non tuto creditam praecipue cadentibus frequenter sociis totis uiribus molem trahere non arderent, et multiplicatae trahentium manus sibi ipsis essent impedimento, singulo quoque magis de salute sua quam de turri sollicito. Videns ergo Vitiges tanto suorum cum detrimento certamen longius procedere et machinam nisi repulsis Graecis subduci non posse haud tumultuaria amplius manu sed instructa diligentius acie hostes sibi statuit submouendos. Itaque ex

lectissimis scutorum phalangem consertam Graecis opposuit, sagittariis post eam collocatis quibus mandauerat omnifariis missilibus Iustinianos indesinenter appetere, ab utroque autem latere densas equitum alas iubet circumire Graecos, qui ueriti ne portis excludantur pedem referre conati sunt, non quidem temere sed uiriliter dimicando magnoque et animo et peritia incursantes in se temerarius hostes excipiendo. Per hunc modum submotus Iustinianis Gothi turrim reducerunt tanto suorum cum detrimento ut plane desperarent urbe adeo praestanti defensa uirtute alia ratione quam fame posse potiri.

⟨3⟩ Dum haec apud Ariminum geruntur, Bellisarius legatos Mediolanenses cum auxiliaribus copiis quas postulaturi uenerant domum dimittit, et cum eis fidelem Mediolanensem de quo supra mentionem /85v/ fecimus. Ducendas autem eas copias Mundilae tradidit uni ex domesticis suis, uiro strenuo praestantique. Et quia tam longum iter exiguis copiis per hostilem terram minus tutum uidebatur Mundilas apud Hostia impositos nauibus milites Ianuae exponit. Inde fauentibus Theodobaldi praefectis qui per Liguriam erant ad Padum propere perueniunt, cumque lembis quos secum uehiculis impositos ad hoc ipsum aduexerant sine mora transmittunt, quadratoque incedentes agmine dum Ticinium praetergrediuntur a Gothis ex oppido prosilientibus repente inuaduntur. Erat enim ipsorum ualidum ea in urbe praesidium propterea quod arcis munitione freti pretiosissima quaeque ex finitimis ciuitatibus eam in urbem comportauerant, itaque leui commisso proelio barbari facile funduntur ac intra moenia compelluntur. Quo factum est ut Mundilas per pontem moeniis proximum nullo negotio suos omnes incolumes traduceret fideli Mediolanensi excepto, qui fato suo potius quam hostium uirtute eo in loco occisus est. Sacellum erat trans pontem Virgini sacrum praecipuaque religione uenerandum ad hoc salutandae diuae gratia cum diuertisset, prolixioreque occuparetur oratione socii iam omnes praetergresso ponte longius processerant ipse postremus fallens suos ex equo uiam detractante in terram delapsus ab accurrentibus barbaris qui pro moeniis steterant circumstatur atque occiditur. Casum eius cum uniuersi tum praecipue Mundilas indoluit. Erat enim uir nobilis domi potens, partium imperatoris maxime studiosus et qui suscepto bello magno praesidio adiumentoque erat futurus. Igitur Iustiniani amisso tam infeliciter fideli Mediolanum deueniunt, a ciuibusque laetis animis suscipiuntur, eorum exemplum Comum, Bergomum, Nauaria ceteraque Insubrum ciuitates secutae Mundilae sese subinde dedidere.

⟨4⟩ Quo ubi Vitigi renuntiatum est, Vraiam fratris filium Transpadanum cum magna copiarum parte festinare iubet, qui et ciuitates quae descuerant rursus parere compelleret /86r/ et ceteras in fide contineret. Misit quoque oratum ⟨ad⟩ Francorum reges ut auxilia sibi ex foedere debita cum Vraia coniungerent. Porro Mediolanenses ueriti uniuersam belli molem in se conuerti mittunt cum Dacio episcopo suo oratores ad Bellisarium et si res postulasset Constantinopolim ad imperatorem ualidiora auxilia postulatueros, quos Bellisarius benigne susceptos et naui ac rebus ad profectionem necessariis apprime aductos hortatus est ad Iustinianum nauigare, sperans imperatorem ipsorum persuasum sermonibus tandem auaritiae suae claustra effracturum, suaeque dignitati simul et rebus Italiae impensius prospecturum. Inter haec iam maturauerant segetes cum Bellisarius eductis Roma copiis aduersum oppida proficiscitur quae Gothorum presidiis tenebantur. Quod audientes tam hi qui Tuderti erant quam illi qui Clusii fuerant impositi et se Bellisario resistere posse diffiderent, missis ad eum legatis impetrauere, traditis oppidis uolentibus apud eum merere stipendia, aliis tutum cum suis sarcinulis discessum. Haec perlata ad Vitigem maiorem illi de Auximo sollicitudinem

iniecere, quam ob rem mittit eo Vatinius nouo cum praesidio eius fidei et oppidum et milites impensius commendans. Qui ingressus Auximum recepto priore militum praesidio cum se copiis abundare cerneret, non est ratus inutile terere tempus et cum tanta electorum uirorum manu per segnitiem torpescere. Itaque relicto tanto praesidio quod ad tutelam oppidi esset satis, ipse cum reliquis copiis ad inuadendam Anconam proficiscitur, urbem a Syracusanis Dionysii tyrannidem fugientibus olim conditam quae octo haud amplius millibus passuum ab Auximo edito in promontorio mari imminens breuibis moeniis claudebatur, subiecta quippe uallis quamuis esset aedificiis frequens non dum tamen muris cincta perstabat.

⟨5⟩ Cum ergo Conon qui Anconae praeerat aduentare Gothos a speculatoribus cognouisset, ueritus ne subito hostium aduentu ciues qui in suburbio degebant opprimerentur, eductis confestim mille militibus quos secum /86v/ habebat barbaris sese obicere non dubitauit, cupiens ciuibus refugiendi in oppidum spatium praestare. Ceterum spretus ob paucitatem a Gothis quorum supra quattuor milia pugnacissimi aduenerant, magna accepta plaga repente profligatus et ad ipsa quoque moenia reiectus est multisque suorum amissis uix ipse intra munitiones receptus est. Nam cum milites permixti hostibus ad urbem refugissent, ueriti ciues ne cum Iustinianis barbari in urbem penetrarent portas complurimis occludunt, inter quos cum ipse esset Conon per demissum e muris funem in oppidum conscendit. Gothi cum ferme omnes exclusos portis neci dedissent, admotis scalis urbem capere diu pertinacissime conati sunt, et nimirum parum admodum abfuit quin uoti compotes efficerentur praecipue in ipso trepidationis principio cum metu perturbatis animis ciues nec mente consistere nec uiribus audere nec quid potissimum agerent decernere possent. Receptus Conon saluti fuit qui minime propterea animo fractus ubique praesens uniuersos et consilio et opera adiuuabat. Cuius perquam strenua ope uix tandem confirmati ciues simul et milites, scalis hostes deturbare lapidibusque confidentius perculere coeperunt. Tanta denique uim telorum misiliumque effudere ut coacti sint barbari multis acceptis uulneribus oppugnationem deserere. Itaque dirreptis quae in suburbio inueniri potuerunt, cunctisque exustis aedificiis Auximum reuersi sunt.

⟨6⟩ Sane Bellisarius hoc Anconitano excitus periculo celeriter peruenit in Picentes. In quos et Narses ab imperatore cum nouo missus exercitu per idem tempus appulerat. Erat autem hic Narses eunuchus qui ingenti et potentia et gratia apud Iustinum pollebat, primus imperatoris quaestor praecipuusque consiliorum et particeps et auctor. Ducebat autem secum militum septem milia, quorum duo milia Eruli erant, Isandrum et Panotheum sequentes. Inter alios uero ductores Narses genere Persa et Iustinus Illyrici limitis dux insignes habebantur. Igitur Bellisarius et Narses apud Firmum copiis coniunctis de belli ratione consultant. Erant autem non paruae /87r/ decernendi difficultates, quoniam et Ariminum obsidione liberare res exposcebat et Auximum tantis cum hostium copiis relinquere sine ingenti prouinciae pernicie expediens minime uidebatur et obsidionem ipsius longiorem futuram ambigebat nemo. Inter consultantum complures ductorum uel conflatam in Ioannem exaggerantes inuidiam uel Bellisario assentantes uel rerum discrimine permoti, Ioannis temeritatem accusabant quod contra ducis iussa egisset, quod mandata proterue respuens ut auaritiae intemperantiaeque suae morem gereret sese Arimini inclusisset, quod sua peruicacia uniuersas belli rationes perturbasset seque tanta in discrimina adduxisset.

⟨7⟩ Hos atque huiusmodi sermones ueritus Narses ne propterea Ioannes cui plurimum erat affectus desereretur hunc in modum sententiam dixisse fertur: *Cum de publica utilitate agitur,*

*o socii, ea ipsa ut mihi uideatur imprimis spectanda est, nulloque uel amore uel odio pessumdanda. Hinc ego missa faciens reliqua cum res ipsas de quibus consultamus attendo, utramque nobis expedientem esse intelligo, sed non utramque peraeque necessariam. Quippe quod integrum nobis esse uidebo ubi libuerit Auximum obsidione cingere, obsessis autem Arimini si nunc opem ferre distulerimus nequicquam postea uolemus fame non sinente nostras eos rationes diutius expectare. Quis igitur rectus existimator illud potius properandum dubitabit, ubi urgentiore uocetur periculo. At non meretur Ioannes qui et iussa ducis contemnere et se ac socios ea in discrimina per fastum et intemperantiam conicere persumsit. Esto sane ut et grauiora commiserit nullaque eius extent merita quibus hec delicta donentur patiemur, ne propterea prestantissimi uiri Ariminum tam insignem urbem tamque bello peropportunam, aut illos fortissimos uiros qui in ea obsidentur nostris in oculis excindi ac interimi. Quid de nobis existimaturi sunt homines aut quam spem in exercitu nostro socii habituri, si spectantibus misitantibusque nobis urbes nostras expugnari, socios commilitonesque necari, dirripi eos qui uestram secuti sunt fidem 187v et ad uaria distrahi supplicia sinamus. Absit a uobis tantum dedecus, et tantum gaudium tantaque fiducia hostibus nostris nunquam contigat. Te quoque, ducum praestantissime optimeque Bellisari, quaeso atque obsecro, non uelis tanto imperatoris damno et adeo graui rei publice uulnere Ioannis imprudentiam ulcisci, aut si uenia indignum ducis tu de eo potius summe supplicium, maiore quippe tua cum dignitate et minore rei publice detrimento tibi poenas est daturus, quando quidem hostibus eas dare nequeat sine graui cum uestra tum omnium nostrum precipue autem imperatoris et utilitatis et honoris iactura. Quibus de causis suadeo atque moneo ferenda quam primum obsessis opem deinde et Auximum et alia inimica oppida oppugnanda.*

⟨8⟩ Hinc Narsetis sententiae magno adiumento et litterae Ioannis fuere, quibus peropportune allatis significabatur milites inedia coactos nisi intra septimum diem auxilia affuerint deditionem cum hostibus pactos. His permoti uniuersi in Narsetis sententiam pedibus iere. Cumque eam et Bellisarius probasset et suas copias impares Vitigis intelligeret arte potius quam ui barbaros ab obsidione depellendos constituit, quam ob rem hunc in modum exercitum partitus est. Classem uniuersam que paulo ante ex Grecia Dalmatiaque aduenerat, armis uirisque optime instructam Ildigero tradit cui Herodianum, Valeriumque comites sociosque adiungit. Aliam uero exercitus partem Martino per Senogalliam, Fanum, Pisaurumque secundum litus Ariminum uersus ducendam committit, mandans Ildigero cum classe ut iuxta litus equatis cum Martino passibus Ariminum uersus contenderet. Aratum mille cum militibus apud Firmum in castris dimittit eique iubet atque edicit a bello penitus abstinere, contineri in castris et ea lacescente quoque hoste non egredi. Ipse reliquo cum exercitu diuersum iter ingressus per urbem Saluiam olim ab Allarico uastatam ac dirrutam Apenini uersum colles profectus est, per quarum radices ductas celeriter copias montes supra Ariminum occupat ante quam uel classis uel copiae Martini in hostium deuenirent 188r/ conspectum. Vbi non nullos barbarorum nactus longius a castris uagantes intercipit, fedatosque uulneribus faciem ad suos abire dimittit, qui sub meridiem in castra reuersi metu omnia ac trepidatione compleuere, nuntiantes adesse cum omnibus copiis Bellisarium fidemque uulneribus facientes mox discurrunt ad arma, suum quisque in ordinem ire iubetur, parari se ad tutanda potius castra quam ad prodeundum in pugnam. Iamiam enim Bellisarium inuasurum uano metu formidabant; hi constiterant pro ageribus, illi munitiones firmare, alii expedire machinas, alii tormenta disponere, festinare, discurrere trepidare. Verum moram faciente hoste, paulatim animum recipere coeperunt et confirmatis pectoribus etiam extra

uallum progredi aciemque instruere ausi sunt, ita usque ad noctem agitati, ordinatis per stationes excubiis in castra redeunt. Bellisarius quippe quindecim ferme milibus passuum supra Ariminum castris edito in colle positus substiterat classis Martinique operiens aduentum ut terni simul exercitus specie diuersis e regionibus uenientis uehementiorem Gothis metum incuteret.

⟨9⟩ Quod quidem confestim secutum est. Nam ut primum noctis umbra celum tenebris inuoluit. Iuxta litus maris diuersa penitus uia quam unde Bellisarium aduenturum acceperant innumeris ignibus agros collucere conspexerunt innumeri pene exercitus speciem prebentibus. Martinus quippe a Bellisario monitus multos plures quam pro militum numero eos succendere iusserat. Quibus conspectis animus qui ob moram Bellisarii Gothis paululum conquieuerat, rursum uehementiori sollicitudine cepit agitari, circumuentos se ab hostibus rati et tantis Bellisarii copiis quantas timor illis speciesque multo amplior nera trepidanti fixerat in pectore se pesum iri non dubitabant. Itaque totam noctem sub armis inter metum ac trepidationem in somnem transegere non modo dissoluende obsidioni uerum arripiende fuge rationem secum agitantes, quam cum pudor aliquantisper retardaret, conspecta summo mane /88v/ classis accelerare coegit. Nam et ordinibus et signis confusis fugientibus similes relictis castris machinisque Rauennam contendunt. Primus Ildiger classem Arimino appulit, nec multo post hinc Bellisarius, inde Martinus cum copiis eodem tempore ingenti militum plausu laetitiaque Ariminum intrauere. Sed Ioannis militumque ipsius dispar erat laetitiae uultus. Animi enim longo consternati pauore et ora diuturna inedia palentia nullum gaudii signum edere ualebant et hanc insperatam subitamque liberationem serio ne an per insomnii ludibrium gestam adhuc hesitare uidebantur, stupentium potius quam uiuentium similes. Multis aduenientium uocibus complexibusque excitatis tacite lacrimae decurrebant, quibus gratulantium laetitiam in miserationem uertere compellebant. In solo Bellisario ob Iohannis temeritatem iam olim concepta indignatio miserationi nullum exhibuit locum. Vnde quasi non dum meritas audaciae persoluisset poenas, conuersus ad Iohannem *Gratias* inquit *Ildigeri debes*. Ad hec Ioannes proterue satis contumaciterque se quidem Ildigeri nullas debere respondit sed Narseti omnes, his uerbis haud obscure significans se non Bellisarii sed solius Narsetis beneficio seruatum. Hec responsum cum altius Bellisario insedisset magnarum simultatum primum et mox nefariarum disensionum causa fuit. Nam Ioannes Bellisarii metuens iras ab eius imperio plane desciiuit seque et suos Narseti dedit.

⟨10⟩ Igitur Arimino obsidione liberato Bellisarius cum Narsete deliberat ad expugnandum Vrbinum atque Auximum in Picenum redire quando Vitigem copiis preualentem longius persequi minus tutum uideretur, presertim remanentibus pone oppidis tali Gothorum presidio munitis, quod ad perturbandas omnes belli rationes satis futurum uideretur. Quam ob rem Arimino et com meatu et nouo militum praesidio satis habunde communito, ad oppugnandum Vrbinum proficiscuntur, quod minus munitum intelligerent et Arimino ita propinquum ut intelligens Gothus adeo uicinum hostem /89r/ ad obsidionem Arimini reuerti non auderet. Itaque admotis propius copiis Vrbinum binis obsident castris. Narses orientis solis plagam sortitus est, Bellisarius occidentis, qui dum necessaria ad oppugnationem parat, Narses post aliquot dies propter arduam loci naturam urbis expugnatione desperata praeterea non nullorum ductorum uirtuti Bellisarii partim sua sponte partim Ioannis studio inuidentium sermonibus persuasus ut suo potius quam alieno ductu, cum non minores Bellisario haberet copias, laudem sibi ac gloriam quereret, insalutato Bellisario castra soluit et Ariminum uersus signa mouet. Quae res obsessis tam animorum adauxit ut ausi sint patefactis extemplo portis

castra Bellisarii magno impetu adoriri, sed cum uirtute militum tum ducis uigilantia, quod absque militari ordine effusi uenerant, ingenti accepta plaga intra moenia repulsi sunt. Nihilominus fractus animo Bellisariu potiundi oppidi spem omnem abiecerat, quod intelligeret ob sociorum discessum se ab obsessis contemptum satiusque fuisse, non uenisse eo Narsetem, quam tam indecore socios deseruisse.

⟨11⟩ Igitur dum uariis animum cogitationibus fatigat et quid potissimum expediens foret discernere nescit, tametsi ab ea porta quae a septentrione clementiorem prestabat aditum uineas agere uideretur, inopinatus casus insperatam mesto uictoriam attulit. Siquidem reiectis intra moenia obsessis unicus urbis fons, qui peremnibus aquis sedulo manare consueuerat, subito exaruit. Quo prodigio ciuium animi usque adeo terefacti sunt ut compulerint Gothos qui urbis presidio impositi erant secum deditiois inire conditionem. Nec mora missis ad Bellisarium oratoribus urbem tradunt aequum sibi et Gothorum uolentibus ius pacti cum reliquis ciuitatibus quae per Italiam Iustiniani parebant imperio. Ita hostium superstitio Bellisario restituit, quod collegae abstulerat inuidia. Gratissima haec deditio Bellisario fuit non tam propter urbis quamuis nobilis accessionem quantum propter college /89v/ emulationem. Tacitusque secum gratias fortune agere, que munus sibi proprium maluisset, quod ipse cum socio optauerat commune et quod ille desperasset, ipse sua perseuerantia esset adeptus.

⟨12⟩ Compositis Vrbinatum rebus Bellisarius Iustinum mittit in Bononienses, qui ciuitates per Emiliam in fide contineret et a Gothorum tueretur maleficiis. Ipse in Etruriam profectus est. Nam obsidendi Auximi ratio difficilis adhuc uidebatur, propterea quod oppidum quo nisi per solam inediam potiri posse desperauerat nouis collectis frugibus non parum abundabat. Interea ne ignauum tempus laberetur, urbem ueterem que sola per Etruriam in Gothorum partibus remanserat recipere cupiebat, apud quam easdem difficultates offendit quas magno studio deuitabat. A lacu Vulsino orientem uersus solem planities expanditur, non magna quidem nec adeo aequalis. Hanc fluuius cui nunc Paleae nomen incolae dicunt concitis preterlabitur undis ex Tuscie decurrens iugis nec multum progressus Tyberi se commiscens. Medio ferme campi in spatio mons fluuio adiacet, modice se attollens e cuius medio natiuus consurgit tophus tantam in altitudinem quam sagitta uel fortissimo excussa arcu assequi nequeat, precisus circumquaque et omnino inuius, adeo ut murorum nullo indigeat munimento, in summo planissimam continet aream oblongi circuli similem, cuius ambitus duo milia et quadringentos passus excedit tota excelsis Vrbeuetanorum aedificiis frequens, ad quae quatuor dumtaxat ex partibus per excisum saxum portis locus est datus, quarum singulas singule impositae defendunt turre excelsi fornices aquam e montibus, qui balneum regium spectant, tribus ferme milibus passuum ductam, habitantibus affatim subministrant. Bellisarius urbis situm contemplatus nullam expugnandi rationem admittentem, fame aut siti eam ad deditioem cogendam decreuit. Proinde castris circa montis radicem dispositis, itinera /90r/ omnia nequid ad obsessos supportetur diligenter occupat, aquaeductum intercidit, et aliis quibus potest incommodis obsessos urget. Sed incommoda ademptarum aquarum puteorum leuabat frequentia, quos iam olim effossos ciues id metuentes compleuerant, et quod epotum erat crebre pluuias restaurabant. Fonticulis quoque ea ex parte rupis quae ad fluuium spectat cui nunc arx a pontifice Nicolao imposita perstat peremnibus limphis scaturire solitus magno solatio incolis erat. Sola frumenti inopia urbem in discrimina adductura uidebatur, qua non solum urbs uetus uerum etiam relique omnes per Italiam ciuitates non mediocriter laborabant.



Preteriti quippe anni penuriam parum admodum auara leuauerat aestas cum omnibus aliis tum Vrbeuetanis, qui agrum feraciorem sortiti sunt pabuli quam frumenti.

⟨13⟩ Porro Narses cum suas uires non tales confideret quibus Vitigem aggredi auderet, et alia cuncta incepta inferiora sua dignitate duceret, imperatorio fastu per prefectos obire statuit. Proinde ut et ipse aliquid dignum moliri uideretur, Ioanni Vitaliani totas ferme copias tradit, ipse tanquam belli Italici moderator Arimini se continet. Iohannes acceptum exercitum Cesenae admouet, quae uiginti milibus passuum media inter Rauennam Ariminumque sita, forti Gothorum tenebatur manu, loco plano humilique duorum iuguum comitens extrema, quae perpetuo dorso ab ipso decurrentia Apenino uallem angustam sed peramenam quidem efficiunt. Urbis figura triangulo inaequilatere perquam similis, cuius basis siue longius latus orienti obiectum soli, septentrionalem angustum Rauennam uersus porrigit, occidentalis angulus quin nunc arcis munitur opere unius iugi uerticem contingit, ad alium ille angulus pertinet qui proximus meridionali plage accedit. Septentrionalem angulum per ea tempora utroque ex latere praeterfluens muniebat amnis, reliquam humilem quidem moenium /90v/ partem parua fossa tuebatur quae res Iohanni potiunde urbis largam spem prestiterat. Proinde numerum scalarum quam maximum militibus imperat et cratium uim ingentem, quarum alteris excussa e moeniis exciperent missilia alteris muros scanderent; quibus iuxta imperium comparatis urbem aggreditur, nullis machinis excitatis e quibus hostibus pro menibus consistere prohiberet. Quam ob rem propugnatores propugnatores liberius per muros discurrentes uniuersos scalarum conatus facile depellebant; pars quippe saxa et trabes insubiectos magno impetu deuoluebant, quibus correptos per scalas nitentes ingenti ruina moribundos obterebant pars missilia in oppugnatores eo pernitiosiora emittebat, quo ex humilioribus excussa muris certius destinatos feriebant; erat enim iam pridem per propugnacula ingens et uariis tormentorum dispositus numerus, qui omnifaria effundere tela non desinebat. Balistae ac scorpiones sagittis pluere, quaedam machinae grauiora saxa tanta torquere uiolentia ut obuia quaeque perrumperent, prosternerent, ac dissiparent. Tragularum catapultarumque hastilia multo lanceis crassiora per crates et tabulata armatos uiros non secus ac nudos misere tran(s)uerberabant, complures per tot tela ac discrimina elapsos ad summa quoque scalarum euadere cerneret, sed nequicquam quidem, quoniam ubi ad pinnas uentum erat, Gothi et firmioribus innisi uestigiis et liberiore uirium usu Graecos trepido gradu per scalas repentes ambabusque impeditos manibus quippe quarum una obiecto scuto caput tegere, altera iuuamen captare aut deturbabant praecipites, aut prensantes moenia securibus obruncabant. Cohibere non numquam tela, ut plures audacius subeuntes grauioribus afficerent malis. Quod ubi animaduertit Ioannes receptui cecinit, iratus oppidanis uineas agere turresque excitare cogitabat. At ubi Phanetiam Herulorum ducem cuius uirtute plurimum erat fretus ea in oppugnatione cecidisse multosque suorum interemptos /91r/ plures debilitatos vulneribus, uirtutem propugnatorum ueritus castra e Cesena movet atque ad Forum Cornelii contendit, quod quoniam infirmo Gothorum tenebatur praesidio. Dedentibus se civibus mox adueniens accepit hoc paruo rei successu ingentem consolatus dolorem.

⟨14⟩ Interea res Transpadanae Iustinianorum deteriore loco esse coeperant, propterea quod Vraias acceptis a Theobaldo Metensium rege auxiliariis copiis, siue ut Procopius uult ex foedere debitis, siue ut Guido narrat mercede conductis, Mediolanenses infensius uexabat. Decem milia Francorum Burgundionumque fuisse memorantur, quos Theobaldus praesidio Liguriaee imposuerat. Vraias per se ualidam Gothorum manum habebat, sed coniunctis

utrisque copiis talem exercitum nactus est, quem ad ipsas Mediolani portas admouere minime dubitaret, singula infestare itinera, commeatum interciperi, inferre nihil permittere. Quo fiebat, ut populosissima ciuitas breui ad inediam redigeretur. Nec Mundilas id mali depellere poterat, quippe qui et minores multo copias habebat, et illas quidem inter Comum, Bergomum Nouariamque necessario partitus fuerat, sola spes in Bellisario erat, qui accepto harum rerum nuntio tantum sibi copiarum retinuit, quod ad solius urbis ueteris obsidionem esset satis, reliquas non paruas quidem Martino ac Vliario in Insubres propere ducendas tradit, quibus cum Mundile coniunctis barbaros ab obsidione repellerent. Quod nimirum et factum fuisset, si uel Mediolanensium fata annuissent uel praefectis ducis animus adfuisset. Verum turpissimo deterriti metu Padum transmittere non sunt ausi, nemine transitum prohibente. Et dum nec transire, nec redire audent, inter metum ac pudorem pendentibus animis, castra secus fluuium ponunt haud longius a Mediolano unius diei spatio, Mediolanensibus Mundileque significant, se quam primum uenturos opemque in dubiam laturos. Ea spe Mediolanenses erecti cum etiam sua sponte Iustinianis partibus essent studiosissimi, difficilima quaeque magno uolentique animo perferebant. /91v/

⟨15⟩ Ceterum dum praefecti cunctantur, dum sperant Vraias relicto Mediolano aduersum se prosecturum, dum uerentur transire fluuium, dum pudet Bellisario pusilanimitatem indicare, dum ipse Bellisarius credit eos iam pridem opem tulisse obsessis, a Mundila acerbissimis interpellantur nuntiis docentibus ciues spe aduentus eorum suspensos nouissimas in necessitates adductos, extremaque omnia passos ni propere adsint manus hosti duros. Cuius rei periculo teriti coacti sunt posthabito pudore scribere Bellisario, se tanta cum paucitate Padum transmittere non audere, proinde si obsessis subuenire cuperet, Iustino Ioannique mandaret, copias quas secum Bononiensi in agro uicinas habebant secum coniungeret, et Mundile irent suppetias. Id Bellisarius confestim facit, sed Iohannes respondit, se nisi iussum a Narsete facturum nihil. Proinde Bellisarius propere Narseti scribit, quanto in periculo res Transpadanae uersentur diligentius docet, ut Ioannem cum Iustino illo mittat, rogat, obsecrat, obtestatur. Narses postulata non denegat, sed quia huius incepti ratio magis ad Bellisarii dignitatem spectare uidebatur, res negligentius ac segnus administrabatur. Interea Mediolanenses saepius spe auxiliorum frustrati et annona penitus destituti, tot tantaque passi, quae nullus homines perpeti posse sperasset, supremis tandem euicti malis, Mundile cum suis passi liberum discessum pacisci, ciuitatem dedunt, quam ingressi Gothi ruinis ac caedibus complent, ruunt ferocius insupplices manus nequicquam tendentes, nullo sexui nulli parcunt aetati, opes diripiunt incendiis primatum domos corrumpunt, uniuersam urbem populantur, foedant, uastant. Reparatum ciuem quendam Romanum nacti in frustra discerptum canibus deuorandum proiciunt. Theobaldi milites ditissima honusti praeda quidam in gallias complures in Liguriam reuertuntur. Triginta et eo amplius hominum milia eo furore consumpta a Procopio memorantur. Tam et si non desint qui credant /92r/ a medico Bellisarii in heri gratiam et in Narsetis maiorem inuidiam hanc uastationem amplius uero exaggeratam. Illud tamen omnium confessione constat, Mediolanum tam insignem Insubrum ciuitatem ob ducum simultates grauissima incommoda passam, et ad extremum tam ipsam quam ceteras per Cisalpinam Galliam ciuitates maligne amissas. Hae res Bellisarium incredibili affecerunt dolore, quae ne sua culpa accidisse putarentur, ueritus praeterea ne per easdem occasiones, quod partum erat amiteretur, ad Iustinianum uniuersam rei seriem perscribit precibus ad extremum adiectis, quibus orabat, aut se aut Narsetem reuocari quando quidem a duobus non concordibus ducibus, nullum omnino bellum recte administrare posse, ipse melius intelligat,

simultates quod ducum nulli adeo alteri quam ipsi de cuius imperio agitur obfuturas, an mallet summam belli committeret, ut et praefectus demandatum sibi negotium impensius curet, et imperator quem pro merito uel laudare uel culpae habeat, liquidi cognoscat. Indoluit supra modum hoc nuntio Iustinianus, sed animaduertere in Iohannem cum gratia Narsetis tum bene gestae apud Ariminum rei memoria temperauit. Nam ipse Narses et suum et Ioannis peccatum complurimis excusauerat rationibus, magis gratia imperatoris quam uiribus suis ualentibus. Ceterum ne similia aut grauiora rursus pati cogeret imperator, Narsetem ab Italia reuocat. Summam autem belli apud Bellisarium esse iubet. His acceptis mandatis Narses cum parte copiarum ex Arimino soluens Constantinopolim nauigat.

〈16〉 Complurimis confictis criminibus Bellisarius pernitiosius insimulaturus ni ob notas simultates non multum credulae imperatoris aures insonti fuissent patrocinatae. Igitur Bellisarius summa cum potestate relictus, accepta ob famem per deditionem urbe ueteri, de belli ratione liberius deliberat, et licet uniuersam belli molem in Vitige sitam intelligeret, qui per ea tempora Rauennae sese continebat, non tamen tutum ducebat, ad obsidendum eum procedere, duobus inimicis /92v/ oppidis post terga relictis, ambobus natura loci munitissimis, amborum potenti Gothorum manu tutis, Fesulis atque Auximo, quippe quorum alterum in Tuscis alterum in Picentibus uniuersas belli rationes facile perturbasset, ut pote per que sociis nihil tutum nihil quietum esse licuisset. Quam ob rem tertiam partem exercitus Iustino ac Cypriano tradit quos Fesulas obsidere iubet, aliam Martino ac Iohanni Vitaliani assignat, quibus mandat castra circa Padum metari, Vraiam transitu prohibere, et illis in locis quam diutius quiuissent destinerent, ne uel se Auximi, uel Iustinum Fesularum obsidionem soluere compelleret. Id si efficere nequirent, uel in Tuscos ut in Picentes tendentem pone sequerentur, uestigiisque sedulo hererent, quo sociis minorem nocendi facultatem haberet, et quocumque progrediretur hostem a fronte et a tergo esse intelligeret. Et Iustinus quidem ac Cyprianus, quod uicine erant, ad Fesulas celeriter perueniunt, quae in altissimo montis asperimoque supercilio sitae nullum ad se facilem aditum perstabant, nisi ea dumtaxat ex parte, unde se dorsum iugi demittere incipit. Vbi castra metati ductores e superiore loco obsessis quascumque ualerent molestias inferebant. Porro Ioannes ac Martinus celerius omnium opinione in Cisalpinam deuenientes Galliam, Dertonem ciuitatem ad Padi uada sitam improuidam occupant, atque ex ea Vraiam infestare non cessant. Bellisarius per Vmbriam Apeninum transgressus, reliquas copias Auximo admouet in quo tunc Vitiges tria milia lectissimorum militum collocauerat, omnique ope ac studio illud muniri curauerat, ratus id quod res erat, Bellisarium non expugnato Auximo aduersus Rauennam nunquam exercitum ducturum. Totus ferme Picenus ager frequentibus collibus est impeditus, medium campus diuidit non adeo latus sed per longus quidem, qui ex subiectis Camerino collibus unde per Apeninum in Vmbriam breuissimus est cursus, septentrione uersus ortum usque ad maceratam oppidum diffunditur hinc laeuorsum deflexus rursus in angustias coiens inter /93r/ montem Anconae et diuae uirginis templum quod haud procul ab oppido Recaneti in laureto celeberrimum colit frondosissimas subiens siluas Adriaticum in mare procurrit continuis monticulis circunquaque stipatus, quorum magis editus ea in parte campi se attollit quam propius Anconam diximus accedere, haud minus mille sub latus passibus expeditus undique, nisi ea ex parte quae ad occidentem spectat polem, unde alius perpetuo dorso mons huius de quo loquimur altitudinem medio ex spatio emulatus demittenti iugo in latus impulit, hic ubi se montes premunt boreali ex plaga peremni sed exiguo sudant fonte, qui solus intra iactum lapidis sub moeniis positus incolis tribuit potum; huius enim montis uerticem Auximana moenia cingunt, excelsa quidem,

et per ardua loci late disposita at in quibus nec consistere libere licet nedum uineas agere, aut alias machinas uel admouere uel excitare, quas ut admoueas, muri tamen nulli tormento sunt peruii propterea quod suma quoque eorum solido innituntur monti quippe cuius uertex aequae lateque diffusus muros usque ad pinnas complet, planum ad propugnacula accessum undique praebens quae solerti admodum arte disposita hostem late arcens discursus per omnia liber et quorum uis tormentorum facilis dispositio propterea quod aequum cum corona solum nec scalas desiderare facit, nec murorum ut latitudinem ut firmitatem, licet uel potentissima excutere tormenta, et absque ullo murorum periculo quantas uis intendere machinas. Hanc loci naturam Bellisarius speculatus intellexit omnis oppugnationis uanos fore conatus. Urbemque adeo praestanti naturae munere et tam solerti artis ope munitam non nisi necessitate aliqua ad deditioem compellendam, et praecipue tali lectissimorum militum manu defensam, quae aequo etiam in solo esset concertare parata. Spes praecipua famis erat, in quam Bellisarius tantam hominum multitudinem frumento exclusam breui se ad ducturum sperabat, qua de re castra per circuitum idoneis in locis disponit, quae sicut ad prohibendum com- /93v/ meatum erant opportuna, ita ad reprimendos hostiles ausus incomoda. Nam Gothi e superiore loco, quam destinassent castrorum partem ubi collibisset inuadebant, creberimusque eruptionibus obsidentes fatigabant, nequeuntibus unis tanta in castrorum distantia aliis facile ferre opem. Proinde frequentia accendebantur proellia praecipue ea ex monti parte ubi subiectus irriguus campus laeto uirebat gramine, ex quo cum utrisque pabulum esset petendum, quam saepissime decertabant, ita ut iritatis non nunquam animis, totis ferme castris utrinque concurrerent, numero Iustiniani, Gothi loci natura praestantiores, nam uirtute pares habebantur utrinque in armis exercitatissimi, utrique manu promptissimi et qui absque ullo ducis imperio et signa sequi et commutare ordines, et progredi et consistere et cetera militiae obire munera longo usu apprime callebant.

<17> Similis belli facies et apud Fesulas erat excepto quod Iustiniani castris aequiorem nacti locum non nisi uolentes in certamen descendebant, id tamen uolentibus utrisque animis frequenter contingebat. Ceterum urbe potiri nisi fame cogente prorsus desperauerant atque ideo neutram ulla oppugnandi ratione temptabant, tantum temporis desiderabatur decursus qui uoraci auiditate obsessorum consumeret annonam inediaeque importunis stimulis et famis non ferendo mortalibus cuniculo expugnaret. Nec fallebat Gothos conceptum hostium consilium sed illud elludere facultas erat nulla sola spe Vitigis ducebantur, quem creberimis nuntiis admonere non desinebant, uti tempestiua mitteret auxilia, quae si longius cessassent et oppida et milites in hostium potestatem uenturos. Qua de re sollicitus Vitiges Vraiae frequentibus literis iubet posthabitis omnibus quam primum ad se Rauennam cum exercitu uenire, decreuerat enim quam maiores posset reparare copias, opemque ferre suis. Capescit iussa Vraias conatus fallere Iustinianos, Padum infra Terdonem transmittit, sed Ioannes Martinusque praeuertunt properantem, et castris oppositis preoccupant iter. /94r/ Dumque hi Vraiam morari, ille eos uel fallere uel repelle molitur, ecce res nouae insperataeque ad Padum subito oriuntur delapsus ex Cotiis Alpibus Gallorum ingens numerus ad Tricinium improuisus peruenit, ubi simulata facile amicitia ob foedus nuper ictum flumen per pontem moeniis subiectum transire permittuntur, quem transgressi agrum e uestigio populantur, captiuos partim necant partim in seruitutem abducunt, atque ad opprimendum Vraiam ac Ioannem properant, ut sublato omni hostili metu liberiores agendarum praedarum potestatem consequantur. Vraias exercitum conspicatus socia ratus auxilia, et ad se ut superiore anno a Theobaldo missa, egressus munitionem cum suis gratulabundus occurrit, Galli ne ruptorum

foederum iniurii uiderentur, ut est improborum animus existimationis potius quam uirtutis studiosus, iritatos astu quosdam Vitigis famulos ad arma prouocant, quibus nudatis et omnes ex composito Gothos hostili animo ferire occipiunt. Numerus pugnatorum ad octoginta milia erant, ex quibus non magna equitum manus ducem stipabant, reliqua multitudo pedibus ingrediebatur, singuli galea tecti ac clipeo, accincti gladiis et securibus bipennibus destras armati, quibus maxime in proellio utebantur, quippe quod uim earum arma nulla ferre ualebant, quicquid destinassent diuidebant scuta Gothorum thoracesque ac galeas non magno conatu perfringebant. Quod animaduertens Vraias sensit perfidiae dolos cernensque se tam numero quam uiribus imparem, relictis castris fuga sibi suisque salutem quaerendam duxit non multum diuersa a castris Graecorum uia, quippe quae a suis uix septem milibus passuum posita perstabant. Quos fugientes conspicati Iustiniani principis non paruam in admirationem adducti sunt, quod nihil de Gallorum senserant aduentu, deinde rati Bellisarium occultis itineribus ad hostes improuisum penetrasse eosque profligasse, armis celeriter raptis castra egrediuntur et non sat composita acie parum progressi Francis praeter spem occurrunt, quorum et numerum et arma /94v/ ueriti, diuersi a Gothis terga dedunt et fuga saluti consulentes. Vraias Rauennam perfugit non sine suorum graui detrimento. Martinus non ac Iohannes haud multis suorum amissis qui priori occursum ceciderant, neque enim fractos fessi longius persecuti sunt, reliquas omnes copias per Placentinum Parmensemque agrum trans Apenini iugum in Tuscos perducunt. Bellisario rem omnem significant, qui maximam in sollicitudinem adductus est, metuens sociis qui Fesulas obsidebant ne barbari in Tusciam progressi, cum breue et expeditum haberent iter, eos opprimerent, Franci uno die duorum exercituum uictores binis potiti castris ampla spolia largumque nacti com meatum in eisdem constiterunt.

⟨18⟩ Erat autem dux horum Theodobaldus rex Metensium, qui ut postea compertum fuit patris Theodoberti perfidiam auaritiamque immitatus et ipsius praedae quam eius milites superiore anno e Mediolano aduexerant degustatione illectus, exciuerat hanc hominum multitudinem et ad spoliandam Cisalpinam Galliam pellexerat indignum ducens se otiosum belli Italici exhibere spectatorem ac utrisque praedas agentibus se lucri fore expertem, aut quod suae ditioni uendicare quiret, aliis praemium uictoriae permittere. Has etiam cogitationes felix ceptorum successus exultans quod duplici uictoria animus et auxit et confirmauit. Nam cum accepisset a captiuis Bellisarium non magnas habere copias, et eas quidem in obsidionibus occupatas, Vitigi uero nullum prorsus ut admodum exiguum esse exercitum, ratus se bene gerendae rei occasionem nactum, spem concepit potiundae Cisalpiniae Galliae. Verum inducendi ad hoc erant militum animi quorum maxima pars non quidem stipendiis, sed praedae spe adducta uoluntaria militabat, proinde in contionem accensitos hunc in modum fertur allocutus: *Maximam mihi uoluptatem hodiernus dies attulit, commilitationes mei, qui uobis re ipsa demonstrauit, quod ego domi constitutus uerbis tantum adumbraueram. Inuictum semper fuisse Gallorum genus tantumque non assecutum, quantum non fuerit ausum, nullas /95r/ uires nostris conferendas, ni eas per segnitiem marcescere sineremus. Quas quotiens maiores nostri per torporem corrumpi permiserunt, non modo parta miserunt, uerum etiam ipsi miserandam in seruitutem adducti sunt in qua nunc Romanis nunc Vandalis, modo Gothis modo Alanis tercentos et eo amplius annos seruiuerunt, nos quoque nunc paria aut fortasse grauiora pateremur ni uirtute atque mei Faramundi liberati et partim patris mei partim auunculorum ipsius magnis laboribus tutati fuissetis, quo nobis enixius adnitendum est ne libertatem maiorum nostrorum uirtute partam, nostra socordia amittamus.*

*Certat de regno Italiae Iustinianus cum Gothis, nos otiosi spectatores uicinos expectamus, quos sors dederit uictoriae, male nimium prudentes quam insolens esse soleat uicinia uictorum et eorum praecipue quos iam olim infensis in te animis non ignores. Gothi ubi primum respirare licebit, Liguriam Romanamque prouinciam nunquam sibi ademptas patientur. Verum ut missas faciam fractas iam ex exhaustas Gothorum uires, Iustiniani nobis potentia eo uehementius metuenda est, quod et magna esse cognoscitur et quae ad recuperandum totum occidentale imperium aspirare non cessat. Neque enim uobis sperandum est, ut Bellisarius recuperata Italia conquiescat. Prima hyeme quae nos niuibus Alpium excludet, Liguriam occupabit, atque ex ea Romana prouinciam quibus ademptis, actum fore de re nostra aequae omnes intelligitis. Edomuit per Asiam partos Vandalos Africa pepulit. Nunc Gothis Italia exactis, imperatori sarma uestram in calamitatem tendere ambigere non debetis. Occurrite magno animo tantis malis fortissimi uiri, et imminens uestris ceruicibus iugum, dum datur depellite. Scita est illa prudentia, quae alieno periculo suae saluti nouit consulere, et oblatam bene gerendae rei facultatem non amittere. Nihil minus est hominum in potestate quam tempus, sed ille prudentissimus merito censetur, qui dato uti nouit, et fortunae munera dum exhibentur amplecti. Nam semel spreta plerumque frustra /95v/ desiderari solent, et semper uelut ingrattissimus repellitur qui donum ultro oblatum contempsisse noscitur. An non hoc fortunae maximum agnoscitis munus, duo exercitus uno delesse die et singulari labore a bellicosissimis hostibus geminam palmam reportasse, tantumque ambobus incussisse terrorem, ut si uiri esse uolumus, intra paucos dies paruo conatu aeternum nobis regnum uendicabimus. Nolite tantae deesse opportunitati. Nolite de uniuersis uiribus male meriti appellari et posteris uestris sempiternam inuidisse gloriam. In uestra situm est manu, nomen uestrum immortalitati consecrare et liberos uniuersos amplissimo regno donare. Nam quid uobis questo obstat, quo minus hanc uniuersam quam cernitis Cisalpinam Galliam uniuersae ditioni subiciatis et cuius accessione intelligitis patriam uestram semper futuram incolumem, nullasque Romanorum uires nullos impetus formidaturam hoc uobis fortissimum antemurale erit, ex hoc si quando res postulabit, non modo securi uestros Lares defendetis, uerum etiam quotiens libitum fuerit cunctam Italiam uexabitis, uendicabitis, uobisque tributariam efficietis. Et si unquam, quod abominor, ulla uis tempestasue in uos ingruerit, alienas non uestras quatiet domos, et uestris integris uectigalibus hostili in solo et commodius et melius bella geretis uestris quoque posteris exercendae uirtutis latissimum campum relinquetis, quae nulla adeo re quam usu et uigere solet et splendescere. Huius non conficiendae rei me uel duce ut commilitione utamini uniuersae relinquo optioni, ego me meaque omnia uestrae amplitudini ac gloriae iam olim dicaui. Hunc orationis finem iam dudum accensorem gloria animorum laeta acclamatio subsecuta est, suam quisque operam duci pollicentes. Extemplo ipsum sibi et ducem et regem et uniuersi belli moderatione concordibus animis decernunt eiusque arbitrio cuncta disponenda permittunt, qui accepta potestate, ut omnium animos facilius in proposito retineret, per singulas ciuitatum societates praestantiores deligit uiros, quos et gratia et auctoritate apud suos populares plurimum ualere cognouerat, /96r/ cum eis omnia honoris dignitatisque munia partitur, praefecturis illustrat, consiliis dignatur gratia atque auctoritate uenerabundos facit, multis deuincit muneribus, et pluribus honerat promissis, singula solertissime instruere molirique non cessat quaecunque ad peragendum tam insigne inceptum spectare uidebantur.*

⟨19⟩ Quae perlata ad Vitigem incredibili desperatione animum uiri prostrauerunt accersitisque primorum proceribus, multis pefidiam Theobaldi pluribus fortunae questus est

iniquitatem, nunc incusare fata, nunc caelestia culpae numma quae in se suumque regnum conspirassent. Lamentari ab eis errepam sibi Romam, potentissimum repulsum exercitum, inuictas copias consumptas. Et quo minus regnum Italiae sua culpa amissum credi cupit, eo magis asseuerare pergit, se non a Bellisarii nautis, uerum a coelicolis superatum, ipsorum opprimi uolentia, ipsorum ira exagitari, hos Gothis sceptrum inuidisse Hesperiae, hos solos aduersum se arma mouisse. Interdum et ad Theodobaldum conuersis sermonibus, illum perfidum, illum appellare impium, scelus, proditorem, paricidam, grassatorem, sacrilegum, inhumanum, ferum, in eum polluta citare sacra, peierata numma imprecari, detestari fidem, promissa abominari, Gallorum damnare inconstantiam, execrari genus, parentes probris incessere, ultorem inuocare deum et diuina omnia humanaque contestari, ad extremum nudato capite flexisque genibus caelitem deprecari fauorem, quo sibi concederent de sceleratissimo hoste meritas summere poenas, hoc unum orare, hoc precari, hoc uotis omnibus expetere. Tandem consulit proceres, et quid factu optimum putarent anxius rogat. *Mihi, inquit, cordi est si ita censebitis cum Bellisario ut iniquas pacis conditiones inire sit communibus uiribus communem hostem ulciscamur, negotiumque maturandum dum urbes atque oppida in nostra sunt manu, sic enim et melioribus conditionibus cum Graecis foedus percutiemus, et aduersum hostem ualidiores erimus.* Proceres laudata regis sententia legatos ad Bellisarium mittendos /96v/ decernunt.

⟨20⟩ Per idem tempus et Bellisarius similes in cogitationes inciderat magnitudinemque periculorum ueritus decreuisse dicitur etiam inconsulto imperatore pacem cum Gothis facere. Verum paratos utrinque legatos superueniens continuit nuntius, significans rem principio nulli creditam Francos citeriore excessisse Gallia. Neque enim uero simile uidebatur, tantum talemque exercitum nullo parato insigni facinore, retro cecidisse praecipue urgente nemine. Torpentes praeterea extrema formidide animi excitari repente nequibant, ne ad resumendam salutis spem qua timoris magnitudine penitus abiecerant facile adduci. Vix tandem fides habita est, plurimis uno ore narrantibus certaue testimonia proferentibus, Gallos repente in aegritudinem incidisse, atque ideo maturasse fugam, causa morbi afferebatur ciborum malignitas. Quippe cum Franci in prouincia longa fame et diuturnis attrita belli uinum et alia necessaria inuenire non ualerent, coacti fuerant tantum bouinis carnibus uesci, et Padi fluenta potare, quibus insolitis alimentis sustentata corpora cito contabuerant. Sed siue pastu insalubri, siue inclementia aeris, siue caelesti quopiam nomine tantas Italiae calamitates miserato, siue quolibet alio casu, pars maxima copiarum graui morbo correpta dignoscitur, atque ideo eisdem quibus uenerat uestigiis in Transalpinam Galliam reuersa non sine graui Theodobaldi dolore quod se cerneret tam insperato casu et potita praeda et spe indubia maximarum rerum concepta adeo repente frustratum. Ita grandi tandem metu et non minore periculo Vitiges simul et Bellisarius liberati, ad priores belli rationes redierunt. Iordanus ducenta milia Gallorum fuisse scribit, et Vitigi auxilio uenisse tempore quo a Bellisario Rauennae obsidebatur, sed Bellisarii obsterritos uirtute non solum excessisse Italia uerum etiam petisse a Bellisario impensius pacem et obtinuisse.

⟨21⟩ Interea obsessos Fesulis et spes auxiliorum et anona defecerat, qua necessitate compulsi tutumque uolentibus cum sarcinulis discessum pacti urbem Cypriano ac /97r/ Iustino dedunt, qui imposito Fesulis idoneo praesidio reliquas copias superato Apenino ad Bellisarium in Picentes perducunt. Interceperat enim Bellisarius non nulla Vitigis litteras quibus obsessis spem certam faciebat se propediem procul dubio adfuturum, opemque indubiam leturum, res eo facilius credenda erat, quod Vraiae copias accepisse noscebatur et

amoto Francorum metu quo distineretur haberet nihil. Quam ob rem contraxerat ad se Bellisarius omnes undique copias cum Vitige si uenisset decertare paratus, potius quam adeo longum obsidionis laborem in cassum recidere permisisset. Obsessi quamuis iam annonae inopia urgeri ceperant, et saepius promissa auxilia minime cernerent, obstinatoribus in animis obsidionem quam longius ualeret perferre decernunt. Id ubi cognouit Bellisarius et aduentum Vitigis non nihil uereretur, et ipsum iam tantarum taederet morarum, statuit grauioribus adiectis necessitatibus Gothos celerius ad deditionem compellere cuius rei gratia ista molitus est. Fons erat de quo superius meminimus infra iactum teli moeniis uicinus ex ea urbis parte quae borealem spectat plagam, ex quo solo tota ciuitas aquas petebat. Et quoniam non largis manabat uenis, incolae iam olim quadrato eum cinxerant muro, quo faciliorem hauriendi facerent facultatem, ne non incidentia limphas corrumperent imposito fornice prouisum erat. Hanc Bellisarius uastare constituit, quod hac ratione adorsus est. Summo diluculo milites arma capere iubet, acceptisque cratibus ac scutis et non nullo scalarum numero urbis assimilare oppugnationem nec loca ulla ratione deserere, quoad ipse receptui signum non dedisset. Milites iussa faciunt instructisque confestim aciebus oppidum cingunt. Bellisarius lectissimam clipeatorum manum ad fontem obicit, ibi quod totius exercitus robur in praesidiis constituit. Quinque robustissimos uiros gnaros artis cum maleis ac securibus ad hoc ipsum comparatis scutis protectos fontem ingredi iubet et receptaculum quam celerime subruere ac excindere, /97v/ qui subeuntes testudinem ab incidentibus iam telis tuti, totis uiribus opus aggrediuntur. Gothi re uera ad oppugnandam urbem Iustinianos uenisse rati in propugnaculis consistunt tormenta expediunt, quae ad propugnandum necessaria uidebantur oportunis in locis disponunt atque aliquandiu frustra tentati propugnationi intenti detinentur. At ubi sentiunt dolos et conatum omnem ad effodiendum fontem fieri mox patefactis porti sin Iustinianos ruunt. Confertur acerrima pugna, illis Iustinianos a fonte submouere conantibus his locum egregie tutantibus cadebant utrinque non pauci sed Graecorum plures, quod Gothi e superiore ac procliui loco grauioribus missilibus facilius subiectos conficiebant. Ceterum aderat Bellisarius adhortator pugnatorum quemque ex nomine compelans praesens omnibus uidebantur, laborantibus succurrere, fessos leuare labore, pericula preoccupare, saucios cadentesque subtrahere et in eorum locum integros subrogare. Verum enim non cum pe<r> tinacissimam pugnam suorum cum detrimento longius procedere cernit sagittarios undique accersit et integra scutatorum phalange protectos quam in praesidiis esse iusserat, tela in instantes hostes sine cessatione excutere iubet, qui emissa sagittarum nube clipeos telis completos intra breue tempus inutiles redunt adeo ut neque se neque socios comode tegere possent, hinc complures grauius sauciantur, et tandem continuis obruti sagittis intra urbem repelluntur. Pugna sub ortu solis coepta tam ad meridiem protracta erat cum Bellisarius peractum ratus negotium euocatis fabris dat signum receptui, sed illi nihil ferme aut parum admodum profecerant, quippe quod uetusto ac perdiligenti opere adeo murus concreuerat, ut multo esset facilius uel durissimum euincere marmora. Bellisarius ne irritus et uanus prorsus tantus uideretur labor, quod extremum erat fontem cadaueribus complet ac maligno herbarum suco inficiendum curat, ex quo diuturnius aquae uitium foret lapidem cui assesto nomen dicunt in fontis receptaculum immittit /98r/ atque ita aquas prorsus pestiferas redit. Excitat deinde haud procul a suis munitionibus turrim in qua custodes tormentaue disponit quibus ad fontem descendentes uel propellerent ut territarent ne purgandi ipsius ullam haberent facultatem. Hac ratione obsessi fontis commoditate exclusi non multorum puteorum aqua et ea quidem corrupta aegre atque anxie substentabantur crescentibus in dies potus cibique difficultatibus. Cumque spem suam totiens auxiliis cernerent frustratam et ingruentibus malis



nullum esse remedium tandem ortus est deditiois sermo, missisque ad Bellisarium oratoribus petierunt ut sibi tuto Rauennam sua exportari liceret. Quibus Bellisarius respondit uictorum esse legem uictis imponere non a se eis accipere et ad se iure belli tam capitis quam substantiae eorum dispositionem pertinere cui si se sponte permiserint pollicitus est eam fortunae ipsorum rationem habiturum quaecunque non citra publicam fuisset utilitatem. Nam Bellisarius tam longum obsidionis laborem finire cuperet et cunctas morarum causas quam primum abrumpere, praecipue cum similia uero nuntiarentur. Francorum reges uicinam imperatoris potentiam ueritos Gothis auxilia decreuisse alienum tantum a rei militaris rationibus existimabat, tam lectissima uirorum manu hostium augeri uires aut concessis bonis militum animos exacerbare, qui tam tumultuari propemodum ceperant procacissimis reclamantes uocibus, se praemia suorum laborum nunquam Gothis permissuros. Incredibilis erat barbarorum pertinacia et infixum tantis inimicitiis odium euelli posse minime uidebatur. Sed omnipotens uiuendi necessitas ferarum quoque corda mansuescere solita, dum acrius desaeuire coepit, tandem obstinatissimos Gothorum animos manus Bellisario dare coegit, qui refragantibus haud parum militibus uix graui labore effecit ut medietatem bonorum Gothorum habere paterentur, quod nequaquam obtinisset nisi Gothos prius coegisset aequa conditione ceteris cum militibus in exercitu remanere.

⟨22⟩ His conditionibus et oppidum et uniuersi qui in is erant praesidio /98v/ in Bellisarii potestatem deuenere. Igitur Bellisarius haud minus fortissimorum uirorum quam oppidi accessu laetus contractis undique copiis exercitus aduersus Vitigem ducit, qui imparem se uiribus cognoscens Rauennae pere a tempora continebatur. Bellisarius admotis ad eam copiis intellexit urbem et natura et arte munitissimam, plurimaque defensorum manu potentem, nulla hostili uiolentia posse expugnari, quam ob rem omnem studium et operam ad intercludendum commeatum obsessos conuertit. Erant haud longe ultra Rauennam hostia una quibus se pars undarum Padi in mare exhonerabat, ex huius alueo per fossam late ductam rerum tam e mari quam e Cisalpina Gallia uenientum facilis in urbem patebat importatio. Huius adimendae Bellisario prima cura fuit, misso ad illius orae custodiam uno ex ductoribus suis cui Maximo nomen dicebant haud parua cum copiarum manu, hostiorum uero ac ulterioris ripae tuendae curam Vitali mandat, qui forte per idem tempus ex Dalmatia euocatus cum exercitu aduenerat. Ipse autem Bellisarius castris oportunis in locis metatis aliis ex partibus urbem obsedit, omnes comportandarum rerum aditus diligentius obseruans, quano obsessos aliis molestare rationibus facultas esset nulla. Idem pridem metuens Vitiges Vraiam in Citeriorem dimiserat Galliam, qui inde commeatum quantum maiorem quiret per Padum submitteret et per ea loca socios Graecorum uexare non cessaret. Ceterum Bellisarius Ioannem Vitaliani Vraiae opposuerat, qui eum ab inferendis iniuriis strenue prohibebat. Vada uero Padi hinc Maximus inde Vitalis summa cum diligentia custodiebat, quos eludere cupiens Vraias talia machinatus est. Comparat nauigiorum uim ingentem atque in singulis eorum tabulatis excitatis opportuna aedificat propugnacula ac pere a balistas, scorpiones diuersaque tormenta disponit, quibus hostem facile arcere possent. Vniuersa annonae militibusque complet et diligentius instructa per Padum demittit ratus et /99r/ armorum et fluminis impetu non multo conatu ad urbem penetratura, quae secundo annee celeriter defluxa ubi in conspectu Venerae hostium insolitam rem passa sunt et ante illum diem ne auditam quidem non modo uisam. Nam extemplo fluuio destituta in sicco resedere, quod coercentes Iustiniani utraque Padi sponda repente desiliunt et territos nouitate rei sine munere accipiunt, commeatum dirripiunt et capto uniuersos ad Bellisarium perducunt. Qua re raptim peracta ecce iterum Padus subito

ad pristinam rediens magnitudinem alueum complet nauigia Iustinianis reddit, quae postea magno eis usui ad prohibendos similes conatus fuere. Res prodigiosa ab omnibus eo magis credita quod nulla hominum extaret memoria quae tale quid fluuium passum meminisset. Vnde Gothi aequae ac Graeci, ut sunt mortalium superstitioni obnoxiae mentes, Iustinianis certam portendi uictoriam uulgo augurabantur eiusque rei fortunam Bellisario fauentem indicium illo dedisse portento, quo plurimum animorum Iustinianis barbaris uero desperationis accessit, praesertim cum cernerent terra nihil prorsus importari, et mare totum hostes Gothorum obtinerent. Fauebat enim Iustinianis tota Venetorum ora quae a Rauenna usque ad Liburniam secundum mare pertinebat, et maxima noua illa ciuitas quae haud procul ab hostiis Medoaci nunc Brente cognomine uocitati sita est, quae postea totius prouinciae celeberrimum Venetiarum nomen merito retinuit, quippe quod in eam Aquilegiae, Altini, Herculeae ac reliquarum illius regionis ciuitatum nobilitas, Atilae ceterorumque barbarorum saeuitiam fugiens conuenerat totiusque prouinciae diuitias comportauerat. Vnde ciuitas nobilissimis foelicissimisque cepta auspiciis centesimo et quadragesimo ante hoc bellum anno insignem excreuerat magnitudinem, opibus potentiaque florens et nauigiis supra ceteras habundans Bellisario oportunitissima praebebat obsequia. Per hunc modum Gothi terra marique prohibitis omnia /99v/ in dies arctiora fiebant.

<23> Quod intelligentes Francorum reges tempus se idoneum nactos rati quo et Iustiniani reprimerent ausus et diu quaesitis Italiae sceptris potirentur mittunt ad Vitigem oratores qui Rauennam ingressi in hunc modum mandata exposuisse memorantur: *Illustrissimi reges nostri uariis primum rumoribus certis deinde nuntiis non sine graui molestia acceperunt quanta incommoda quantaque detrimenta Romanorum imperatorum solita uiolentia uobis intulerit. Sed non adeo demirantur Iustiniani auaritiam quantum Itolorum perfidiam. Iustiniano quippe inexplebilis habendi cupiditas iure hereditario a ceteris relicta imperatoribus usu uenit et Graecorum auarissima consuetudine exaugetur in dies. Sed Italos totiens ab imperatoribus afflictas consumptaeque opes iam olim erudire nequiuisset prodigii simile esse uidetur. Suos uenerantur desertores et seruatores capitali odio persequuntur. Colunt eos a quibus Herulis, Turignis, Gepidis ceterisque feris gentibus praeda relictis sunt, et uobis qui a dirissima eos liberasti seruitute infensi aduersique incedunt. Verum ut ceteri degenerauerint Itali et illiberale sortiti ingenium maleficos potius diligunt quam beneficos Romanorum spectare licet amentiam qui cum Graecis infelices quam cum Gothis felices esse malunt et opes atque ornamenta, quae a uestris acceperunt regibus Iustiniani impendere auaritiae. Tantam ingratitude iniquitatemque aequis animis reges nostri cum diutius spectare nequirent, praesertim et suae generositatis et mutuae necessitudinis memores, decreuerunt non solum te et consortem tuam eorum neptem Amathasuentam hac indigna liberare obsidione, uerum etiam pulsas extemplo hostibus latius uouis quam amisistis restituere imperium. Quod ut facilius efficerent quinquaginta milia lectissimorum militum comparauerunt, omnes uoluntarios bellique suetos, armis uiribusque inuictos. Singulis torax ingentia tegit pectora, dextra ualidissima bipenni munita a uertice ad tallos armatum uirum findere solita, fortissimum cuiusque latus munit mucro du- /100r/ rissimum scindens calibem capita galeis protegunt nullius uiolentiam patientibus. Non desunt stricti pugiones et secures letiferae deficiunt neminem. Adsunt et equitum insignis turmae, cunctae aere ferroque intectae, nulli non catafractus est equus, corpora splendidissimo munita calibe, hastilium cuspides durissima quaeque penetrant. Solum armorum fulgorem nec oculorum aspectu Graeculi sustinere ualebunt ne dum uim illorum corporibus excipere. Atque utinam in tantam*

*prorumpant amentiam, ut quid Gallica ualeat uirtus experiri audeant. Nullo praeterea cum homine se norint congressuors, poenasque illico temeritatis daturus. Inuictum crede exercitum et tale militum robur, quo Iustiniani potentiam non Italia solum uerum tota Europa depellere ualeas et quod polliceri audemus uniuersum exagitare per orbem. Propediem immortales aderunt acies, si fortissimos uiros in partem tuae dominationis admittere uolueris, quod non tantum in praemium suae uirtutis postulant quantum ut audaciam Iustiniani compescant simul et Italorum temeritati frena imponentes perpetuum tibi confirment imperium nouandarumque per occidentem rerum nullam sinant occasionem. Haec Gallica magnificentia gloriosius iactata iacentes non nullorum mentes erexerant et praemortuam regnandi spem excitasse uidebantur.*

⟨24⟩ Ipse quoque Vitiges, quod nullam aliam cerneret salutis uiam in has quamuis iniquas conditiones descendere decreuerat, ni missa a Bellisario in tempore legatio consilia immutasset. Audiens quippe ducum sagacissimus Francorum uenisse legatos mox quod erat suspicatus legatos ad obsessos mittit, qui introducti ad Vitigem hoc modo uerba fecere: *Intellexit Bellisarius Francorum ad uos uenisse legatos auxilia pollicentes et regni Italiae partem petentes. Non admiratur consilium sed audaciam. Neque enim stulte sapiunt si regnum Italiae quod ui totiens extorquere nequiuerunt per dolum et fraudem appetere nitantur, sed quod alios id non sensuros /100v/ putant nimium suo arguant ingenio, et quia ambos nostrum saepius fefellere, putant se antecellere sapientia, sed non est idem perfidia pollere et sapientia nec callidum esse prudentem. Facile est bono imponere uiro et probitas numquam nisi ab improbitate decipitur nec fides nisi a perfidia. Non ergo se Franci putent idcirco ceteris sapientiores, quod saepe imperatorem saepius deceperint Gothos, nec quia percussorum foederum sacramentis credidimus, qui non modo homines uerum ipsos quoque caelicolas ausi sunt decipere. Idcirco et minus miramur si ab illis fallimur qui deos fallere consueuerunt. Neque aliud est, rex Vitiges, quod nunc bona cum uenia abs te Bellisarius petit, nisi fidem intelligere, quam isti promissorum pignus pollicentur. Illam nequam Iustiniano obligarunt si exercitum aduersum uos in Italiam destinaret, aut quam uos secutos primum Romana prouincia, deinde Liguria spoliarunt. Sanctiora fortasse adinuenerunt foedera, quam quibus uos credentes debitis destituerent auxiliis emptis uix iuuarunt, multisque ac maximis affecerunt damnis. Si optimum maximumque deorum fidei adducunt obsidem eundem et Alarico Visigothorum adduxerunt regi, quem postea spernentes Almarico filio Vasconiam ademerunt. Eodem Amalasuetae obligato Romanam erriperunt prouinciam. Huius elusis sacris Theodato Cisalpinam Galliam interuertere conati sunt. Huius sprete religione irritatum aduersum uos Iustinianum deseruerunt. Vobis Liguriam occuparunt et renouatis totiens nequicquam foederibus nunc Theodobertum nunc Theodobaldum sumitentes totam Tusciam Cisalpinamque Galliam incendiis ac populationibus foedauerunt. Et quia regnum Italiae totiens conati occupare nequiuerunt, cuius potiundi gratia bellum hoc inter uos imperatoremque concitarunt, nunc quod ui extorquere nequeunt, dolis intercipere conantur. Vbi uires non procedunt, ad consueta perfidiae praesidia redeunt, iactura fidei quaerere soliti, deos sacraque /101r/ omnia posthabent utilitati quorum quia non dum manifestam senserunt iram quamuis et Theodati immatura morte et auspiciis exercitus repentina lue moniti, licitando sacramenta ludibrio habent religionem usurariam faciunt. Haec prophanata sacra et polluta periurataque milies numma, si uobis promissorum obsides attulerunt, quantum illis totiens decepti freti esse debeatis, admonere superuacaneum putat Bellisarius. Illud tamen unum te hortari uoluit, ut imperatoris potius experiaris beniuolentiam cuius et amicitiam*

*honestiorem et promissa nosti firmiora. Id si facere uolueris pollicetur Bellisarius se apud Iustinianum curarturum ut aequis conditionibus foedus uobiscum feriat, et dum legati reuertuntur quietas indutias acturum.*

⟨25⟩ Consultatione super his diligenti habita, uisum est et proceribus et Vitigi Francos si in Italiam descendissent, uictores proculdubio futuros, ceterum societatem regni homines in fido natos ingenio minime seruatuos, certamque pestem ac exitium Gothorum tandem generi allatuos. Proinde potiore decernunt a Bellisario oblatam conditionem. Francorum autem legatos infectis dimittunt negotiis, suos Constantinopolim ad Iustinianum nauigare iubet, utrisque ab alterius iniuria interea quiescentibus. Dum expectantur legati omnia Vitigis orea per unam noctem igne absumpta sunt, siue casu siue hominum studio incertum. Alii enim icta fulmine pulsare, alii a factiosis iniectum igne, multi Bellisarii opera factum, apud non nullos et ipsa regina suspicionis expers non erat, quod inuito copulata connubio alieno erga uirum animo esse suspicabatur. Auctor certus inuentus est nullus siue ille caelestis fuerit siue humanus ex utrolibet tamen Gothi plurimum animi contrahebant angorem, cum et in caelesti deos agnoscerent aduersantes et inumano fidem omnium suspectam haberent. Enimvero grauior erat imminens annonae defectus quem se nulla ratione euasuros cernebat, propterea quod ex nuper pactis indutiarum conditionibus, inuito Bellisario importari in urbem licebat / **101v**/ nihil et Bellisarius inferendi nullam faceret potestatem, immo uero cuncta ideo itinera diligentius obseruaret, asserens hac ratione Gothos ad aequiores pacis condiciones descensuros. Ea res obsessis complurimas difficultates afferre coepit, ita ut non pauci Gothorum iam penitus de regno desperantes ad prospiciendum suis rebus maturius compellerentur. Inter quos primus Sisigis fuit, unus ex primis Gothorum proceribus. Hic non nulla habebat castella ex illis quae Theodoricus per Alpes Italiam ab ulteriore Gallia disterrimantes locis opportunis aedificari curauerat, ea se dediturum Bellisario significauit. Quod lubens audiens Bellisarius propere Iohanni Vitaliani scribit qui cum Martino per citeriorem Galliam castra faciebat, ut missis ad Sisigem militibus castella suam in potestatem acciperet et alia circum uicina ad defectionem sollicitaret. Iohannes impigre iussa facit et Sisigis promissis manens uolens milites admittit, eius exemplum complures secuti, quod et grauis uir et magne haberetur auctoritatis sua quoque castella Iohanni dedunt.

⟨26⟩ Quod audiens Vraias qui per hoc ipsum tempus a Vitige monitus exercitum apud Ticinium cogebat opem regi laturus, copias quarum iam numerus quattuor milium erat, uersus Alpes ducit, cupiens castella quae defecerant ad officium cogere et alia in fide continere. Admodum enim periculosum uidebatur, nouis his non occurrere rebus, quibus neglectis multae per prouinciam ciuitates in fide non mansissent. Praeterea milites ipsi quorum maxima pars ex Alpibus euocata erat, metuentes liberis ac uxoribus in castellis existentibus, quae pertemptari ab hostibus acceperant, non compositis rebus suis et in tuto constitutis Vraias coactus est exercitum in Alpes ducere. Quod sentiens Iohannes ipse quoque cum Martino eodem contendit opem laturus suis. Alpes ingressus destitutaque praesidiis nactus oppida, complura ex itinere capit, in quibus magnus coniugum filiorumque numerus fuit eorum qui cum /**102r**/ Vraia militabant. Hi cognita suorum captiuitate Vraiam deserentes ad Iohannem transfugiunt cupientes liberare suos. Vraias ab his destitutus et aliis in diuersa dilabentibus compulsus est infectis rebus Ticinium redire et cogendi praeterea exercitus ferendaeue obsessis opis spem omnem deponere. Igitur cum omnia apud Gothos plena essent desperationis et Bellisarius quae cum Vitige de pace agi coeperat infecta optaret quod partam in manibus cerneret uictoriam. Oratores a Vitige missi Constantinopoli reuertuntur et cum eis

duo senatores, quorum uni Dominico alteri Maximo nomen erat, ab imperatore ad Bellisarium et Vitigem legati super his quae a Gothis petebantur. Decretum Iustiniani attulerant, cuius haec summa erat: Vitiges cunctis Cispadanum dimissis Transpadana retineat, regalium medietatem uectigalium quae Transpadanae ciuitates pendere consueuerunt imperatoris quaestoribus quotannis persoluat, reliquam sibi retineat Gothi qui Cispadanum incolunt aequo cum Italis iure Romano imperio subiecti sunt. Hoc decretum legati cum Bellisario ostendissent admodum indoluit, complurimisque eos hortatus est difficiliores Gothis condiciones facerent, modisque omnibus agerent, spe pacis eos frustrare. Tempus fuisse quo ipse deteriora metuens haec eadem et optauerit et procurauerit, nunc mutatam esse status conditionem rem hostium adeo inclinatum ut restitui non possit, ad magnum imperii exitium Gothorum in Italiam uel exiguum principatum, euersionem autem tyrannidis eorum et breuem futuram et facilem quae rebus imperatoris perpetuam est partura pacem. His atque aliis huiusmodi compluribus legati nequicquam moniti uerbis quidem polliciti sunt se morem illi gesturos cum longe aliter essent animati. Neque enim ex sua dignitate uidebatur eas res perturbare quarum componendarum gratia ipsi uenissent. Imperatoris quoque mandata si secus fecissent se praeuaricatos arbitrabantur. Praeterea a Narsete cuius partes misere fouebant diligentius /102v/ hortati immuturi Bellisarii gloriam uenerant potius quam exacturi.

⟨27⟩ Itaque ingressi Rauennam mandata imperatoris Vitigi exponunt quae ad proceres relata cupidissime ab omnibus suscepta sunt atque eo lubentioribus comprobata animis, quod in summam rerum desperatione constitutis non permissa modo quae ab imperatore concedebantur, sed prorsus uidebantur donata ac talia quidem quae recuperandae aliquando Italiae spem non paruam sustentarent. Itaque renuntiant Bellisario decretum sibi imperatoris placere, neque aliud ea in re quam subscriptionem ipsius desiderare qua habita se ubi iussisset paratos esse, et Rauenna et reliquis Cispadanis urbibus ac oppidis excedere. Bellisarius cernens se a legatis deceptum quamlibet multis suos excusantibus dolos respondet non debere a se exigi quod salua imperatoris dignitate fieri non posset, decreta imperatoris suo non indigere munimine. Maior sit oportet, qui alterius stabiliat leges, inferioris non esse superiori quicquam praescribere, se consueuisse sanctiones ab imperatore accipere atque illis suas non opponere. Haec Gothi argutius quam sincerius dicta existimantes se dolosis proculdubio pacis conditionibus circumueniri arbitrati sunt. Vnde in magnas adducti suspitiones legatis respondent se nisi roboratis a Bellisario pacis conditionibus minime acquieturos, quod cum legati a Bellisario obtinere nequirent et ipsi et non nulli eorum qui ordines in exercitu ducebant maxime autem Iohannes Vitaliani qui audito legatorum aduentu citus eo aduolauerat, conflare illi inuidiam coeperunt, incusare facta, fidem criminari, damnare contumaciam, quod decretis non pareret imperatoris, quod iussa paruifaceret, quod bellum longius traheret, quod diutius esset cum imperio. Haec non sincerae mentis esse inditia, uerum iniquae penitus et ab imperatoris dignitate abhorrenti noua quaedam molientis parantisque. Hae uoces paulatim per ora serpentes apud plerosque affectari Bellisarium imperii fecere suspectum, quibus tamen milites quod Bellisarium diligenter minime mouebantur, paucis /103r/ Graecorum dumtaxat exceptis qui longa percesi militia missionem cupiebant, cetera multitudo fauere potius ceptis Bellisarii uidebatur praesertim Gothorum manus omnis quae in castris Iustiniani militabant, ducis beneficiis eiusque singulari comitate deuicta. Ex his et ad obsessos suspicionis huius fama penetrauit quae eo facilius est credita quod a studiosis partium imperatoris manare noscebatur. Hinc proceres Gothorum Iustiniano ob auaritiam

infensi et Bellisario ob admirationem uirtutis fauentes clam Vitige ad eum mittunt impensius hortantes mallet sibi potius quam alteri occidentale parare imperium qua in re pollicentur se adiutores futuros, Gothos uniuersos sponte parituros operamque mnam nauaturos. Vitiges quoque ipse ista sentiens suam et ipse in eo operam ultro sponndit, addens se ubicumque iussisset purpuram ad eius pedes depositurum et cum eo quacumque libuisset conditione militaturum. Laetus uero his nuntiis Bellisarius non quod imperii scepra usurpare cuperet, sed quod eum Gothorum uoluntatem si prudenter tractaretur magno usui ad rem conficiendam fore intelligeret, quam ob rem agit gratias tam Vitigi quam proceribus breuique respondit se illis super ea re mentem suam aperiturum, interea factum silentio tegerent. Erant adhuc in exercitu legati Iustiniani et ductorum non nulli quorum praesentia quod suis ceptis ob futuram uereretur, ab legando per honestas occasiones statuit. Itaque accersitis ad se legatis inquit non debere eos admirari si postulata subscriptionem decretis imperialibus apponere noluisset, quoniam nec ex dignitate illud imperatoris futurum erat nec ex rei publicae utilitate, et quamuis se apud exercitum laesae maiestatis fecissent reum, se tamen illud floccifacere ac contemnere, quoniam et praeterita sua et futura erga imperatorem merita talia fore non ambigebat, quae omnium obtrectatorum obstruerent ora delatoribusque nullum relinquerent locum. Itaque ni aliud uero belli conficiendi curam relinquerent, quod se prope diem magna cum imperatoris /103v/ et graui inuidorum suorum cum dolore affecturum non dubitabat. Ita dimissi legati in Graeciam nauigauere.

⟨28⟩ Restabat Iohannes Vitaliani et Aratus et Bessas, clari omnes uiri magnaue apud exercitum auctoritatis et Bellisario ob ueteres Narsetis simultates non nihil infensi. Causatus ergo necessariorum inopiam per quam tantae simul copiae commode ali nequirent Bessam suis cum militibus Ariminum mittit, Aratum in Bononiensem agrum, Iohannem uero Vitaliani ad Martium in citeriorem Galliam properare iubet ne qua per absentiam ipsius nouandarum rerum Vraiae praeberetur occasio. His ita opportune ab legatis accersitos reliquos ordinum ductores hunc in modum fertur allocutus: *Ego – inquit – o socii, crimina quibus me inimici mei insimulant purganda apud uos non putauit, qui sicut omnium laborum meorum socii ita consiliorum semper fuistis participes. Vnde lamentari libet potiusquam purgari. Quamuis enim aequo ferre queat animo iniquissimam hanc mortalium consuetudinem quae non minus in uirtutibus quam in uitiiis semper quod culpet inuenit. Vt ambigas quid tibi primum expediat cum laudem quaerendo, uitia deuites et uirtuti inseruire non sufficiat utrumlibet elligas in neutro criminatione effugies. Et haec quidem uiro bono haud magnificienda essent, si uel plures uel saltem pares laudatores uirtus inueniret ut uitium. Sed contra hominibus usu uenit ut uix milesimus sit probitatis laudator, reliqui mnes gestiunt aut detractari, aut audire detractores praestantes quo praestantiores habeantur, obscuro ut claros uiros peccatorum socios habere uideantur, errata exagitant, delicta appellant scelera, uirtutes aut deterent, aut in uitia uertunt. Illud omnes stultissime reputantes ut quantum alienae deperiisset gloriae tantum accessisset suae. Hinc licet maledicere omnibus, ne dicere paucis, cum illi et plures et studiosores inueniant auditores. Hi et raros et male audientes, et illis quidem uel falsis facile adhibetur fies, his quamlibet ueris credunt pacui. Te autem tuas praedicare uirtutes, nec tua / 104r/ patitur modestia, nec aliorum parua credulitas, praesertim cum tale quid sine iactantiae suspitione et grauioris inuidie periculo, audere nequeas. Verum ut secure liceat tu solus tot ubique obtrahentibus occurrere minime ualeas. Ita ornatissimus moribus inuidorum diligentia ferme apud omnes culpandus inueniris, et apud quos commendatus esse speraueras efficiaris reus. Sed contemnenda sunt sapienti dicet quispiam uulgi iudicia, qui suo ipsius*

*testimonio contentus uiuere debet, propterea quod uirtus amplissimum theatrum habet conscientiam, eiusque solius gaudet plausu. Non refragarer his mihi cum philosophis uiuendum esset, quamuis apud eos haec fortius dicantur quam fiant cum et ipsi laborum suorum fructu se fraudari iniquiore ferant animo et laudem quam praemium uirtutis multi non insulse putauerunt, etiam ex ipsorum laudum contemptum auidius uenentur. Ceterum haud mihi cum otiosis philosophis res est, uerum cum illis hominibus apud quos aequae suspitio criminis ut ipsum crimen necem parare consuevit, quae mihi ab Iustiniano eo uehementius metuenda est, quod eam die ac nocte procurare non cessant qui apud ipsum et gratia et auctoritate plurimum ualent. Hi me nunc tali in articulo fortunae meae deprehenderunt, ut quid elligam ignorem cum utralibet optio uacare criminatione nequeat. Et enim siue Gothos Italia exigere pergam siue iuxta decretum Transpadana permittam latam in utroque inimicis meis accusationis praestauero materiam non sine graui aut capitis aut fortunarum mearum periculo. Si decreto paruero repetundarum me accusabunt quod pecuniis corruptus Vitigem ac proceres e manibus dimiserim quod Cisalpina restituerim castella, quod Gothorum fouerim potentiam. Neque enim me fugit homines dominari solitos, minime quieturos atque ubi primum licuerit ad ingenium redituros. Primas turbationes in meum caput concitabunt, ego malorum omnium reus citabor, ego primus accusabor, cur non eruerim perpetuum Romani stimulum imperii, cur assiduam rei publicae pestem non extinxerim, cur execrandum Romano nomini non deleuerim /104v/ genus. Frustra decreto praestitam allegauero reuerentiam, frustra importunitatem in patrocinium assumpsero. Dicent et recte dicent decretum meo consilio non imperatoris fuisse perscriptum atque illud non nisi ex publica utilitate exsequendum eiusque rei me qui praesens eram ac in cuius manu cuncta manebant, et moderatorem et extimatorem praestare debuisse. Gothis nisi ob Gallorum metum imperatorem nihil fuisse concessurum, quo sublato quicquid illis concesserim detrimento concessisse imperii malo dolo improbaque fide. Et fortasse confictam Gallorum calumniabunt suspitione atque alia addent, quaecumque sollicita poterit excogitare calliditas, quae si euitare uoluero Gothos ad internitionem persequamur necesse est. In quo quantum et nobis difficultatis et emulis meis prompte ad calumniandum materiae supersit difficile est dictu. Quamuis enim me hostibus Rauennam adempturum non dubitem. Sed supersunt Venetorum omnes Mediterranae ciuitates, item Cenomanum Insubrumque firmis Gothorum munitae praesidiis, tot praeterea per circuitum castella atque oppida quibus refert sunt Alpes tam illae quae a septentrione Noricum ab Italia diuidunt quam quae ab occidente atque coro disterminant Alemanos, quibus expugnandis uereor ut longa sufficiat aetas. Interea haud cessabunt aemuli mei patulas imperatoris exasperare aures, animum credulum multis suspicionibus exulcerare, me affectati insimulabant imperii, in argumentum neglecta adducent decreta, posthabitam legatorum auctoritatem. Ad haec multa allegabunt falsa, testes adducent, confringent litteras, singula comminiscentur, quae uergentem sua sponte in suspensionem animum, certam in fidem adducant. Ex his omnibus difficultatibus unam solam euadendi dispexi semitam, si intra breue tempus quando per suspensionem imperatoris longiore morari non licet aliquid uotis ipsius maius assequi ualebimus. Quod nimirum si uobis est uolentibus me propediem expediturum confido ingenti tum nostra laude inuidorum nostrorum singulari maeror.*

⟨29⟩ Illi cum /105r/ uariae primo fuissent affecti quod suspensi diutius animo expectarent quorsum tandem illa tenderent tam longo circumducta semone, ubi huc euasisse intellexerunt. Laeti uero respondent per se nihil illi morarum fore ad cuncta quae duxerit peragenda quin et

hortari coeperunt, magno aggredereetur animo quicquid corde destinasset, nec ulla in re suam ipsi operam ambigeret defuturam. Bellisarius collaudatis ductorum studiis intentos cum innuisset capessendi negotii esse iubet, nihil tamen adhuc eis aperit quid nam esset acturus. Sed Vitigi proceribusque nuntiat ubi uoluissent se ad satisfaciendum ipsorum postulationibus praesto futurum. Gothi quia uoluntatem eorum iam necessariorum premebat penuria minime cunctati legatos cum publica auctoritate ad Bellisarium mittunt, qui tam de susceptione regni quam de ceteris quae postulabantur iusiurandum acciperent, atque ita ipsum cum uniuerso exercitu Rauennam inducerent. Postulabant autem primum uniuersas acceptas iniurias tam priuatim quam publice singulis condonari, regnum legitima administratione gubernari, leges et instituta Gothorum seruari, tueri singulos suis in possessionibus, praediis, castellis ac oppidis, nisi quem futura demerita indignum fecissent. In usitatis non uexari exactionibus et consuetorum tributorum medietatem in quinquennium relapsari, Vitigi pro dignitate uiri congruos honores atque stipendia militare uolenti, complura praeterea similia tam ad ipsum Vitigem quam ad proceres spectantia, quae singula Bellisarius secreto cum legatis transigens, clam suos rite seruanda iurauit. De assumptione autem regni ingressus Rauennam coram Vitige ac proceribus se palam iuraturum respondit. Legati cum cetera rite iurasset nihil minus suspicati quam ne oblatam acciperet dominationem, suis renuntiant se ex sententia rem omnem cum Bellisario confecisse.

⟨30⟩ Itaque die ad peragendum negotium constituta Bellisarius maximam uim annonae nauigiis undique conuehi curat, uictus copia fame laborantes leuaturus, ornatissime deinde / **105v**/ instructo exercitu uersus urbem procedit. In prima cuius fronte Vitalis erat, quem duo milia fortissimorum equitum sequebantur tria uero milia Dalmatarum lectissimae iuuentutis praecedebant, quorum mille et quadringenti erant sagittarii singulum quemque proprius praebat clipeatus lato Norico ense praecinctus quo et propugnaculo et socio in praelio tuebantur, breuioribus galeis cunctorum splendebant capita, corpora ipsa aut lorica aut torace muniebantur. Vniuersi ubello exerciti et longo militiae labore ardua membra durati intrepida pectora firmosque animos aduersum omnem hostilem occursum comparauerant. Horum uirtuti quoniam Bellisarius plurimum fidebat, iusserat Vitali portas ac proximas turres suam in potestatem accipere nec ab earum custodia usque abscedere. Secundo loco Iustinum Illyrici limitis ducem tercentum ducentem equites mille et quingenti popularium suorum anteibant, uirium magis robore quam armorum decore in structi et qui certius funda atque arcu destinata ferirent. His cura portarum quae ad Padum ducunt demandata erat. Inde Narsetem Persam quingenti equites et mille ac quadringenti pedites sequebantur, partim Graeco partim Persico et genere et ornatu. His statio in portis quae ad mare spectant designata erat. Post hos Isandrus et Phanotheus duo milia Herulorum ducebant, incultum quidem agmen sed uirtute ac scientia rei militaris admodum praestans. Hinc Maximus Alexander ac Zeno mille et tercentos equites tres in magas turmas pulcherrime distinxerant. Quartam Constantini de quo Romae sumptum supplicium docuimus. Ildiger unus ex domesticis Bellisarii longe omnium ornatissimam maximamque ducebat. Hi omnes quattuor in platea quae regiis adiacebat aedibus consistere fuerant moniti. Paulo uero ac Cononi qui hos cum tribus milibus Graecorum peditum sequebatur tuendi palatii studium datum erat. Proximi erant Vraias ac Vacinius cum quinque milibus Gothorum partim uoluntariorum partim eorum qui /**106r**/ in acceptis urbibus ad deditionem compulsi fuerant. Viri maiori in admiratione habiti propter seruatum Bellisario fidem quam propter inuictam illam constaniam qua tam pertinaciter credita sibi oppida ad ultimam usque necessitatem tutati fuerant. Horum uestigia legebat Valerianus et Martinus



quos mille et sexingenti Hunorum strenuissimi equites sequebantur. Tum Traianus quingentos equites ornatissimos ducebat. Totidem Diogenes Macedonicus armis decentissime instructos. Deinde Maximus octingentos antecedebat pedites uiribus armisque conspicuos et Bellisarii insignibus decoros ad cuius corporis custodiam deputati erant. Horum in postremis ipse Bellisarius inter Gothorum legatos insigni illo Valla equo dedita ut creditur opera gradiebatur, quo Gothi ex eodem triumphantem conspicerent, ex quo apud Romana moenia fortissime pugnantem uidissent, et in quo sedentem hostes telis appetissent salutationibus uicti uenerarentur. Crispantes capillos graminea praebebat corona, caecam toracem Virens sericum contigebat late fulgens aureus torquens humeros ambiebat Thracium ensem latus ex auro Baltheus suspendarat. Sura aereis fulgebat ocreis et lacertos ac brachia decentia arma exornabant, frontis serenitatem moderata oculorum honestabant grauitas et uultus gratiam modice subridentia exaugebant ora. Nec fallere deerant Vallae regali cultae luxu et Persica arte complurimis aureis annulis gemmisque redimitae quarum uultu sentiret gloriam tripudianti similis gestiebat, superba ceruice erectisque auriculis lupata mandens frena, ore candentes spumas magnos naribus animos spirabat ac per momenta utrumque commutans latus, summis uix unguibus puluerem contingere uidebatur. Huius latera comitum domesticorum Bellisarii densus stipabat globus equis armisque spectatus quem paruo interuallo. Innocentius ac Valentinus cum duobus milibus equitum sequebantur. Post quos Fruthis recentos, Damianus uero quadringentos Thraces equites ductabant. Magnos septingentos Thes- /106v/ salos ac Aetholos. Artauades Armenus octingentos Asianos, Cyprianus quingentos Peloponesiacos. Hinc Herodianus cum mille et ducentis peditibus et Marcus cum quingentis Campanis quos Procopiu Neapoli conscripserat impedimenta committabantur. Quorum extremum agmen Mundilas cum mille equitibus claustrat.

⟨31⟩ Hunc in modum instructis omnibus copiis portis urbis propinquabat, quibus iam pridem patefactis uniuersa se populi multitudo festa cum fronde obuiam effuderat laetis uocibus felicissima quaeque Bellisario acclamans. Hanc longius sacerdotum sequebatur ordo ministerio Leuitarum complurimis cereis facibus late respondens et pro uarietate sectarum distinctus ornatu quorum sua quisque signa sequebatur, multus numerus sacra ueste redimitus erat et pretiosa quidem praecipuoque pietatis studio a miioribus diuino cultui dicata, quorum singuli sanctorum praeferebant reliquias auro argentoque inclusas et uariis exornatas gemmis plurimo cum thuris uapore. Vniuersos diuina concinentes carmina, Choraules Tubicinesque antecedeabant mirificam harmoniae suauitatem resonantes. Summus uero sacerdos hoc clauserat agmen ueste multo auro rigente et pontificali infula margaritis lapillisque pretiosius micanti insignis, nec minus aut pretiosus aut conspicuus erat ministrorum ornatus sceptris pontificia exquisitissima arte ex auro celatoque elaborata argento, et cetera principatus sacerdotalis insignia deferentium, quibus cum pontifex sub tentorio incedebat, quod auro textum octo Gothorum proceres nudatis capitibus octo argenteis hastilibus religiose deferebant. Pone Vitiges regio cum ornatu multis comitatus proceribus pedibus ingrediebatur. Hos reliqua Gothorum sequebatur multitudo inermis quidem ac palliata, frondibus oliuarum pacem uel deprecans uel significans. Hoc ordine egressi urbe Gothi, Iustinianis libera ingrediendi est data potestas et munitissima quaeque moenium sponte tradita, ceteraque omnia ipsorum permissa arbitrio. Bellisario ubi in conspectu /107r/ habuit pontificem equo desiliens salutis signum in quo dominicae crucis non paruam inclusam portionem pontifex deferebat supplex est ueneratus. Deinde conuersus ad Viigem dum ipsum amplecti properat: *Patere me – inquit – ille, ducum praestantissime prius illud tibi persoluere quod et inclita tua uirtus et*

*mea me admonet fortuna uix haec reddiderat et coronam simul purpuramque exutus ad pedes ipsius deposuit, dicens magis te haec decent ornamenta postquam me caelicolae seruire maluerunt. Sed amissae dignitatis nullus dolor erit si scepra Gothorum felicius regi tua dextra diuina annuerint numina, quod ut faxint uotis omnibus et precor et opto.*

⟨32⟩ Bellisarius benigne attollens supplicem sua clamide quam afferri iusserat amittum amicis est uocibus consolatus, promittens atque affirmans se ita curaturum ac omnino effecturum ut ipsum mutatae fortunae peniteret, nec dubitaret hunc diem Gothis felicem faustumque illuxisse. His dictis rediit in equum quem dextra Vitiges leua Vraias sub tentorio inductum pedibus ingressi, perquam honorificentissime deducebant magna et militum et Gothorum laetitia. Illi plena exultantes uictoria, hi restitut regni opinione, dum se mutasse regem haud amisisse sperant. Proinde non quasi uicti dominum, sed tamquam familiares fortunatissimum regem laetis animis suscipiebant. Portae ciuitatis sertis coronisque et multa fronde exornatae similiter et tota uia, quae ab illis ad palatium pertinebat floribus fragrantibusque strata herbis iocundum incedentibus spirabat odorem. Postes ac parietes praeter quas transiturus erat Bellisarius ciues pro sua quisque uirili exornauerat et quicquid praetereuntium in se oculos conuertere posset studio suis exposuerant. Non modo plateae atque fenestrae aut gradus uerum etiam tota aedium imminetia tecta mulieribus pueris atque puellis referta erant, singulo quoque certantibus studiis nouum dominum uel salutare uel uidere aente. Mirificum omnibus spectaculum erat et uarium humanae felicitatis exemplar. Vulgus rei /107v/ nouitate gaudebat. Iustiniani ducis admirabatur fortunam. Gothi heroicam in Bellisario uirtutem et tot rerum gestarum memoriam taciti secum uenerabantur, quarum reputatio proceribus et qui consiliorum fuerant participes eo erat gratior, quod eius praestantiam Gothorum generi incrementa allaturam minime dubitarent. Enim uero qui sublimiore mente erant praedici inauditum sibi fortunae ludum spectare uidebantur et an haec serio uel per insomnium gererentur uix secum constituere ualebant. Cum cernerent illum exigua admodum manu plane uictum in triumphum duci, qui paulo ante innumerabilis rex exercitus triumphatorem suum grauissima obsidione Romae inclusum per annum et eo amplius omnifariis necessitatibus fatigauerat ac extreme in discrimina adduxerat. Augebat et illud admirationis rationem quod Bellisarius in urbe amplissima parua artis nulla uero naturae ope munita cum quinque milibus pugnatoribus centum et quinquaginta milium obsidione pertulerit, et Vitiges cum sexdecim et eo amplius milibus munitissima in urbe uix triginta milium perferre nequieuerit. Quo ex facto manifestum apparuit quantum intersit rem consilio, aut ipso naturae impetu administrari et uel maximas uires prudenti rationem tandem attenuari. Huius praesidio Bellisarius tam exigua manu ducentis milibus hostium pugnacissimorum Italiam eripuit et triumphanti similis Rauennam est inuictus ac usque ad Hilautum palatium quod Theodoricus Gothorum regibus incredibili sumptu magnificentissime exornauerat maxima cum gloria perductus est.

⟨33⟩ Quod cum reliquis innotuisset Gothis, qui per Venetos, Aemiliam et per uniuersam Cisalpinam Galliam habitabant, singuli aut per se aut per oratores Bellisarium adeuntes ultro sese eius potestati permisere. Vnde factum est ut non minor Rauennae Gothorum esset numerus quam Iustinianorum. Id ubi animaduertit Bellisarius barbarorum infidum ueritus ingenium ne oblata occasione in aliquod facinus concitaretur per speciem benignitatis per praecones pro /108r/ clamare iubet. Vniuersis Gothis Cispadum incolentibus liberam militiae missionem, qui longo defessi labore quietis potius quam liberatis memores datam ueniam lubentibus accipiunt animis et absque mora ad suas domos digrediuntur. Ita Bellisarius non

contemnendo periculo liberatus superiorem et sine controuersia dominantem exercitum intra Rauennae moeniae continuit. Interea Vitiges et reliqui Gothorum proceres assidua in expectatione erant quando Bellisarius regem se Italiae declararet. Ceterum ubi uident expectationem suam longius procedere quam uel sua desideria uel rerum rationes paterentur, primum in admirationem, et mox in ipsam suspitionem adducti sunt, quam festina Bellisarii reuocatio non nihil adauxit, accusauerant quippe per litteras apud imperatorem affectati imperii legati Bellisarium. Id ipsum et multorum rumor ad ipsius aures detulerat, quam ob rem Iustianus confestim ab Italia reuocandum statuerat, ut si mandatis parentem uideret animum tam grauibus curis quam primum exhoneraret, sin contumacem agnosceret tempestiuum remedium priusquam regnum confirmasset adhibere ualeret. Haec reuocatio cum et ipsis innotuisset Gothis et non nullorum animos maximo metu perculissent, complures tamen animum nulla ratione inducere ualebant, ut crederent Bellisarium adeptam plane Hesperiae dominationem depositurum. At non eadem mens Bellisario erat tametsi regni cupidine non nihil moueretur datam cum Iustiniano fidem in concussam seruare decreuerat, multis siquidem sacramentis discedentem imperator obstrinxerat, ne se uiuente uel imperator uel rex uel alicuius ab se non datae dominationis princeps aut haberi aut appellari pateretur, quae temerare cum inter nefaria duceret, classem instruere coepit seque ad proficisciendum comparare. Id ubi animaduertent proceres, quamuis se circumuentos et plane deceptos cernerent, quid tamen agerent non habebant, cum ne querelis quidem tutum locum uiderent uictore omnia /108v/ obtinente.

⟨34⟩ Haec ubi ad Transpadanos Gothos perlata sunt commoti uehementius animis Ticinium frequentes conueniunt, ubi multa de Bellisarii fraude quest, plurima degentis suae calamitate communi consilio decernunt nouum constituendum regem, qui rebus salutique Gothorum salubrius prospiciat. Siquidem adempto Vitige et Bellisario Italia decedente non ambigere fortunae futuram mutationem, quippe quae duobus principibus numquam eadem esse consuevit sed mutatione eorum ipsam quoque solitam immutari. Rese deteriore in locum cadere non posse cum nihil iam grauius morte sibi queat accidere, at qui illam multo esse honestiorem multoque amplius expetendam quam Iustiniani auarissimam seruitutem: *Quae – inquit – nobis quossibus infensissimos nouit non nisi durissima immitissimaque expectanda est quam nos si alia ratione nequibimus nimirum ut fortes decet uiros uel ipsa morte effugiemus. Vtique memoriam nostram aeternitati consecrabimus, qui honestam mortem turpi uitae praeposuerimus.* His atque aliis huiusmodi sermonibus mutuo se cohortati idoneum aliquem ducem huius tam memorandi facinoris inter se requirebant. Votis omnium unus Vraias petebatur quippe qui et generis nobilitate et potentia et auctoritate et rerum bellicarum experientia ceteros antecellere uidebatur. Sed ipse delatum honorem constantissime abnuuit, asserens atque affirmans se uiuo Vitige cui ex fratre erat progenitus et ab eo loco filii educatus multisque affectus honoribus nequaquam passurum regem Gothorum appellari suam nihilo minus operam uiresque omnes pro communi salute se expositurum repromisit et pro exaugenda Gothorum dignitate nulla pericula reformidaturum.

⟨35⟩ Proceres modestissima hac excusatione accepta cum uehementius desiderarent concepti negotii moderatorem, auctore Vraia, Ildouadus est designatus non sat felici suo sed auctoris pessimo omine. Erat hic Veronae dominus praecipue inter Gothos et potentiae et auctoritatis. Hunc ad se /109r/ Ticinum euocatum regem constituunt purpuramque et communis Gothorum salutis curam assumere iubent. Hic ut primum est rex appellatus legatos ad Bellisarium mittit qui publice eum adeuntes hunc in morem audiente omni multitudine

mandata exposuisse dicuntur: *Non dubitamus ad tuas aures peruenisse, Belisarii, Gothos Ildouadum sibi regem constituisse, nec credimus te admirari factum cuius omnem causam penes te esse cognoscis nec appellare crimen quod fraudi obiectum est. Atque ideo te palam alloqui iussi sumus, omnes ut intelligant cunctas nouandarum rerum causas non a Gothis sed abs te sumpsisse initium. Tu Gothos noua mire consilia adigis. Tu eos abs te desciscere cogis. Tu compellis alios quaerere reges. Tu odiosas sollicitudines instauras et rursus insueta discrimina adire perurges. Tu iterum implacabile renouas bellum. Tu aliis grauioribus ruinis Italiam inuoluis. Deseris quam tueri debebas et tuam secutos fidem alterius libidini exponis. Regem te nostrum uolentem uolentes adoptauimus, quorum leges iuraque in uerba legatorum te seruaturum persancte iurasti. Credidimus fidei, credidimus tam religiose iuratis numinibus, nec dubitauimus te tuis in rebus minus constantem futurum quam fueris in alienis, generosiore te sperauimus et magis imperare quam seruire natum. Proinde inexpugnabiles pandimus portas et intra inuicta moenia sperantes regem Gothorum admittere admisimum desertorem. Vos uos quibus credimus iurata nos decepisti numina et tu mortalium natura Gothis nunc nouarum difficultatum causa existis, quippe quae perpetua tuae sanctionis iura malo nostro in unius ingenio immutasti qui mallet aliis uincere quam sibi et optaret uehementius superare quam dominari. Non putauimus fortitudini defore magnanimitatem nec seruillem animum inuicto esse duci. Quis enim unquam suspicari potuisset quempiam illustrem uirum adeo illiberale sortitum ingenium qui cum ualeat et sciat, felix tamen esse / 109v/ noluit, aut qui clarissimum honorem libertatemque adeo aerumnosae posthabeat seruituti. His naturae confisi legibus, his uitae hominum suetis rationibus innixi, tuis insuper sacramentis freti quae nunquam prius fallere consueueras, liberam tibi Italiae concessimus dicionem, ciuitates tradidimus, arces assignauimus, nos nostraque omnia tuae permisimus potestati, te regem, te dominum, te nostrum imperatorem, tuis credentes promissis stulti sperauimus, parati usque ad orbis extrema tua signa sequi nostro labore, nostro sudore, nostro sanguine tuam gloriam quaesituri tuam dignitatem, tuum imperium totis uiribus exaucturi. Nunc quoque eadem mens, idem animus est erga te Gothis, quo si uti uolueris et quod semel spondesti manifesto adimplere opere pollicetur Ildoadus mox se huc uenturum et datam purpuram tuos ad pedes depositurum. Quod si facere recusas et mauis imperatori seruire quam ipse imperare ne iniquiore tuleris animo, si ingenui homines se in libertatem studeant uendicare, si et ipse Ildoadus suae gentis saluti consulere adnitetur. Deum autem optimum maximumque testamur ac ipsius iurata numina uniuersum hunc praesentem populum Gothos nihil perperam, nihil malo dolo moliri nec nouarum rerum cupidine aut fide defectu uel ullo inconstantiae uitio noua inire consilia, neque sponte a Belisario deficere, sed deserti abs te cogimur de nostra salute cogitare, quae nisi libera sit ad libertatem natis salus esse nequit, quando quidem apud Gothos seruitus semper cum morte iuxta est existimata et utriusque optione proposita turpi uitae honestam mortem antepone consueuimus. Quod si unquam fecimus nunc eo libentioribus animis quod nostrae iustiori causae Deum fauturum non dubitamus.*

⟨36⟩ His Belisarius minime commotus serena fronte lillari uultu ita respondit: *Non fuit nobis a Deo grauis uestra oratio, uiri Gothi, quamuis esset multis referta conuiciis, quippe quam a perturbato potius quam a tranquillo animo profectam cognoscimus qui ubi primum / 110r/ conquieuerit et sedata mente uerum expendere ualuerit profecto in eo in quo me nunc accusatis, unde mihi gratias agere quam unde adeo succensere debeatis. Violatae me fidei argutis nullius promissi reum, aut docete si potestis quod pollicitum non impleuerim quod*

*temerauerim iuratum. Habetis legatos, habetis obsignatas a me tabellas et per singula capita manu mea subscriptas. Proferte illas in medium quae me uel infitiantem conuicant uel non uera loquentem mendacii arguant. Non poterunt asserere legati nec ullae testari tabellae me umquam iurasse regem uestrum futurum aut dominationem Italiae assumpturum, tametsi non negauerim id a me legatos plurimum contendisse et impensius flagitasse, quibus cum cetera quae a me petebant rite iurassem, de regno autem suscipiendo me coram Vitige proceribusque transacturum respondi. Acquieuerunt responso legati nec me praeterea ad hanc usque horam quisquam hominum est interpellatus. Nunc si in eo meam sententiam cognoscere cupitis aut consilii exquirere rationem, dico et constantissimo pectore assero me neque genus neque regnum Gothorum dedignari. Ceterum illud uiuente Iustiniano usurpare et uestrae et meae prohibent rationes. Facessat quaeso indignatio et caeca inanis gloriae cupido procul abscedat. Adeste aequis animis, Gothorum proceres, et discussis fugatisque perturbationibus uerum cognoscite. Quis uestrum adeo desipit aut quis tam hebetis est ingenii qui non liquido peruideat et honestius et conducibilius esse Gothis Iustiniano seruire quam Bellisario, imperatori quam duci, et generosissimo maximoque orbis principi quam exiguo ut uos cupitis Italiae regulo, ex qua ubi collibuerit et me et uos facile exturbabit. Nota mihi est ipsius potentia, notae uires immensae. Ille tenet Asiam, toti imperati Africae et maiori parti Europae dominantur, et putatis uos inuito eo patriam ipsius retinere posse? Plures illi armati militant uiri quam tota Hesperia animalia pascit, non tot uobis sunt homines quot illi /110v/ strenuissimi duces, auri autem atque argenti uis tanta quae exhauriri nequeat, armorum uero omnisque bellici apparatus quantum tantae fortunae capit magnitudo. Accedit ad haec cum omnium nationum tum praecipue Itolorum erga imperatorem innata ueneratio et tantum beneuolentiae studium ut alterius dominationis iugum nulla ratione pati ualeant. Haec si Ildouadus pensaret, contentus Verona quiesceret et non per ambitionem et auaritiam has generis sui reliquias interitui exponeret nec se ducem intemperatarum cupiditatum praestaret, mecumque quieti studeret Italiae et has residuas Gothorum ciuitates futuris ruinis subduceret. Facile est bella suscipere sed conficere difficile, et pugnare possunt omnes sed uincere pauci. Audaciae perrarus est fructus et temeritatis frequentissima poena, iratis numinibus pugnam concitat qui non lacessitus cum fortiore manus conserit. Odiosus est mihi, credite, fatis qui illa quieta sollicitat stulteque uictoriam meditatur qui nec suas nec hostis metitur uires. Si Ildouadus in consilio Iustiniani habuisset fortunam adhuc tantae potentiae magnitudinem extimesceret. Modo tum et felicitatem eius totum per orbem uigere cernat et uires tantas intelligat quibus nulla ratio resistere ualet quam prudentis sit consilii earum aduersum se furorem iritari uobis iudicandum relinquo. Siciliae imperito, Dalmatiam teneo, uniuersaque Italia in mea est potestate. Victorem duco exercitum et tamen iram eius suscitare non praesumo, et audebit Ildouadus cum Alpinis agrestibus aduersus Romanum contendere imperatorem inimicis meis hanc mentem opto et hostibus tam proteruum consilium. Respiscite quaeso et uos adeo molestibus furiis exagitare non permittite. Desinite in has Gothorum reliquas deorum prouocare furorem et me ad assumendum uestram in perniciem regnum non compellite. Quicquid a me expectabitis, efficiam ut ab imperatore abund accipiatis, uincam opinionem uestram et cuncta promissa superabo. In eo si datae semel non (...)*

**APPENDIX 5: NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRUSSIENSIS DEFENSIO  
ECCLESIASTICAE LIBERTATIS (CAPITULA XVII–XX)**

The edition of the last four *capitula* of Nicholas' *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* is based on one of the two codices, Ricc. 365, the codicological description of which can be found in App. 7, no. 2. Since we are not dealing with the author's autograph, I have classicized the orthography.

**R** scriba

**R<sup>1</sup>** manus Nicolai episcopi Modrussiensis scribam corrigentis

**/71r/ Nicolai Episcopi Modrusciensis Defensio libertatis ecclesiasticae ad  
Reuerendissimum dominum Cardinalem Sancti Georgii<sup>1125</sup>**

(...)

**/125v/ (...) Capitulum XVII.**

Ais tamen hoc gladio melius Turci quam Christiani perirent, melius profecto modo per te liceret. Sed cum te Turcorum omnium nefandissimum exhibeas multisque **/126r/** Turcis tecum conglobatis penetralia pontificis oppugnes, non sinis illum externis arma inferre. Impudentissimum os, Turcorum socius, in Turcos proficisci hortaris et sanctissimam expeditionem quam semper perturbasti nunc demum maligne collaudas, cupiens arma quae sustinere non praeuales uel in amicos deriuare quo pariter agnoscaris et sociorum proditor et rei publicae Christianae desertor. Quin et quereris desertos Venetos audaciter quidem, quandoquidem tu eorum desertor iure appellari non possis quos nunquam iuisti. At iuuit quidem SIXTVS Pontifex ualidamque classem magnis impensis instructam totiens illis auxilium misit. Iuuit et Regem Vngariae unicum religionis Christianae propugnatorem, missis quot armis, multis pecuniis, plures in dies missurus nisi illas militibus tuis machinationibus obsistentibus dare cogeretur. Pro dolor! **/126v/** Discrucior animo et prae nimia indignatione totus corde dirumpor quotienscumque audio quosdam balatrones pontificem in Turcos adhortari, nec satis demirari queo qua impudentia audeant<sup>1126</sup> umquam illius expeditionis mentionem facere cui ipsi non modo ullam opem non tulerunt, sed et obstinatissime restiterunt totisque uiribus assidue aduersati sunt. Vltimi Hiberi et extremi Zimbri, totoque orbe penitus diuisi Britanni et Scoti liberius de Turcorum bello loqui possunt quam quidam principes Italiae. Illi enim et superioribus et nostris temporibus a nuntiis acciti pontificum tot terrarum spatia legatorum sedis apostolicae signa armati sequuti sunt certamque occumbere mortem non dubitauerunt. Hi uocantibus frustra totiens pontificibus non solum pedem non mouerunt uerum et plerique pecunias cura pontificum ad id bellum a populis emendicatas per dolum et fraudem interuertere non erubuerunt. **/127r/** Non nulli uero arma, machinas, ceterumque bellicum apparatus clam hostibus sufficere non destiterunt. Quadringentis et eo amplius annis bellum Asiaticum aduersum Turcos et Saracenos auctoribus Summis Pontificibus gestum est, tantumque cessatum quantum per scisma non licuit et hoc ipsum occasione quorundam<sup>1127</sup> Itolorum et coeptum et fotum. Nulla fuit gens, nulla per Europam natio quae et milites et sumptus ad id libenter non praestiterit. Hispani, Anglici, Galli, Germani, Poloni, Boemi, Pannoni, Illyrici tot suis regibus ducibusque ac non nullis imperatoribus amissis nunquam tamen hanc expeditionem detractarunt quotiens illam Sedis Apostolicae antistitibus libuit instaurare. Soli Itali (quod dicere dispudet) et hi quidam perpauci bis aut ad summum ter tanto in numero arma sumpsisse memorantur, Venetis dumtaxat exceptis qui ut plerique alii partim gloriae partim religioni<sup>1128</sup> partim **/127v/**

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<sup>1125</sup> Nicolai ... Georgii *add. R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1126</sup> audeant *corr. ex audent R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1127</sup> quorundam *add. in marg. R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1128</sup> religioni *corr. ex religionis R<sup>1</sup>*

propriae utilitati seruietes seruietes ut olim ita et nunc aliquid amplius fecisse narrantur. Ceteri Itolorum ferme omnes utinam non tam obfuisent quantum non profuerunt.

### Capitulum XVIII.

Atque ut antiquiora omittam libet breuiter huius aetatis uel perfidiam nostrorum repetere uel secordiam. Felicis recordationis Eugenius quamuis a regulis Italiae assidue uexaretur instructam tamen egregiam classem ex fratre<sup>1129</sup> nepoti suo Cardinali et Vicecancellario Sedis Apostolicae<sup>1130</sup> in Turcos ducendam tradit, eodem tempore misso in Germaniam ac Pannoniam alio Sedis Apostolicae legato Iuliano Cardinali Sancti Angeli maximum coegit exercitum, quibus copiis terra marique Turcum aggressus ita undique coangustauit ut tota Europa excedere cogeretur, nisi quorundam Itolorum prodicione atque auxilio fuisset adiutus. Pulsus nihilominus Illyrico est totaque Mysia, Macedoniae ac Thraciae maiore parte amissa, / **128r**/ tantaque strage ad radices montis Emi affectus ut amplius quam sexaginta hostium milia eo in proelio caesa memorantur, nostris quoque non incruenta uictoria fuit, quippe qui et multum suorum numerum et regem Vngariae legatumque apostolicum amiserit. Renouauit hoc bellum Calixtus Pontifex qui magnis hostem terra marique calamitatibus afflixit. Classis enim eius duce Ludouico Patriarcha Aquilegiensi omnes maritimas Turcorum oras diu multumque uexauit. Terrestres autem copiae a Iohanne Caruasallo item Sancti Angeli Cardinali comparare apud Taurinum Mysorum seu Triballorum emporium quod uulgo Belgradum appellant saeuissimorum Turcorum imperatorem castris exutum adeo profligauerunt, ut uulneratus mutatis subinde equis non prius fugam sistere ausus sit quam tercentis ferme milibus passuum se ad Andrinopolim delatum esse cognouerit. /**128v**/ Ea in pugna tot milia Turcorum caesa sunt ut prae fetore cadauerum teterrima lues totam infecerit regionem nec campis nec fluminibus sepulturae eorum sufficientibus. Aderat uictore cum exercitu legatus una cum praestantissimo inuictissimoque duce Iohanne Blanco iugum Turcorum ex ceruicibus Thraciae Graeciaeque proculdubio excussurus nisi dux ueneno interceptus et legatus ob id moerore correptus in lectulum decubisset. His tot tantisque curis ac sumptibus laborantem Pontificem omnes Itolorum principes non modo milite sed ne uno quidem obolo adiuuare uoluerunt. Quin et arma et pecunias quas populi pietatis studio pontifici contulerant plurima ex parte uariis artibus interuerterunt, maioraque cum rege Alfonso in Turcos paranti aperte restiterunt. Mortuo Calixto Pius suffectus est, qui ut primum cathedram attigit Petri animum /**129r**/ in Turcum intendit Mantuamque profectus cunctos ad se exemplo maiorum exciuit principes Christianos quo communibus omnium armis communem omnium hostem fortius aggredierentur per quos Itolorum coepta steterit expeditio ipsi si tacere uellent totus non taceret orbis. Dum haec ita geruntur Turcus sollicitatus ab heresiarchis sectae Manichaeorum quibus male libentibus baptizatis rex Bosnae homines beneficiis honoribusque demulcere cupiens munitissimas quasque regni arces crediderat, uniuerso Illyrico quod nunc Bosna cognominatur per prodicionem potitur rege ipso Stephano capto et trucidato, regno autem eius maximis ruinis cladibusque affecto, quarum ego missus a Pontifice non parua pars exstiti; nam undeuiginti meorum amissis ipse post maxima pericula incredibilesque /**129v**/ labores diuina potius quam humana ope seruatus euasi. His rebus non

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<sup>1129</sup> ex fratre *add. in marg. R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1130</sup> et Vicecancellario Sedis Apostolicae *add. in marg. R<sup>1</sup>*



fractus sed uehementius accensus caesareus ille inuictissimusque Pontificis animus festinat externa quaerere praesidia quando domesticis Itolorum se desertum animaduerneret, dimittit per uniuersas Christianorum prouincias legatos: ad Hispanos, Britannos, Gallos ac Germanos et me rursum in Pannonos destinat ad excitandum inuictissimum Regem Vngarorum illis miserandis Illyricorum reliquiis opem ferre pollicentibus ad id bellum partem sumptuum quibusdam Itolorum legatis. Capesso iussa nactusque Regem haud longe a Belgrado cum uictore exercitu incredibilique praeda e Mysia redeuntem, paucis mandata expono. Neque enim cupidissimus parendi animus multis se monere passus est, ducit impigre quamuis appetente iam hieme militem in Illyricum /130r/ et intra tres menses me semper castra sequente septuaginta ferme oppida Turcis erripuit ac ex clarissima totius regni urbe Iaize in qua reges residere sunt soliti hostes pellit, toto procul dubio regno pulsurus si promissae ab oratoribus pecuniae datae fuissent. Interea pontifex maiora molitus maximos terra marique fecerat apparatus, ex multisque terrarum prouinciis innumeras contraxerat copias et per Italiam ab ecclesiis cleroque suo ac a uolentibus populis in tanti bellis sumptus non paucas pecunias parauerat, haudquaquam cessans senile caput cunctis obiectare periculis et illam sacram uenerandamque canitiem per omnia terrarum aquarum discrimina fatigare, atque ut legitimum decebat pastorem se pro credito grege saeuienti opponere bestiae et in bellum quod decentius filii pro patre suscipere debebant effeta et emortua membra armare. /130v/ Qualia auxilia a principibus Italiae habuerit quaeso animum aduertite. Commotus erat totus Christianus orbis et ab ultimis terrarum finibus excitati milites patrem in pugnam pro se descendente deserere impuni existimabant. Conuenerat ex omnibus nationibus innumera armatorum<sup>1131</sup> multitudo et se quisque pro sua uirili uel comitem uel propugnatorem tam inauditae paternae pietati comparabat. Cum tandem quamuis sero subdolis quidam pudor quosdam<sup>1132</sup> principes inuasit Italiae, initoque cum suis satellitibus auaro consilio si quomodo ecclesiae impensa alienam in se laudem transmouere possent ne soli inter omnes Christianos populos inglorii inlaudatque remanerent aut Christianae rei publicae appellarentur desertores, mittunt ad pontificem oratores auxiliaque in Turcum pollicentur, si eis pontifex /131r/ pecunias permiserit in suis dicionibus a sacerdotibus ecclesiisque corrasas annuit pontifex uel inuitus usque ad hunc diem superuixisset mentita auxilia praestolaturus. Sed cita mors pontificem tantis doloribus ipsos autem regulos tam manifeste subduxit infamae pecunias tamen auarissimis de manibus subducere nequiuit. Obmitto hoc loco ab eisdem his Italiae regulis totiens elusos in Turcum pontificis<sup>1133</sup> Pauli conatus et coepta omnia ex dignitate Sedis Apostolicae uariis artibus interturbata. Illud tamen interturbare nequiuerunt quominus regem Vngariae magnis quot annis pecuniis aduersus Turcum sustentaret.

### Capitulum XIX.

Ad SIXTVM festino qui uix dum in sedem collocatus extemplo per uniuersum orbem ad implorandam aduersus communem hostem Christianorum opem magna cum potestate mittit /131v/ legatos: Nicenum in Gallos, Lodricum olim nepotem Calixti Ecclesiae Romanae Vicecancellarium ad Hispanos, Marcum Cardinalem Sancti Marci ad Germanos, Oliuerium

<sup>1131</sup> armatorum *corr. ex armarum R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1132</sup> quosdam *add. in marg. R<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1133</sup> pontificis *add. in marg. R<sup>1</sup>*

uero Carapham Cardinalem Sancti Eusebii classi praeficit, cuius ego maiorem partem comes Oliuero datus Venetiis ponteficiis instruxi sumptibus, lacrimantibus prae gaudio Venetis et se in tam graui bello adiuuari gestientibus. Quae Venetae Regiaeque coniuncta (<ader>at enim et praefectus <cla>ssis Regis Ferdinandi <cu>m suis)<sup>1134</sup> cunctam Asiae maritimam oram ferro flammisque consumpsit, tot una aestate rebus praeclare gestis quot omnes aliae nostra aetate Christianorum classes non egere. Sequenti nihilominus anno SIXTVS aliam instaurat classem et Venetis suppetias ferre iubet, in singulos annos maiora praesidia missurus, tametsi reliqui principes uel odio uel inuidia Venetorum uel propria segnitie /132r/ aut auaritia ferre opem laborantibus prorsus tergiuersarent, aliqui etiam adiutum iri Venetos uehementer dolerent. Parante nihilominus Pontifice noua Venetis auxilia, ecce Nicolaus Vitellus a uiolatoribus Florentinorum libertatis sollicitatus tyrannidem Tipherni uel ut nunc dicimus Ciuitatis Castelli Ecclesiae Romanae dicionis repente occupat et a Sedis Apostolicae oboedientia plane desciscit ut necesse fuerit Pontifici et coeptam<sup>1135</sup> in Turcos omittere expeditionem et Iulianum nepotem suum Cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula magnis cum copiis duce Federico Vrbinate illo transmittere ad pellendum urbe tyrannum, qui post multos sumptus atque labores uix tandem pulsus est sed a Florentinorum tyrannis in tam proxima Tipherno receptus ut plurimas inde Pontifici curas /132v/ saepius instaurauerit. Non contentus ea iniuria Medices euocat ex Venetis Carolum Montoni tyrannum et Tusca edoctum fraude adeo instruit ut nisi Pontifex callidos praesensisset dolos et Perusiam et maiorem partem ducatus Ecclesiae praecoccupasset. Sed Deo uicario suo opitulante in foueam quam parauerant ipsi inciderunt et Montonius eo laqueo captus est quod ipse aliis tetenderat, dumque alienam festinat occupare patriam perdidit suam. Liberatus Domino protegente tot curis Sixtus rursus ad<sup>1136</sup> bellum Turcorum intendit animum. Rursus Italiae principes hortari, orare obtestarique non desinit ut collatione pecuniarum facta, cuius ipse primam maioremque partem quot annis se persoluturum pollicetur, regem Vngarorum fatalem Turcorum inimicum et praecipuum Christianae /133r/ religionis defensorem mittant in hostem. Eunt redeuntque hanc ob rem legati et nuntii ultro citroque mittuntur. Tandem constituto tempore cum ad conditam diem Fulginei mandata exhibenda essent alia quidem adhuc exhiberi debent alia plena doli fraudisque solitae prolata sunt. O nefandam impudentiam! O sacrilegam temeritatem! Et audent praeterea his de rebus in conspectu hominum ullum hiscere uerbum. Elusa per hunc modum patris sollicitudo descendere tamen in omnes preces non desinit, rogando obsecrandoque ut quando adeo grauarentur suas impendere opes sinerent saltem sibi debitas a suo clero exigere decimas et in tam pium opus adeo benemerito Regi transmittere. Non fraudabo hoc loco sua laude quosdam<sup>1137</sup> Florentinos. Permiserunt enim quod salua honestate /133v/ negari non poterat quin et Pontifici quo res celerius fieret ultro se pecunias commodaturos polliciti sunt. Accepit oblatam conditionem necessitate coactus Pontifex et ad usuram hiantibus animis abunde satisfecit. Hoc summum primumque principum<sup>1138</sup> Florentinorum in Turcos subsidium aereis incidendum tabulis idcirco omittere nolui, ut et ipsi digne pro meritis commendari possint et ceteri omnes intelligant quam liberali audacia ualeant uel praesentes uel futuros Romanos praesules in Turcos sollicitare. Quamuis sint qui credant id eos non serio factitare, propterea quod saepe auditi sunt palam in uulgus minitare Turcos se

<sup>1134</sup> <ader>at ... suis *add. in marg. R<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>1135</sup> coeptam *corr. ex acceptam R<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>1136</sup> ad *correx* ex ab

<sup>1137</sup> quosdam *add. in marg. R<sup>l</sup>*

<sup>1138</sup> principum *add. in marg. R<sup>l</sup>*

in Italiam aduersum ecclesiam inducturos. Fecit hoc et Manfredus quondam adductus Saracenis, sed et ipse et omnes perfidorum auxiliares copiae Domino ulciscente misere interierunt. Idem non /134r/ dubito omnibus euenturum qui immanes feras in uineam Domini Sabaoth introducere temptauerunt. Vnde et Dominus per prophetam ad huiusmodi ait: *Vae qui descenditis in Aegyptum sperantes auxilium in fortitudine Pharaonis et habentes fiduciam in umbra Aegypti et erit uobis fortitudo Pharaonis in confusionem et fiducia umbrae Aegypti in ignominiam.* Non desunt alii qui asserant id parare, id meditari, quo concilium patrum quam primum cogatur in quo actus singulorum gestaue discutiantur. Vtinam Deus Optimus Maximusque id faxit ut aliquando diiudicetur quo iure, immo qua iniuria, tam ipsi quam non nulli alii Italiae principes tot agros, tot oppida ecclesiae occupauerint, dignitatem Sedis Apostolicae totiens uiolauerint et libertatem ecclesiasticam prorsus pessumdederint, agnoscerent se multi non modo rei publicae /134v/ Christianae sed et suis ciuitatibus ac populis partim inutiles partim penitus noxios ac exitiales ut satius fuerit non cepisse iudicium quam prouocasse.

## Capitulum XX.

Ceterum de hoc ipsi viderint. Interea illud cognoscant Maximum Pontificem Sixtum debito pastoralis officio nec amicis deesse nec inimicis, et licet exiguis prouentibus maxima tamen pietatis obire munera quod si inuidi inficiari uellent. At testantur Pannonos qui Sixti adiuti opibus tam diu illi potentissimae immanissimaeque obsistunt bestiae. Testantur Illyrici quorum reginam partemque nobilitatis aluit usque ad mortem. Testantur Dalmatae ac Epirotae quorum fractae debilitataeque uires iam pridem cecidissent nisi pietissimi patris praesidio fuissent sustentatae. Testantur Cyprii quorum reginam tot exagitatam procellis pio excepit hospitio. Testatur Mysia cuius dominum /135r/ profugum et a Turcis captum oculis quoad uixit fouit et nunc uxorem liberosque eius etiam in Foro Iulii positos fouere non cessat. Testatur Graecia cuius complures nobiles, ipsum quoque despotum honorifice et habet et habuit. Praetermitto tot insignes per Urbem ecclesias suis sumptibus uel instauratas uel nouas splendidissime extractas. Praetermitto magnificentissimas apud Sanctum Spiritum hospitalitatis aedes et ad uictum pupillorum tot donata praedia. Praetermitto tot per urbem eius pietatis monumenta, cum nullus uicus sit qui insignem erga se patris non testetur munificentiam. Quis est in Vrbe pauper qui eius non acceperit eleemosynas? Aut quae sanctorum congregatio quae et pane eius non pascatur et uestimentis non operiatur? Nullus ad Urbem uenit uel exiguae nobilitatis aut pulsus patria aut hostium /135v/ manus elapsus qui uel munera a SIXTO non acceperit uel constituta non gaudeat annona. Et tamen non nulli nebulones audent uel impensarum ipsius disquirere rationes uel eum a propulsanda tam insigni contumelia absterrere. Certe mori praestat quam precario uti imperio aut libertatem auctoritatemque coelitus datam exemplo maiorum sanguine ipso non tueri. Ad quod eum et accepta hortatur purpura et debitum perurget officium et tot tantorumque patrum fortia facta inuitant ac impellunt. Non dubito futuros non nullos qui me assentatorem appellent istaque omnia ad captandam humanam gratiam scripsisse, appellent certe uel adulatorem. Modo illud cognoscant et se malos esse et me non nisi uera scripsisse. Facessat tamen obsecro paulisper proprius amor et nimia sui indulgentia parumper abscedat. Conueniat singulos sua conscientia /136r/ et unusquisque intra sese descendens pectus ad purum excutiat et si me mentitum deprehenderit mortiferis appetat telis. Sciebam autem ego amaram esse sontibus

ueritatem et ad tactum ulceris male sanos eiulare. Nec ignoro me his scriptis magnam mihi conflasse inuidiam maioribusque me exposuisse periculis. Sed pro ueritate honoreque Sedis Apostolicae cui iam inde ab adolescentia deseruio emori cupio saepeque id concupiui, nulla pericula fugiens ut paucae sint per orbem regiones, paucae per Italiam ciuitates non plenae laborum periculorumque meorum quos terra marique magno constantique animo pro amplitudine dignitateque Romanae Ecclesiae libens uolensque pertuli et quoad uixero perferre non recusabo. Deum autem Optimum Maximumque testor solum cordis humani scrutatorem me haec /136v/ cuncta dictasse non adeo in cuiuspian gratiam quantum ut ignaros ecclesiasticae auctoritatis potestatisque edocerem et eius detractorum blacterantia ora repagulis obstruerentur ueritatis, simul ut tam praesentes quam futuri pontifices his breuiter admoniti maiores concipiant animos ad compescendam temerarium audaciam et ad tuendam totis uiribus Sedis Apostolicae dignitatem. Neque haec ideo scripserim ut pontificibus persuasum esse nolim omni studio omnique diligentia paci incumbere et quieti creditorum sibi populorum quaque ex parte diligenter consulere. Sed illud suadeo, illud pro mea uirili contestor nullam pacem admittendam, nullam ineundam concordiam quae non sit ex Dei honore et ecclesiae suae dignitate. Quae enim pax esse potest ubi adhuc uigent ueneficia impiissimae Iezabel? Aut quae concordia /137r/ lucis et Belial? Non est pax impiis dicit dominus nec in circumciso requies non parcat illis oculis tuus nisi conuertatur ut uiuat. Et si mundatus fuerit a lepra offerat se prius sacerdoti deinde introductus in templum sacrificet Domino sacrificium laudis ut fiat unus pastor et unum ouile honorificeturque Deus in omnibus et super omnia per Iesum Christum saluatorem nostrum qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in aeternum. BENEDICTVS DEVS.

**APPENDIX 6: FRANCISCI MATURANTII CARMINA AD NICOLAUM  
EPISCOPUM MODRUSSIENSEM**

This appendix contains the edition of Francesco Maturanzio's poems addressed to, along with three poems that refer to, Nicholas of Modruš. The texts of the poems are based on the codex unicus, Cod. Ottob. lat. 2011, and judging from the dedicatory poem to Nicholas of Modruš (1) it seems that the ones selected here formed part of a collection of poems dedicated and most probably presented to Nicholas of Modruš, while here, in Ottob. lat. 2011, they can be found next to other, later poems of Maturanzio. The poems were all composed in the form of an elegiac distich, and have been ordered here as they appear in the manuscript. They have been numbered, but the original place in the manuscript has also been recorded (number in italics below the title). I have expanded abbreviations, and intervened in the punctuation for sense. I have also deemed it best to classicize the orthography, as I was not able to determine whether the author himself wrote the text, and thus whether the text reflects his own orthographic practices.

: 1 :

*Ad pium et eruditissimum uirum Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem prooemium*

2 (fol. 2rv)

Accipe in Eois quae carmina lusimus oris,  
O decus Illyricae non mediocre tuae.  
Clare uir eloquio, culti admirabilis oris,  
Et nullo sanctis moribus inferior.  
Dum maris Aegei uariis freta concita uentis                   5  
Ioniumque capax Carpathiumque lego,  
Haec inter strepitus nautarum et murmura ponti  
Omnia sunt tremula paene notata manu.  
Dum feriunt timidum fluctus me saepe marini,  
Excussa est digitis humida charta meis.                   10  
Dum latus insanis pressum dat nigra procellis  
Puppis, abit calamus, mensque ausque cadit.  
Non hoc Virgo parens, medio quae saepe periclo  
Eripuit miserum, munere digna fuit.  
Quid facerem indoctus, Musarum ignarus et artis,                   15  
Et cui tam tenuis manat ab ore sonus?  
Vnde emerem Diuae, ferrem quae debita templis  
Dona? Meis tantum uentus inest loculis.  
Carmina quae pura cecini, pater inclite, mente  
Haec Mariae gratus qualiacumque fero.                   20  
Corrige siquid inest uitii, sed plurima forte  
Inueniens totum spongia tollat opus.

: 2 :

*In conceptionem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae haud procul a Rhodo edita laudatio*

3 (fols. 2v-3r)

: 3 :

*In natiuitatem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae Laudatio edita Rhodi*

4 (fols. 3r-4r)

: 4 :

*In presentationem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae quando a parentibus templo  
presentata fuit, quae celebritas a Graecis obseruatur edita non procul a Corcyra*

5 (fols. 4r-5r)

: 5 :

*In annuntiationem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae haud procul a Methone edita  
Laudatio*

6 (fols. 5r–6r)

: 6 :

*In uisitationem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae laudatio edita in Creta*

7 (fols. 6r–7v)

Prospera lux oritur; quid uota precesque moraris?  
Sedula de molli surge puella toro.  
Munera non hodie flauae tangenda Mineruae,  
Non tibi sunt digitis pensa trahenda tuis.  
Cesset acus, cesset Phrygios imitata labores 5  
Cura, nec arguto pectine tela sonet.  
Surge toro, prospera magnae pete celsa parentis  
Templa. Quid inculta te pudet ire coma?  
Non positos tarda certe probat arte capillos,  
Et si qua in Tyria ueste superba nitet. 10  
Illa placet puro quae pectore fertur ad aras;  
Illa placet recti cui comes haeret amor.  
Si qua minus casta ingreditur penetralia mente,  
Illius in casum uota precesque cadunt.  
Vos properate uiri, pueri properate frequentes, 15  
Et iuuenum rigido cum sene mixta cohors.  
Quid frustra matrona diem teris? Euge quod optas  
Posce, et poscenti Virgo rogata dabit.  
Lux est qua montes Iudaeae uenit in altos,  
Nec timuit longas currere sola uias. 20  
Causa fuit tanti praestans cognata laboris;  
Si labor est quicquid sponte uolensque facis.  
Plena Deo Helisabeth uenienti occurrit, et unum est  
Fatur, quod Domini me pia mater adit.  
En infans nostra exultat reuerenter in aluo, 25  
Infanti assurgens Virgo pudica tuo.  
Felix quod sacris uoluisti credere uerbis,  
Quae tulit e celsa nuntius arce poli.  
In te perficiet quicquid Deus ante locutus,  
Auctorem paries tu benedicta tuum. 30  
Tunc afflata pio pulcherrima numine Virgo,  
Laeta sacro dulces fudit ab ore sonos.  
Tresque ubi cognatae seruiuit sedula menses,  
In patrios campos et sua tecta redit.  
Virginis exemplo, tenerae docilesque puellae, 35

Aeque animo iusti ferte laboris onus.  
 Visite languentes, caris seruite propinquis,  
 Qua licet officio parte iuuate pio.  
 Grata manus duro quae tempore prompta ministrat,  
 Nam duro inspicitur tempore uerus amor. 40  
 Nunc magnam cantate Deam, bona dicite uerba,  
 Quisque rogat, seu clam, seu uelit ille palam.  
 Ipse precor superet Pylios pater inclitus annos,  
 Nicoleos gentis gloria prima suae.  
 Quem merito summus non fraudet honore sacerdos, 45  
 Cui sacrum cingat rubra tiara caput.  
 Ipse peto solito reducem me admittat amore<sup>1139</sup>,  
 Et foueat sancto terque quaterque sinu.  
 Seruato mihi, Virgo parens, dominumque patremque,  
 Quo uiuam sospes sospite semper ego. 50

: 7 :

*In purificationem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae haud procul a Creta edita laudatio*

8 (fols. 7v–8v)

: 8 :

*In assumptionem Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae laudatio edita in sinu Carpathio*

9 (fols. 8v–9r)

: 9 :

*In eandem celebritatem laudatio edita in eodem sinu*

10 (fol. 9rv)

: 10 :

*In celebritatem niuis Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae laudatio edita Rhodi*

11 (fols. 9v–10r)

: 11 :

*Precatio ad Beatissimam semper Virginem Mariam edita ad insulas Chelidonias haud procul ab Attalia quae Oblia prius est uocata, quando Magi Deo munera obtulerunt in natiuitate Christi*

12 (fols. 10r–12r)

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<sup>1139</sup> amore] correxi ex amorem



**: 12 :**

***Ode edita Rhodi ad miraculis claram Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae figuram quae in monte colitur proximo qui Philerimus dicitur***

*13 (fol. 12rv)*

**: 13 :**

***Ode edita in sinu Maliaco***

*14 (fols. 12v–13r)*

**: 14 :**

***Ode edita in eodem sinu***

*14 (fol. 13rv)*

**: 15 :**

***Poema editum in statione Strophadum ad miraculis inclitam figuram quae illic colitur***

*15 (fols. 13v–15r)*

**: 16 :**

***Ode edita haud procul a Saxone insula ubi finis est sinus Adriatici***

*17 (fol. 15rv)*

**: 17 :**

***Elegia edita in sinu Polatico qui et Carnorum dicitur***

*18 (fols. 15v–17r)*

**: 18 :**

***Ad insulam quae est in sinu Polatico***

*19 (fol. 17rv)*

**: 19 :**

***Ad Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem***

*20 (fol. 17v)*

O fortis decus Illyricae, quo praesule gaudet  
Inclita fecundo parua Modrusa solo.  
O Latii nitor eloquii, probitate Catonem

Qui reuocas, priscum religione Numam.  
 Qui culto ingentem fundis qui pectore uocem; 5  
 Verba fluunt densae more soluta niuis.  
 Tu canis Ausonias ut quondam euerterit urbes  
 A Scythico ueniens impius orbe Gothus.  
 Nec desunt artes: seu fortia proelia narras,  
 Seu merito accusas, seu benefacta probas. 10  
 Res est ingenio inferior, nec commoda quaeris  
 Verba, sed est illis addere cura modum.  
 Felices nimium quos secula prisca tulerunt,  
 Quamquam hoc crudeles non meruere Gothi.  
 Non contenta tuis, uenerande Hieronyme, libris 15  
 Illyris hoc terris protulit ora decus.  
 Nicoleus longum cum tandem impleuerit aeuum,  
 Gaudeat ut caeli factus in arce Deus.

: 20 :

*Ad Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

22 (fol. 18rv)

Adriacos nuper tetigit, pater optime, portus,  
 Quae Vicentina soluit ab urbe ratis,  
 Diuitiis onerata meis, quas tempore longo  
 Congessi, studiis sedulus inuigilans.  
 Ne tamen ignores, sola est mihi charta supellex, 5  
 Hanc praeter seruant scrinia nostra nihil.  
 Duc comitem; celsae ascendes cum robora pinus,  
 Te sequar, et ueniam sub tua iussa libens.  
 Nec metuam uasti tot saeua pericula ponti;  
 Te duce nam laedent flamina nulla ratem. 10  
 Nosti sollicitae noceat quae stella carinae,  
 Quo ponant uenti sidere et unda simul.  
 Seu pluuiae insurgunt Hyades, seu tristis Orion  
 Siue Helenae fratres lucida signa micant.  
 Mente poli secreta subis, nunc pectore lustras, 15  
 Quae tuus aeternus spiritus astra colet.

: 21 :

*Ad eundem Episcopum Modrussiensem*

23 (fols. 18v–19r)

Si tua purpurea cingantur tempora mitra,  
 Nicoleo meritis si tribuatur honos,

Non te ego Maecenas, non te Proculee requiram,  
 Tu mihi Maecenas, tu Proculeus eris.<sup>1140</sup>  
 Est uatum tibi cura ingens, uir maxime; quondam       5  
 Haeserunt capiti laurea sarta tuo.  
 Ipsa suae Pallas quae cedere iussit oliuae,  
 A tanta uinci passus Apollo dea est.  
 Quisquis amat uates, docet hic quo dignus honore est,  
 Scilicet a saeclo posteriore legi.                       10

: 22 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

24 (fol. 19r)

Cum pater Eoas mittat te summus ad oras,  
 Et Fani linquas moenia clara tui,  
 Vndique se effundunt iuuenesque senesque,  
 Digressuque tuo femina uirque dolet.  
 Qualis pietas, o quam fuit aequa potestas,               5  
 Quantus amor recti, denique quanta fides,  
 Sunt testes lachrymae et ueri argumenta doloris,  
 Quam pro se in tacito pectore quisque gerit.  
 Per mare currentem spectant de litore pinum,  
 Proque tuo reditu<sup>1141</sup> iam pia thura uouent.               10  
 Quid facient uicto cum remeabis ab hoste?  
 Non procul, o superi, sit precor illa dies.

: 23 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

25 (fol. 19rv)

Bella gerit Sixtus duce te contra impia castra  
 Turcorum, Illyriae gloria Nicoleos.  
 Magnum onus incumbit, magnas sed ad omnia uires  
 Suppeditat uerae religionis amor.  
 Non desunt animi, sed sufficis ominibus unus;               5  
 Militis officio fungeris atque ducis.  
 Ecce legis Drili ualida nunc flumina classe,  
 Iustior inceptum causa moratur iter.  
 Fama refert Turcas huc aduentare phalanges,  
 Currere et infesta lata per arua manu.               10  
 Quae magam Epirum uicinaque moenia uertat,

<sup>1140</sup> Cf. Iuv. Sat. 7.94.

<sup>1141</sup> *post reditu del. femina*

Et iamiam Illyricos depopulitur agros.  
 Fer, pater, auxilium miseris, te Scodra precatur,  
 Aduentumque rogat supplice uoce tuum.  
 Perge, sacro uinces Christi sub nomine, et hostis 15  
 Adiuto Christi nomine terga dabit.  
 Est Turci mala causa trucis; contra omnia iura  
 Arma gerit. Iusta est et pia causa tibi,  
 Qui uincit eam, solet hic quoque uincere bello,  
 Conscia iudicio mens labat ipsa suo. 20

: 24 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussienssem*

26 (fols. 19v–20r)

Ibis ad Ausonias sine me, pater optime, terras;  
 Me procul a patria Graia tenebit humus.  
 Vade sed incolumis; te nulla pericula laedant,  
 Et faueant curuae numina prompta rati.  
 Flens a te uellor; facit hoc tua maxima uirtus, 5  
 Mens facit hoc omni candida labe carens.  
 Sic doleo, ueluti patriae cum cara reliqui,  
 Tecta; animae tecum pars abitura meae est.  
 Sis memor, o uatis, quascumque habitauerit oras,  
 Haesit iam capiti nostra corona tuo. 10  
 Exagitant mentem peregrina incommoda; terret  
 Quod misero in oculis est mihi pene nihil.  
 Da dextram; meritum est ingens succurrere lapso,  
 Qui cecidit, parua saepe resurgit ope.

: 25 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussienssem*

27 (fol. 20r)

Dona precor placido, pater optime, suscipe uultu,  
 E Rhodia uates quae tulit urbe tuus.  
 Hac latet Hyblaeo conditum melle lagona  
 Zingiber, hac agri pruna, Damasce, tui.  
 Tertia nectareos claudit tibi testa liquores, 5  
 Mixtus pallentis qui odor est uiolae.  
 Pauca quidem sunt haec nec sat te digna, sed illum  
 Haec puduit uacua tecta subire manu.  
 Tu dare magna soles; tecum qui munere certat,  
 Audeat hic priscum uincere et Alcinoum. 10

: 26 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussienssem*

28 (fol. 20rv)

Sospes ab Eois uenio tibi redditus oris,  
Magne uir ingenio, magne uir eloquio.  
Da precor hospitium fesso; condatur in urna,  
Quae faustum signet candida gemma diem.  
Sunt comites nobis Grai ueteresque libelli, 5  
Quos longum Rhodia per mare ab urbe fero.  
Excidit ille tuus forsán tibi pectore uates;  
Quod superet de me uix tibi nomen abest.  
Hoc ego non credam, uir praestantissime, non si  
Asserat ipse suo maximus ore Deus. 10  
Nam tibi largita est mores natura benignos,  
Pectus et ingenium candidiusque niue.  
Siquis erit coeptum qui numquam ponat amorem,  
Dispeream, si non Modrussiensis erit.

: 27 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussienssem*

29 (fol. 20v)

Te noua nec simplex, tremula cui nomen abunda  
Trita, gerit uatem nec satis apta toga.  
Texta sub Arctois uelant tua tempora terris  
Pillea; nostra patens nudaque paene coma est.  
Vnde parem subito quod me defendat ab imbre? 5  
Posse sequi tribuis, da quoque posse tegi.

: 28 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussienssem*

30 (fols. 20v–21r)

Quod donare aliquid praeter sua carmina uates  
Audeat, est nullo cur grauis aere sinus.  
Miraris forsán, uir maxime, retia tendit,  
Nec nisi plura datis dona referre cupit.  
Sic fera, sic curuo pisces capiuntur ab hamo, 5  
Sic etiam incautae decipiuntur aues.  
Pro uerbis dare uerba licet, pro munere munus  
Redditur, hoc fieri iura piumque uolunt.  
Non pudor est tenui dare munera parua poetae,  
Reddere sed magnos non nisi magna decet. 10

: 29 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

31 (fol. 21r)

Nuper ab Eoi redeuntem finibus orbis,  
Ligneus insanum per mare uexit equus.  
Ille quidem fallax, nec cui bene fidere uestor  
Posset, erat, uento paruus instabili.  
Non me uel stimulis licuit uel uocibus uti, 5  
Non premere extensa uel dare frena manu.  
Nunc quadrupes portat, nunc nulla pericula terrent,  
Terra solum, terra firmius est aliquid?  
Insanus pelago qui se committit et Euris,  
Terra uiris facta est, piscibus unda maris. 10

: 30 :

*Ad eundem Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

32 (fol. 21r)

Quod fera deposuit rabiem moresque paternos,  
Nec consueta tuo cum cane bella gerit.  
Hoc tua nimirum praestat clementia, princeps,  
Nouit cui domino seruiat, et lupo est.

: 31 :

*De Nicolao Episcopo Modrussiensi*

33 (fol. 21v)

Aurea quid reuocant Saturni saecula nobis?  
Quae quondam miseris ferrea semper erant.  
Quid pia iam repetit terras Astraera relictas?<sup>1142</sup>  
Quid tranquilla redit pacis alumna quies?  
Quid procul insidiae fugiunt, fraudesque dolique, 5  
Quid subito longi terga dedere metus?  
Haec nuper populus populum conuersus ad ipsum,  
Miraris dixi? Modrusiensis adest.

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<sup>1142</sup> relictas] *corr. ex relictis*

*Ad Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussensem de urbe Brundusia*

34 (fols. 21v–22v)

Vrbs o, Dictaeo, salve, possessa colono,  
 Qua Calabrum illustrem non habet ora magis.  
 Dux meus in celsa residens te puppe salutat,  
 Nicoleus portus ingrediturque tuos.  
 Nicoleus ueteres uirtute et moribus equans, 5  
 Hic est Illyriae gloria prima suae.  
 Quum primum aspexit tot diruta tecta, tot aedes,  
 Ingemuit, lachrymis immaduere genae.  
 Urbem praeclaram et per saecula multa potentem  
 Cerne, ait; hanc Grai iam tenuere uiri. 10  
 Occupat hinc Siculus ueniens sub Iapige; post hunc  
 Sub regum uixit saecula multa iugo.  
 Romani rerum domini rexere, fuitque  
 Romanis olim puppibus hospitium.  
 Haec Lacedaemonium uicina sede Phalantum 15  
 Expulsum immerita sedula fouit ope.  
 Hoste hoc passa prius longum et miserabile bellum,  
 Perdiderat culti rura beata soli.  
 Quem postquam senio confectum uita reliquit,  
 Magnifico illacrimas supposuit tumulo. 20  
 Hoc portu in Latia nomen praestantior ora,  
 Commodus est toto nullus in orbe magis.  
 Siue petis Libyen, nigros seu tendis ad Indos,  
 Siue cupis Hesperiae ditia regna plagae,  
 Seu tibi<sup>1143</sup> Tyrrhenas puppis cita nauigat undas, 25  
 Siue per Adriacas carbasa tendis aquas.  
 Aspice quas circum moles natiua profundo  
 Opposuit, mira clausit ut arte locum.  
 Ore uno ingreditur quicquid tu cernis aquarum,  
 Quas semper placidas flamina nulla mouent. 30  
 Quocumque aduehitur cupidus mercator ab orbe,  
 Quem melius portum fessus adire potest?  
 Cerne caput cerui longis cum cornibus, illud  
 Quam bene cum portu est urbs imitata suo.  
 Vnde et Mesapae posuerunt nomina gentis, 35  
 Brundusium, cerui uox notat ipsa caput,  
 Pompeius fugiens stetit hic comitante senatu,  
 Hoc socer a genero gurgite clausus erat,  
 Haec primum rubuit ciuili sanguine lympha,  
 Hic furtim fracta mole reperta uia est. 40  
 Nunc deserta uides et diruta moenia, ciues

<sup>1143</sup> tibi] *correxi ex tib*

Paene omnes quondam substulit atra lues.  
Sic uoluit fortuna uices quae clara feruntur  
Versa iacent, nequeunt uiuere summa diu.  
Mirator famae ueteris laudator et aevi, 45  
Dux meus haec referens fletibus ora rigat.  
Da tutum precor hospitium, sic lapsa resurgant  
Moenia, sic redeat iam tibi priscus honos.

: 33 :

*Ad Nicolaum Episcopum Modrussiensem*

35 (fols. 22v–23r)

Accipe formosa geminos sub imagine uultus,  
A Rhodia uates quos tulit urbe tuus,  
Dum fodit ingentes cingens sua moenia fossas,  
Quae timet hostiles sedula turba minas.  
Repperit hos ima iuuenis tellure sepultos, 5  
Et placidus cupido donat habere mihi.  
Indice non opus est qui sint quoue orbe crati,  
Nomina nam regum Graeca elementa docent.  
Hunc doctae nimium timuerunt Palladis arces,  
Horruit hunc oriens occiduusque dies. 10  
Talis erat prima surgens aetate Philippus,  
Talis Alexander martia bella gerens.  
Qui finxit reges iam deteriore metallo,  
In nostras uoluit posse uenire manus.

: 34 :

*Ad Bernardinum Bennatum de Nicolao Episcopo Modrussiensi*

36 (fol. 23r)

Quod gelidus Boreas, subito quod nubilus Auster,  
Foeda quod a Zephyro pulsa recessit hiems.  
Quod placidi soles, quod splendet purior aër,<sup>1144</sup>  
Quod facilis blando gutture cantat auis,  
Quod uario arridet tellus redimita colore, 5  
Diuitiis gaudens luxuriosa suis.  
Crede mihi non sunt redeuntis tempora ueris,  
Praesidis haec faciunt ora serena tui.

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<sup>1144</sup> aër] corr. ex aere



## APPENDIX 7: REPERTORIUM OPERUM NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRUSSIENSIS

Appendix 7 presents the list, and in most cases the catalogue descriptions of, the manuscripts preserving the works of Nicholas of Modruš. The manuscript descriptions have been arranged according to the following template.

*City, Library*

**: Catalog number :**

***Shelf Mark***

***Contents of the manuscript***

*(Place, date)*

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Material of the manuscript, specifying whether it is a parchment or a paper one; if parchment, the disposition of the first three folios is provided, whereby ‘f’ refers to the flesh side and ‘h’ to the hair side of the parchment;<sup>1145</sup> if paper, the type of the watermark is provided and accompanied by its Briquet number if available, or the number of a similar Briquet watermark, with places and dates of its use as well. The size of the manuscript is expressed in the ‘height x length’ formula, in millimeters. Number of flyleaves and folios, whereby flyleaves are indicated in minuscule roman numerals, folios in arabic numbers. Foliations and/or paginations, from the earliest to the latest, with the first and last foliated/paginated number indicated. Damages to the manuscript are indicated, such as the presence of wormholes, ink corrosion or damages caused by humidity.

*Quire structure:* The organization of quires is presented in a formula, with minuscule roman numerals indicating the number of a quire and superscribed arabic number indicating its type, followed by the indication of folios covered by the quire in parentheses.<sup>1146</sup> Catchwords, their location and direction. Leaf and quire signatures, their position, and comments whether they restart or whether they have been cropped.

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<sup>1145</sup>Therefore the *f*, *h-h*, *f-f* disposition, which can be found in every manuscript analyzed here, signifies that the flesh side was used for fol. 1r, hair sides for fols. 1v–2r, and flesh sides again for fols. 2v–3r, i.e. that the manuscripts follow the Gregory’s Rule.

<sup>1146</sup>Thus e.g., *i*<sup>10</sup> (*fols. 1–10*) indicates that the first quire in a manuscript is a quinio and covers fols. 1–10. Missing folios are also recorded; e.g. *iii*<sup>12–1</sup> (*fols. 21–31*) indicates that the third quire in a manuscript is a senio, quire comprising 12 folios but here with one missing and thus covering fols. 21–31. In the cases of missing or added folios, only their number has been indicated, not the position from which they were cut or to which they were added.

*Written space*: Height and length of the ruled space. Number of lines (position of the first line, whether above or below the top border). Method of ruling, types of borders used.<sup>1147</sup> Pricking, visible or not.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: Number of scribes. Each scribe is described by the folios they write on, the color of ink and type of script they use, with special note on their use of capitals or large scale letters for incipits. Use of rubrication.

*Illumination and decoration*: The section begins with the description of the incipit page(s) of the manuscript, noting the type and size of initial, marginal decorations and their decorative features, and the coats of arms. Description of initials of specific items follows next, accompanied by the folios they appear with the exception of chapter initials. Use of paragraph marks. Spaces left for initials and titles are also indicated.

*Colophons*: Colophons are listed in the chronological order, accompanied by the folio number they appear on, dating and ink used.

*Marginalia*: Readers flagging the text with marginal notes are listed in chronological order, described by dating, color of ink, and type of marginal notes used (verbal or non-verbal).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Type of binding and covers, accompanied by the identification of papal (name of the pope, followed by the years of his papacy) and cardinal (name of the cardinal, followed by the years of his service as the cardinal librarian) coats of arms, if available, or rough dating if not. Presence of lunettes, clasps and strappings. Type of flyleaves and pastedowns (parchment or paper), with suggestion when they were added. Note on the decoration or titles written on the folio edges.

*Secundo folio*: First two or three words of the fol. 2r.

## **Contents**

The contents section provides information for every flyleaf and folio of a manuscript. Unlike in the material description, where the **minuscule roman numerals** indicate the cumulative number of flyleaves in the manuscript, here they refer to the number of the flyleaf in the sequence, noting also notable texts or notes pasted to it (modern shelf-mark stickers are not mentioned). For every item the following information is provided:

### **Item number) folios containing the text: Author, English Title**

*Titulus*: The title as it appears in the manuscript. If it appears within the parentheses, it means that the title was written by the main scribe in smaller letters or on margin in order to provide it later with the rubricated one. Only titles recorded by the scribes while those supplied by the later readers are not listed here.<sup>1148</sup>

*Incipit*: The opening words of the item.

*Explicit*: The closing words of the item.

*Rubric*: The note or instruction indicating the end of the item.

*Note on the Text*: Comments regarding peculiarities found in the text, such as lacunae or additions.

## **Bibliography**

The section provides bibliographical references for the analyzed manuscript.

*Month and year when the manuscript was analyzed.*

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<sup>1147</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the description implies ruled lines.

<sup>1148</sup>Note that *Titulus*, *Incipit*, *Explicit*, and *Rubric* all preserve the orthography and style (minuscule or majuscule) used in the text. *Titulus*, *Incipit*, and *Explicit* are listed regularly, while *Rubric* and *Note on the Text* appear only if necessary. The abbreviations have all been expanded except for the suspended ones. Such as *r. p.* for example, denoting *res publica*.

*Casale Montferrato, Seminario Vescovile*

: 1 :

**MS I.A.8.**

**Nicholas of Modruš, *On Consolation***

*(19th century)*

*The manuscript was not analyzed.*

*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana*

: 2 :

**MS 365**

**Humanist Miscellany**

*(Papal States, 1470x1480)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* paper; watermark *oiseau* similar either to Briquet 12147 (Rome, 1479–1481). 193x137mm. Fols. v+141+iii. 19th-century foliation stamped in the upper right corner, 1–141; 19th-century foliation in pencil, 1–141; modern intermittent foliation in pen marking the start and end of items (fols. 71 and 137 erroneously marked as fols. 69 and 135 respectively; corresponds to the table of contents on fol. v; cf. Contents). Fols. 68–141 have a wormhole in the middle of the outer margin.

*Quire structure:* i–iv<sup>12</sup> (fols. 1–48), v<sup>10</sup> (fols. 49–58), vi<sup>12</sup> (fols. 59–70), vii<sup>16</sup> (fols. 71–86), viii–xi<sup>12</sup> (fols. 87–134), xii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 135–141)–1 (after fol. 141). Vertical catchwords at the very bottom of the inner margin, sometimes cropped.

*Written space:* Three different layouts; A (fols. 1–48): 123x70mm, 22 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry-ruled with single borders; B (fols. 49–70): 138x75mm, 20–26 long lines that do not respect the right border (first line above the upper border) dry-ruling and only for single outside borders; C (fols. 71–141): 121x65mm, 22 long lines (first line above the upper border), led ruling for the vertical borders and crayon for lines. No pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All texts written by the same scribe (Italic script), in brown ink except for item 7 in red. A: all items have rubricated titles (title of item 6 in purple); items 5 and 6 have titles in majuscule letters; marginalia in red throughout items 2 and 6 by the main scribe, verbal (flagging up names and key notions, following the structure; Bessarion's running commentary indicating the contemporary relevance of item 6; sometimes cropped) and nonverbal (quotation marks, nota lines; nota monogram in brown ink on fol. 14r). B: no rubrication, no marginalia. C: title and marginalia in red ink by Nicholas of Modruš, verbal (following the structure, flagging up names; sometimes cropped) and nonverbal (*maniculae* with a thin elongated index finger, quotation marks).

*Illumination and decoration:* None except for rubricated initials.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* contemporary hand (the letter forms suggest that it is possibly the hand of Nicholas of Modruš, although the shortness of the text leaves the question open), pen in grey ink following the item 1, verbal (flagging up a commonplace, fol. 4v; cropped) and nonverbal (vertical nota lines, fols. 4v, 5v, 7r); nonverbal marginalia following the items 8 and 9 (*maniculae*, some with collars some plain, and vertical nota lines, fols. 51r, 51v, 52v, 56r–57r, 60v, 62v, 64r, 64v) are in grey ink and possibly by Nicholas as well (most of the passages marked are concerned with grief and consolation, one of Nicholas' main philosophical interests). Later hand (16th c.), pen in brown ink following items

1 (fols. 2r–3v) and 8 (fols. 49v, 50v–53r), verbal (commenting; sometimes cropped) and nonverbal (underlining).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern binding with marbled paper overboards, spine detached. Title on the spine reads *Bessarion Card. Orationes et alia*. All flyleaves added with the modern binding except the last two at the front which are of earlier date, but not original. Two flyleaves immediately preceding the main body are of earlier date, the second of which contains a 19th-century table of contents. The folios were cropped during the rebinding, after the 16th-century reader entered his notes.

*Secundo folio:* immortalis templa.

## Contents

i–v: blank with a 19th-century table of contents (*Index huius codicis*) by Luigi Rigoli (1763–1832, librarian of the Riccardiana library) with numbers corresponding to the intermittent foliation.

1) **fols. 1r–15r: Bessarion, Oration on the Imminent Perils**

*Titulus:* Bessarionis episcopi Sabini Cardinalis Niceni Patriarchae Constantinopolitani de periculis a Turco imminentibus oratio.

*Incipit:* Multa sunt profecto beatissime pater uosque uiri praestantes Italiae legati...

*Explicit:* ... libertatem Italiae, salutem omnibus conseruetis.

2) **fols. 15r–31r: Bessarion, Oration on Ending the Discord and Attacking the Turks**

*Titulus:* Eiusdem ad Illustrissimos inclytosque Italiae principes de discordiis sedandis et bello in Turcum decernendo.

*Incipit:* Satis, ut arbitror, de periculis toti Italiae imminentibus...

*Explicit:* in perpetuum, ac periculo liberemus.

3) **fol. 31v: Bessarion, Couplet on the Italian Peace**

*Titulus:* De pace Italiae a Bessarione domi suae composita post multa quae frustra in consistorio de hac re agitata fuerant (*after the text*).

*Text:* Heu uigilate uiri, tacito nam tempora cursu / Diffugiunt, nulloque sono conuertitur annus.

4) **fol. 31v: Giovan Battista Almadiani, Epigram on the Turkish Threat**

*Titulus:* Ioannis Baptiste Almadiani Epigramma.

*Incipit:* Ne Turco fieret turpissima praeda nefando.

*Explicit:* Ausoniae norit foedera Bessario.

5) **fols. 32r–32v: Bessarion, Preface to the translation of Demosthenes' First Olynthiac Speech addressed to pope Paul II**

*Titulus:* Bessarionis Cardinali Niceni et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani ad Paulum II Pontificem Maximum Praefatiuncula.

*Incipit:* Quom mecum nuper cogitarem beatissime pater...

*Explicit:* ... iam facile intelliges totam orationem causę nostrae conuenire.

6) **fols. 33r–42v: Demosthenes, First Olynthiac speech (tr. Bessarion)**

*Titulus:* Demosthenis oratio pro ferenda ope Olynthiis aduersus Philippum regem Macedonum

*Incipit:* Grandi pecuniae uos anteposituros arbitror Athenienses...

*Explicit:* ... maximis possum precibus oro, atque obtestor. Laus Deo.

Notes on the text: Accompanied by Bessarion's marginal commentary.

7) **fols. 43r–43v: Gianbattista Almadiani, Epigram to the Christian Princes**

*Titulus:* Heus principes Christiani.

*Incipit:* Quae uos segnities Itali damnosa moratur.

*Explicit:* mox icto Turchus federe fusus erit.

*Rubric:* Ioannes Baptista Viterbiensis.

**fols. 44r–48v:** blank

8) **fols. 49r–53r: Simplicius of Cilicia, Preface to Epictetus' Encheiridion (tr. Niccolò Perotti)**

*Titulus:* Simplicii philosophi in expositionem Enchyridii prefatio incipit felicissime

*Incipit:* De uita quidem Epiteti deque eius morte...

*Explicit:* ... neque instrumenti sunt, curam habet. Nicolai Perotti de Graeco translatio prohemii finit feliciter.

9) **fols. 53r–69v: Epictetus, Encheiridion (tr. Niccolò Perotti)**

*Titulus:* Epiteti philosophi Enchyridium incipit feliciter

*Incipit:* Eorum quae sunt quedam in nobis sunt...

*Explicit:* ... nocere uero mihi minime possunt.

**fols. 70r–70v:** blank

10) **fols. 71r–137r: Nicholas of Modruš, Defense of the Ecclesiastical Liberty**

*Titulus:* N. Episcopi Modrusciensis defensio libertatis ecclesiasticae ad Reuerendissimum dominum Cardinalem Sancti Georgii

*Incipit:* Insonuit totum per orbem...

*Explicit:* ... uiuit et regnat in æternum. Benedictus Deus.

**fol. 137v–141r:** blank

**fol. 141v:** recording the stamped foliation, ‘Carte 141 nuov. num.’

***Bibliography***

*Analyzed in June 2010.*

*Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna*

**: 3 :**

***MS M.I.159. (I.7.13.)***

***Humanist miscellany including a copy of Oratio in funere Petri Riarii  
(?)***

*The manuscript was not analyzed.*

*Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale*

**: 4 :**

***MS I.B.6.***

***Humanist miscellany including a copy of Oratio in funere Petri Riarii  
(?)***

*The manuscript was not analyzed.*

*Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana*

**: 5 :**

***Corsin. 127 (43.E.3)***

***Composite manuscript preserving Nicholas' De bellis Gothorum (A), De humilitate (B),  
and translations of Isocrates' orations (C)  
(Papal States, A: 1471x1473, B: 1470, C: 1471x1472)***

*For the description of manuscript, see App. 8b, no. 42.*

: 6 :

**Corsin. 583 (45.C.18)**

***Humanist miscellany including a copy of Oratio in funere Petri Riarii***

(?)

*The manuscript was not analyzed.*

*Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense*

: 7 :

**Casan. 276**

***A composite manuscript including the complimentary copy of De mortalium felicitate for***

***Matthias Corvinus***

***(Papal States, 1470x1480)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Five different fascicules of different sizes bound together. A: parchment (f, h–h, f–f), 205x144mm; B: parchment (f, h–h, f–f), 204x149mm; C: parchment (f, h–h, f–f), 202x141mm; D: parchment (f, h–h, f–f), 206x143mm; E: parchment (f, h–h, f–f), 204x159mm; 18th-century papers or letters were inserted between fascicules A and B, C and D, and D and E, and foliated. Fols. i+117+i. 19th-century stamped foliation in the lower right corner, fols. 1–117. Separate foliations for each item in the upper right corner, presumably predating their binding together.

*Quire structure:* Five different fascicules with 18th-century papers and letters inserted: A: i<sup>12</sup> (fols. 1–12), ii<sup>10</sup>–2+1 (fols. 13–21); (*fols.* 22–25); B: iii<sup>8</sup>–1 (fols. 26–32), iv<sup>8</sup> (fols. 33–40), v<sup>8</sup> (fols. 41–48); C: vi<sup>10</sup>+1 (fols. 49–59), vii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 60–69); (*fols.* 70–71); D: viii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 72–81), ix<sup>6</sup> (fols. 82–87); (*fols.* 88–89); E: x–xii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 90–113), xiii<sup>4</sup> (fols. 114–117). Vertical descending catchwords in between the inner double borders (A, D), horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the lower margin (B, E), no catchwords (C).

*Written space:* Five different fascicules with different layouts. A: 148x87mm, 32 long lines (first line below the upper border), led ruled (double side and upper borders covering the full length and width; lower single border covering the full width), pricking visible. B: 138x78mm, 26 long lines, no ruling, pricking not visible; C: 124x94mm, 18 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry ruled (double side borders covering the full length), pricking not visible; D: 135x82mm, 25 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry ruled (single side borders covering the full length), pricking not visible; E: 169x107mm, 33 lines in two columns (first line below the upper border), led (?) ruling (single side borders covering the full length), pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Five different fascicules with five different scribes. A: scribe A, Nicholas of Modruš (humanistic book hand), in light brown ink, rubricating titles of the prologue (fol. 2r) and the work (fol. 3r); B: scribe B (gothic book hand) writing item 2 in brown and item 3 in black ink, rubricating the chapter headings of items 2 and 3; C: scribe C (humanistic book hand) in light brown ink, using capitals for the incipit of the work, red capitals for the title, and red minuscule letters for the titles of the epigrams; D: scribe D (semi-humanistic book hand) in brown ink, using capitals for the incipit of the letter and flagging in red ink key topics on the margins; E: scribe E (gothic book hand) in dark brown ink, rubricating the title and chapter headings, and flagging in red their number on the margins.

*Illumination and decoration:* A: fol. 2r has the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Hungary (double white cross on a black and blue backgrounded encircled in yellow) at the center of the lower margin, space left for the initials of prologue and the main text (fols. 2r, 3r). B: two-line-long blue initial within red penflourish decoration marks the beginning of item 2, while three-line-long crimson-blue-green

initials framed with gilt background mark the beginning of each of the chapters of item 3, and coat of arms of cardinal Roverella covers the entire fol. 49v, which used to be part of the fascicule C but is now pasted with the fasc. B; C: four-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the entire left margin marks the beginning of item 4 (fol. 50r); D: the beginning of item 5 is marked by a nine-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the upper, inner and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs and flowers, and with two putti bearing the wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of pope Paul II (fol. 72r); E: using two-to-three-line-long red initials to mark the beginning of chapters.

*Colophons*: A: None; B: None; C: 1) Tarusii die xiii Ian. Mccccclxxxiii<sup>o</sup> / Seruulus L. Montagna (*colophon on fol. 69v*); D: None; E: 2) Finito libro reddamus gratias christo 1331 (*on fol. 117r*).

*Marginalia*: A: 16th-century hand in brown ink flagging the text with verbal and nonverbal (vertical nota lines) marginalia; B: none, C; none; D: none; E later hand in light brown ink adding the running header.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Wooden binding covered in parchment, with the spine bearing the stamped title *VARIA MSS* at the top and current shelf-mark in pencil at the bottom *Mss 276*. Fascicule A was severely cropped at the bottom (although not at the sides), judging by the 10/15x46mm long stub protruding on the bottom of fol. 2r bearing the bottom of the coat of arms. Fol. 49 used to be appended to fascicule C but was pasted onto the end of fascicule B; Two flyleaves were, along with the pastedowns added during the binding of the volume.

*Secundo folio*: Nicolai Episcopi.

## Contents

**i**: 18th-century table of contents, in the hand of Gian Domenico Agnani

### Fasc. A

**fol. 1r–1v**: blank with title of the item 1 in the hand of Gian Domenico Agnani on the recto

#### 1) **fol. 2r–21r**: **Nicholas of Modruš, *Dialogue on the Happiness of the Mortals***

*Titulus*: Nicolai Episcopi Modrusiensis Ad Sanctissimum dominum Pium papam ii. de mortalium foelicitate prologus incipit.

*Incipit*: [N]On te preterit Beatissime p. et dominico et aliorum sanctorum.

*Explicit*: his dictis lete omnes discessimus.

**fol. 21v**: blank

**fol. 22r–25v**: letters of Gian Domenico Agnani regarding the texts, dated to 1743

### Fasc. B

**fol. 26r**: title of the item 2 in the hand of Agnani along with some other notes by other hands

#### 2) **fol. 26v**: **Unidentified**

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: Carmina hac paginula depicta Extracta fuere per me Iacobum gradonico militem

*Explicit*: Regi romano pacificatus abit.

*Text*:

#### 3) **fol. 26v–48v**: **Piero di Natale, *War between Alexander III and Barbarossa***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: Incomincia il libro sine nomine nel quale.

*Explicit*: Perche almondo due esser soleua.

### Fasc. C

**fol. 49r**: title of the item 4 in the hand of Agnani, Casanatense librarian

**fol. 49v**: Coat of arms of cardinal Roverella covering the entire folio

#### 4) **fol. 50r–69v**: **Leonardo Montagna, *Epigrams***

*Titulus*: AD DIVVM PRINCIPEM B. ROVERELLAM CARD. RAVENNATEM L. MONTAGNAE POETA LAVREATI EPIGRAMMATVM LIBRI II.

*Incipit*: PROXIMA CVI PATVLA EST.

*Explicit*: Ore Rauennatis uel pietatis fruar.

**fol. 70r–71v**: blank with only Agnani adding the title of item 5 on fol. 71r

### Fasc. D

#### 5) **fol. 72r–87r**: **Paul II, *Letter to the Doge Christoforo Mauro and Venetian Senate***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: PAVLVS EPISCOPVS SERVVS SERVORVM DEI DILECTIS filiis christoforo Mauro Duci uniuersoque Senatui Veneto Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. VAS electionis Paulus apostolus.

*Explicit*: Quod ipse dignetur efficere Iesus Christus dominus noster. Datum.

**fol. 87v–89v**: blank with Agnani adding the title of item 6 and some notes on fols. 88r and 89v

**Fasc. E**

**6) fols. 90r–117r: Odoric of Pordenone**

*Titulus:* Incipit liber fratris Odorici de foro Iulii prouincie sancti Antonii de quadam terra que dicitur Pontus Naonis.

*Incipit:* De pernicious que per aerem ducebantur

*Explicit:* et magnis corruscat miraculis. Amen.

**fol. 117v:** blank

**ii:** blank

***Bibliography***

*Analyzed in February 2011.*

*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*

**: 8 :**

***Vat. lat. 995***

***De titulis et auctoribus psalmorum produced for Nicholas' library***

***(Papal States, 1478x1480)***

*For the description of manuscript, see App. 8b, no. 10.*

**: 9 :**

***Vat. lat. 5139***

***Dedication copy of De consolatione to Marco Barbo***

***(Papal States, 1465x1466)***

***Codicological Description***

*Material:* paper, watermark *chapeau* (no Briquet number); 238x167mm. Fols. iv+127+i. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, fols. 1–123, predated by a erroneous foliation in the lower right corner.

*Quire structure:* i–ix<sup>12</sup> (fols. 1–108), x<sup>14</sup> (fols. 109–122), xi<sup>6</sup>–1 (fols. 123–127). Horizontal catchwords in bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space:* 135x85mm, 23 long lines. First line below the upper border. Dry ruling with double horizontal and vertical borders covering the whole width and length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The whole text written by one scribe (semi-humanistic script in light brown ink, characterized by the use of e-caudata, st and ct ligatures, gothic minuscule v, and avoidance of abbreviations), rubricating titles of chapters, and key terms and names flagged on the margins, and using red capitals for the titles of the work, books and sections. Authorial addition to the text by Nicholas of Modruš in light brown ink (fol. 56v). Contemporary hand in light brown ink added the table of contents on fol. 124.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has parallel coats of arms of Marco Barbo bishop of Vicenza (1420–1491) and Nicholas of Modruš, both encircled by interlacing white vines on a green and red background which join between the two coats of arms. Five-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines mark the beginning of the preface and the second part of the work (fols. 1r, 53v). Three-to-



five-line-long golden initials framed within blue, green and red colored background marking the beginnings of sections, marking the five *rationes consolandi* (fols. 3v, 21r, 66r, 88v, 97r).

*Colophons*: 1) Hoc tibi digne pater Leonardus scripsit habendum / Edidit Antistes Modrussiensis opus / Scriptor enim seruus semper deuotus utique est / Quique sui domini memor usque rogat / Nec mirere sui domini si commoda querit / Namque sunt domini uindicat esse sua (*text in humanistic book hand in red ink written by a different hand from that of the main scribe; on a note pasted to the verso of flyleaf iv*); 2) IN ARCE VITERBIENSI SECVNDO PAVLI EDITVM SCRIPTVMQVE VESTRO NOMINE REVERENDE PATER ET DOMINE (*fol. 123v in red ink*).

*Marginalia*: None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: wooden binding with leather over boards, with the coats of arms of Pius IX at the top and that of cardinal Angelo Mai (1782–1854) at the bottom with the shelf-mark ‘VAT. 5139’ in between. Pastedowns and flyleaves i, ii, v and vi are papers of modern date, while iii and iv were bound earlier, but after the original binding.

*Secundo folio*: immutare. Conatus sum.

### **Contents**

i–iv<sup>r</sup>: blank

iv<sup>v</sup>: pasted note containing the scribe’s poem

v: blank

1) **fols. 1r–123v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On Consolation***

*Titulus*: N. EPISCOPI MODRVSSIENSIS AD DOMINVM MARCHVM VICENTINVM PRAESVLEM LIBER DE CONSOLATIONE FOELICITER INCIPIT.

*Incipit*: CVM urgerem diligentius opus tuo nomine coeptum.

*Explicit*: in quorum unitate uiuit filius per immensa secula seculorum. Amen.

*Rubric*: FINIS FOELIX.

**fols. 124r–124v**: table of contents (added by a later hand)

**fols. 125r–127v**: blank

vi: blank

### **Bibliography**

*Analyzed in February 2011.*

: 10 :

**Vat. lat. 6029**

***First redaction of *De bellis Gothorum****

*(Papal States, 1472x1473)*

*For the description of manuscript App. 8b, no. 25.*

: 11 :

**Vat. lat. 8092**

***Humanist composite including a copy of *Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis****

*(Papal States, 1475x1500)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: Seven different fascicules in paper (See *Quire structure*). A: paper, watermark *oiseau* (no Briquet number) except fols. 8–9 watermark *lettre M* (similar to Briquet 8355, Catania 1477); B:

paper, watermark *sirène* (similar to Briquet 13882, Rome 1490–98); C: paper, watermark *oiseau* (similar to Briquet 12147, Rome 1479–1481, but different from the paper in fascicule G); D: paper, watermark *huchet* (similar to Briquet 7834, Rome 1470); E: paper, watermark *homme* (no Briquet number); F: paper, watermark *sirène* (similar to Briquet 13881, Rome 1488–91) G: paper, watermark *oiseau* (similar to Briquet 12147, Rome 1479–81, but different from the paper in fascicule C). 202x142mm Fols. 216+i. Foliation in pencil in the upper right corner, fols. 1–205 (fols. 116b, 130b, 130c, 166b, 195b, 195c skipped during foliation), with fols. 206–210 left unfoliated; earlier foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner numbering only the first folio of every item.

*Quire structure*: A: i<sup>16</sup> (fols. 1–16), ii–vi<sup>12</sup> (fols. 17–76); (fol. 77); B: vii<sup>4</sup> (fols. 78–81), viii<sup>2</sup> (fols. 82–83); C: ix–xi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 84–107), xii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 108–116b); D: xiii–xiv<sup>8</sup> (fols. 117–130c); E: xv<sup>12</sup> (fols. 131–142), xvi<sup>16</sup> (fols. 143–158); F: xvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 159–167), xviii–xix<sup>12</sup> (fols. 168–191), xx<sup>6</sup> (fols. 192–195c); G: xxi<sup>16</sup>–1 (fols. 196–210). Vertical descending catchwords in between the double inner borders at the bottom (A); vertical descending catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin (D), no catchwords (B, C, E, F, G).

*Written space*: A: 145x85mm, 20 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry ruling with double horizontal and vertical borders covering the whole width and length, pricking not visible; B: 145x100mm, 21 long lines, no ruling; C: 145x85mm, 30 long lines (first line above the upper border), lead ruling with single vertical and upper horizontal borders covering the whole length and width, pricking not visible; D: 160x95mm, 24 long lines (first line above the upper border), lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length, pricking not visible; E: ca. 130x80mm, 21 long lines, no ruling; F: for fols. 159–170r ca. 130x80mm with 21 long lines while for fols. 170v–195r ca. 150x80mm with 15–18 long lines, no ruling; G: 155x88mm, 29 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry ruling with double vertical lines covering the whole length, pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: A: Text written by a single scribe in brown ink (humanist cursive; using capitals for the incipit of the work), with the title and chapter headings on the margin written in red ink by Nicholas of Modruš; B: single scribe in light brown ink (italic script), no rubrication; C: all items written by the same scribe in light brown ink (humanist cursive), no rubrication; D: text written by a single scribe in light brown ink (humanist book hand), using capitals for the incipit of the letter (117r), and writing the title in capitals; E, F: scribe (humanist cursive) in brown ink writing the item 8 and item 9 until fol. 170v, while the second scribe (italic script, irregular) in dark brown ink writing the item 9 from fol. 170v until the end; F: text written by a single scribe (humanist cursive) in brown ink.

*Illumination and decoration*: A: None; B: None; C: None; D: Space left for the initial (fol. 117r); E: None; F: None; G: None.

*Colophons*: None.

*Marginalia*: 16th-c. (?) hand in dark brown/reddish ink flagging and correcting the item 1 (fols. 16r, 17r–18r, 19r–20r, 21v–22r, 26r, 27v, 35r, 39r), item 7 (?) (fol. 127r), and item 9 (fol. 159v–160r, 163r–164v, 165r–167r, 168r, 169v–170r, 171r–172r); cropped marginal notes following item 7 (fols. 118r, 124r–124v); later hand in brown ink adding titles to items 2 (fol. 77r), 5 (fol. 106r), 6 (fol. 111r); third hand in light brown ink adding the title to item 10 (fol. 196r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: wooden binding with parchment over boards; at the top of the spine stands the coat of arms of pope Leo XIII, that of cardinal Jean-Baptiste-François Pitra at the bottom, with the shelf-mark *VAT. 8092* in between. Flyleaf along with both pastedowns are papers of modern date.

*Secundo folio*: *Deus salutarium*.

## **Contents**

### **Fasc. A**

#### **1) fols. 1r–68r: Nicholas of Modruš, *Defense of the Ecclesiastical Liberty***

*Titulus*: Ad Reuerendissimum d. R. Cardinalem sancti Georgii N. Episcopus Modrussiensis. defensio ecclesiasticę libertatis.

*Incipit*: INSONVIT totum per orbem uictricium armorum.

*Explicit*: et regnat in eternum benedictus Deus.

**fols. 69v–77v**: blank with the title added by a later hand in brown ink ‘Oratio ad Regem Francorum at the top of fol. 77r

### **Fasc. B**

#### **2) fols. 78r–83v: Anonymous, *Speech to the King of France***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Si mittentis me personam inuictissime princeps et Francorum rex Christianissime.

*Explicit:* maiestatem tuam quam perpetuo cupit esse foelicem et gloriosam. dixi.

**Fasc. C**

3) **fol. 84r–98v: Anonymous, *History of the Reception of the Head of Saint Andrew***

*Titulus:* Incipit Andreas id est hystoria de receptione capitis Sancti Andree foeliciter.

*Incipit:* Si qua sunt memorię comendanda ex his quę nostra tempestate geruntur.

*Explicit:* cui est potestas et imperium per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

4) **fol. 99r–106r: Pope Pius II, *Response to the Legates of the King of France***

*Titulus:* Responsio Pii Pape II Data oratoribus Serenissimi regis francię in consistorio publico, cum illi per os Cardinalis Attichatensis uiri disertissimi obedientiam prestitissent et pragmaticam sanctionem abrogassent. Die XVI Martii Mccccxii.

*Incipit:* Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt,.

*Explicit:* cui est honor et gloria per infinita secula. amen.

5) **fol. 106r–111r: Pope Pius II, *Response to the Legates of Rene of Anjou***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* E regno Sicilię cuius proprietas ad nos et Romana ęcclesia pertinet.

*Explicit:* concordięque quouismodo intellexerimus.

6) **fol. 111r–115v: Pope Pius II, *Speech on the Canonization of Saint Catherine of Siena***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Caterinam Senensem in Cathalogum hodie sanctarum christi uirginum relaturi.

*Explicit:* quę suę sint beneplacita uoluntati et fidelium utilitati concedant.

*Rubric:* Finis. Laus Deo.

**fol. 116–116b:** blank

**Fasc. D**

7) **fol. 117r–130v: Christoforo Rapallo, *Letter to Pope Sixtus IV***

*Titulus:* AD SANCTISSIMVM DOMINVM NOSTRVM XYSTVM IIII PONT. MAX. CHRISTOPHORVS RAPALVS FOELICITER.

*Incipit:* CVPIENTI MIHI BEATISSIME Pater ad te aliquid scribere..

*Explicit:* aut posteris nostris intactam permittemus.

*Rubric:* VALE.

**fol. 130b–130c:** blank

**Fasc. E**

8) **fol. 131r–158v: Antonio Lollius, *De institutione pontificis***

*Titulus:* Antonii Lollii Geminianensis de institutione pontificis Ad Reuerendissimum dominum F. Cardinalem Senensem.

*Incipit:* Inter multa quę remotis epulis.

*Explicit:* in ocio rude ingenium nostrum omnino torpesceret. VIII Idus Octobres 1484.

*Rubric:* Anto. Lollius Geminianensis.

**Fasc. F**

9) **fol. 159r–195r: Antonio Lollius, *De celibatu sacerdotum***

*Titulus:* Antonii Lollii Geminianensis de Celibatu Sacerdotum.

*Incipit:* Saphro quartodecimo Assiriis imperante.

*Explicit:* effeminari nitimur similesque fieri quadrupedibus.

**fol. 195b–195c:** blank

**Fasc. G**

**fol. 196rv:** blank with only the erroneous title written by a later hand (Antonii Lollii oratio de se occidendo).

10) **fol. 197r–205v: Anonymous**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Adolescens Polius amore Pomiliae uirginis exausit.

*Explicit:* Quam mihi reddidi puellam hostem dum uti metuo.

**fol. 206–210:** blank

**i:** blank

***Bibliography***

*Analyzed in February and March 2011.*

**: 12 :**  
**Vat. lat. 8750**  
***Humanist composite including a copy of Oratio in funere Petri Riarii***  
**(?)**

*Not analyzed.*

**: 13 :**  
**Vat. lat. 8764**  
***De consolatione produced for Nicholas' Library***  
***(Papal States, ca. 1470)***

*For the description of manuscript App. 8b, no. 26.*

**: 14 :**  
**Urb. lat. 586**  
***Complimentary copy of De titulis et auctoribus psalmodum for Federico da Montefeltro***  
***(Perugia, 1478)***

***Codicological Description***

*Material:* paper, watermark *couronne* similar to Briquet 4861 (Palermo 1472; Fabriano 1460; also appearing in one MS dated to 1476), 215x145mm. Fols. ii+50+i. Later foliation in dark brown ink in the upper right corner, fols. 1–48.

*Quire Structure:* i–v<sup>10</sup>. Vertical descending catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space:* 148x84mm, 23 long lines. First line below the upper border. Ruling: dry ruling with single horizontal and vertical borders covering the whole width and length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The text was written by a single scribe (humanistic cursive, characterized by the use of e-caudatas, ampersands, st ligature and capital R used as the terminal minuscule r abbreviating genitiv plural), in brown ink; using of capital letters in red for the title (fol. 1r). Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink emending the text on the margins and *inter lineas*.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a three-line-long initial in blue with surrounding vines in red pen-flourish extending downwards to the lower half of the folio; at the center of the lower margin appears the coat of arms of Federico da Montefeltro. Two-line-long red initials mark the beginnings of chapters.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* wooden binding covered in parchment, with the title on the spine '586'. At the center of the front cover stands a golden-colored coat of arms of Pius VI (r. 1775–1799), while at the center of the back cover that of Francisco Javier de Zelada (1717–1801), librarian of the Vatican library. Flyleaves and pastedowns are papers of modern date.

*Secundo folio:* -se sacerdotes ullo.

### **Contents**

i–ii: with the title of the work on verso of the flyleaf ii by a later hand.

1) **fols. 1r–48v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On the Titles and Authors of the Psalms***

*Titulus*: DOMINO ANGELO FELTRENSI PONTIFICI NICOLAVS EPISCOPVS MODRVSSIENSIS S.D.P.

*Incipit*: POSTVLASTI a me cum Romę essem proprios singulorum psalmorum aperirem auctores.

*Explicit*: uel ut littera habet non uidebo salutare dei in terra uiuentium.

**fols. 49r–50v**: blank

**iii**: blank

### **Bibliography**

*Analyzed in February 2011.*

*Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*

**: 15 :**

***Marc. lat. XIV.180***

***Humanist miscellany including a copy of Oratio in funere Petri Riarii***

***(?)***

*Not analyzed.*

*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*

**: 16 :**

***MS 2431***

***Dedication copy of De mortalium felicitate for John Vitéz***

***(Kingdom of Hungary, 1463x1464)***

*Not analyzed.*

*Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*

**: 17 :**

***AHAZU II.B.3***

***Miscellany including Navicula Petri***

***(Hungary, 1471)***

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: paper; three types of watermarks, *balance* for quires i–ii (no Briquet number), *ciseaux* for quires iii–v (no Briquet number), and a different *balance* for quires vi–vii (no Briquet number);

208x145mm; fols.: i+70+i. 19th-century foliation in black pen in the upper right corner (error in foliation: fol. 21<sup>2</sup> was skipped during foliation). Stub following fol. 68 was part of a used folio, and final letters of first two rows are still visible; quire *i* has a rupture in the middle of the inside margin, and a 1cm-wide piece of paper has been pasted along the inner margin of fol. 1 to prevent the spread of the rupture; fols. 43–69 have a wormhole in the bottom of the inside margin.

*Quire structure*: changeable size of the quires: i<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–10), ii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 11–18), iii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 19–29), iv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 30–39), v<sup>12</sup> (fols. 40–51), vi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 52–61), vii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 62–69)–1 (after fol. 68)–1 (after fol. 69). Horizontal catchwords in the middle of the lower margin. Quire *iv* erroneously written out by the scribe.

*Written space*: 141x75mm. 28 long lines. First line below the upper border. Dry ruling with double borders. No pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: scribe A (semi-humanistic book hand in dark brown ink) writing item 1; scribe B (semi-humanistic cursive in brown ink) writing items 2 to 8; scribe C (humanist book hand in dark brown ink) writing items 9 and 10; scribe D (Croatian Cyrillic in light brown ink) writing item 11. The incipits of sections in items 1 and 11 written in majuscule letters.

*Illumination and decoration*: None.

*Colophons*: 1) anno 1471 Laurencius de Matuuczina scripsit istos duos libellos, seruus doctoris regie maiestatis amen (fol. 49r).

*Marginalia*: Contemporary reader *a* (humanist cursive with distinctive long upright terminal *s* written in two strokes, and notes preceded by a [] sign) in light brown ink with thinner strokes flagging items 1 (focusing on the history of Illyricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Thracia), 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6; but also noting directions for the erroneously bound quire *iv* in the lower margins of fols. 33v (Vade ad tertium folium, ubi incipit “quae autem ad fortitudinem”) and 35v (Vade retro ad tertium folium, cuius principium est “pater”). Contemporary reader *b* (humanist cursive) in light brown ink and thicker strokes flagging the text of items 1 (fol. 4v), 2 (fol. 15r), 3 (fols. 19r, 21<sup>2</sup>v, 22r, 22v, 24v, 25r, 29v), 4 (fol. 35v), 9 (fol. 53r) Contemporary reader *b* (humanist book hand) in dark brown ink emending the end of item 3 (fol. 36r: *emendaui quantum pa[s]sa est una tumult[ua]ria lucubratio*). Sixteenth-century reader *c* in dark brown ink commenting below item 11 (*Sapendo io cor[po] padrone come abiete*).

*Binding and flyleaves*: 18th-century cardboard-binding covered in light-green paper on top, with an old manuscript shelf mark indicated on top of the spine (*Nr*: DCXXIV). Folios have been cropped during rebinding (no pricking visible, cropped marginalia). 18th-century paper flyleaves added at both sides of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio*: adhuc prauae.

## Contents

**i**: 19th-century contents by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski

### 1) fols. 1r–14v: Festus, *Breviarium*

*Titulus*: (—).

*Incipit*: BREVEM FIERI Claemencia tua libellum praecepit, parebo libens praeceptis.

*Explicit*: sicut de Gothis etiam Babylonibus tibi palma pacis accedat Glorississime principum, Valentiane Auguste.

### 2) fols. 14v–31v, 34r–35r: Nicholas of Modruš, *Peter’s Barge*

*Titulus*: Reuerendissimo in christo patre et domino domino Stephano Archiepiscopo Colocensi dignissimo Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusiensis Salutem exoptat sempiternam.

*Incipit*: Solent qui longinquas adeunt terras reuertentes e peregrinis deliciis munuscula amorem suum testancia charissimis suis deferre.

*Explicit*: et dic mira ordinacione dispositus ac sempiternis legibus stabilitus, arguit et conpescit.

*Text*: Modruški, ‘Petrova lađica.’

### 3) fols. 35r–35v: John Vitéz, *Letter to Stehen Várdai and Ladislav Palocz*

*Titulus*: Reuerendissimo patri domino Stephano Archiepiscopo Colocensi et Magnifico Comiti Ladislao de Palocz iudici Curie Regie maiestatis etc.

*Incipit*: Reuerendissime pater et Magnifice uir, domini nobis honorandi, dolore ac suspiriis uerba ructantibus.

*Explicit*: qousque uos uidero incolumes in regno. Valeatis bene si potestis. Ex Praga In festo sancte Katerine. 1457.

### 4) fols. 35v, 32r: Leonardo Bruni, *Short Oration before Pope Martin V*

- Titulus:* Leonardi Aretini Oraciuncula ad summum pontificem per quendam puerum et cetera.  
*Incipit:* Inter uestras prestantissimas laudes Beatissime pater nulla nec excelleciior est nec illustrior.  
*Explicit:* orans atque supplicans ut in hoc laudandi desiderio meo suscipere me dignemini commendatum.
- 5) **fol. 32r–33v, 36r–46v: Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration* (tr. Janus Pannonius)**  
*Titulus:* Oracio demostenis greca per Reuerendum dominum Iohannem Electum confirmatum Quinqueecclesiensem Millesimo quadringentesimo lx quinto Idus Iunias latina facta.  
*Incipit:* Institutum athenis erat ut qui bello pro patria oppetissent, publico funere solenniter efferrentur.  
*Explicit:* Vos autem luctu expleto ac iis que ad rem pertinencia sunt debite peractis abscedite. DIXI.
- 6) **fol. 46v–49r: Giovanni Castiglione, *Oration before Ladislas V***  
*Titulus:* (—).  
*Incipit:* TAMetsi nihil dubitet summus et maximus pontifex noster lugubrem famam.  
*Explicit:* In cruce sane pependit unicum nostre salutis precium Ihesus Christus qui te felicem faciat.
- 7) **fol. 49r–50r: John Vitéz, *Response to Giovanni Castiglione***  
*Titulus:* (—).  
*Incipit:* Reuerendissime pater. Religiosam operam recte ac digne apostolice cure congruam paremque.  
*Explicit:* quas ad tuendas Christiani naufragii reliquias propagandumque (...).  
*Note on the Text:* (Incomplete text.)  
**fol. 50v–51v:** blank (with *probatio pennae* on fol. 51r)
- 8) **fol. 52r–68v: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini: *On the Education of Youth***  
*Titulus:* (—).  
*Incipit:* SERENISSIMO principi domino Ladislao Pannoniorum ac Bohemie regi et potenti Austrie duci domino suo Eneas Episcopus Trigestinus Salutem plurimam dicit. Si quem uirtuti operam dare totumque se bonis prebere artibus oportet.  
*Explicit:* asseuerans deos ab hominibus non esse iudicandos; nec mirum ait (...).  
*Note on the Text:* (Incomplete)  
**fol. 69r:** blank
- 9) **fol. 69v: Anonymous Croatian vernacular poem *Uzrok je neka vila*, no. 717 from *Nikša Ranjina's Miscellany***  
*Titulus:* (—).  
*Incipit:* Usrok ie vil nieka da mlados ma vene.  
*Explicit:* rasplia i travi tušno me sardačce (...).  
*Note on the Text:* (The text is incomplete, and only first twelve out of 28 verses were copied.)  
**ii:** blank

## ***Bibliography***

*Analyzed in December 2010.*

## APPENDIX 8A: THE LIBRARY – INVENTORY OF THE BOOKS DONATED TO THE AUGUSTINIANS

The following pages present the inventory of the books of Nicholas of Modruš that were donated by Sixtus IV to the Augustinians as it was published by David Gutiérrez.<sup>1149</sup> The inventory – appearing on fols. 31r–35r of the a general inventory of Santa Maria del Popolo carried out in 1480 and preserved in the Augustinian General Archives in Rome – was transcribed for Gutiérrez by the prefect of the Archives at the time, Ignatius Arámburu.<sup>1150</sup> The Appendix includes the identification of titles listed, as well as of particular manuscript copies and incunable editions (with those editions available online hyperlinked). Finally the table also includes the simple classification following the discussion of the major sections of Nicholas’ library (see Chapter ‘A Synchronic Perspective: Contents of the Library’): 1) the ‘humanist section’ (H) covering classical and patristic Latin works as well as humanist authorial works and translation of Greek classics and patristics; and 2) ‘scholastic section’ (S) covering mostly scholastic philosophical, theological and logical works; with 3) the rest including other genres such as canon law literature, Bibles and biblical tools, liturgical books, confessional summas, medieval histories, Italian vernacular works, Nicholas’ own work, a map and other classified as ‘other’ (O).

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<sup>1149</sup>Gutiérrez, ‘De antiquis bibliothecis,’ 281–287.

<sup>1150</sup>The shelf mark of this paper manuscript, 290x108mm in dimensions, is not provided; see Gutiérrez, ‘De antiquis bibliothecis,’ 263.



| NO. | ITEM  | AUTHOR, WORK   | T | IDENTIFICATION  |
|-----|---|--|---|---|
| 1   | Imprimis breviarium decretorum impressum, rubeis tabulis, cuius initium est <i>Tabula optima</i> , finis vero <i>18 augusti</i> . | Paul Attavanti,<br><i>Breviarium totius juris canonici sive decretorum breviarium</i>              | O | <u>Milan (Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 28 Aug 1479)</u>   |
| 2   | Item decretum impressum, rubeis tabulis.  | Gratian, <i>Decretum</i>   | O | <u>Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 28 June 1474); Rome (Georgius Lauer, 22 Mar 1476); Venice (Nicolaus Jensen, 1477); Rome (Udalricus Gallus/ Ulrich Han, 29 Oct 1478); Rome (Simon Nicolai Chardella de Lucca, 18 May 1479); Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 3 Jan 1479/80)</u> |
| 3   | Item codex canonum manu scriptus, tabulis albis, cuius initium <i>Apostolorum canones</i> finis <i>Laus Christo</i> .             | <i>Canones apostolorum</i>   | O | ---   |
| 4   | Item secunda pars archiepiscopi Florentini, impressa, nudis tabulis, cuius initium <i>Tu contribulasti etc.</i>                   | Antonio Pierozzi,<br><i>Summa theologica</i> part 2  | S | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1477, only part 2)  |
| 5   | Item tertia pars archiepiscopi Florentini, impressa, nudis tabulis, cuius initium <i>Astitit regina, etc.</i>                     | Antonio Pierozzi,<br><i>Summa theologica</i> part 3  | S | Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1477-1480, in 4 parts, pt. 3 in 1477)  |
| 6   | Item Biblia impressa, nudis tabulis.  | Bible  | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471); with 10 subsequent Italian editions by 1480  |
| 7   | Item alia Biblia eodem modo.  | Bible  | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471); with 10 subsequent Italian editions by 1480  |
| 8   | Item primus Scoti impressus, nudis tabulis, cuius initium <i>Utrum</i> , finis <i>Venetiis</i> .                                  | Johannes Duns Scotus,<br><i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 1 | S | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476?-1478, in 4 parts, pt. 1 on 26 Jul 1477)   |
| 9   | Item idem in pergameno manu scriptus.   | Johannes Duns Scotus,<br><i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 1 | S | ---   |
| 10  | Item secundus Scoti impressus, tabulis nudis.   | Johannes Duns Scotus,<br><i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 2 | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476?-1478, in 4 parts, pt. 2 on 7 Jan 1478)</u>   |
| 11  | Item idem manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.   | Johannes Duns Scotus,<br><i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 2 | S | ---   |
| 12  | Item tertius Scoti impressus, nudis tabulis.  | Johannes Duns Scotus,<br><i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 3 | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476?-1478, in 4 parts, pt. 3 in 1477)</u>   |

|    |  |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|---|
| 13 | Item quartus Scoti impressus, nudis tabulis.                 | Johannes Duns Scotus, <i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 4 | S | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476?-1478, in 4 parts, pt. 4 in 1476?, before 3 Oct 1477)  |
| 14 | Item Scotus circa quartum sententiarum, nudis tabulis.       | Johannes Duns Scotus, <i>Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> , pt. 4 | S | ---   |
| 15 | Item quolibet Scoti manu scriptum, rubeis tabulis.           | Johannes Duns Scotus, <i>Quodlibeta</i>   | S | Ang. lat. 559   |
| 16 | Item quolibet eiusdem impressum, nudis tabulis.              | Johannes Duns Scotus, <i>Quodlibeta</i>   | S | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 7 Oct 1477); Padua (Albertus de Stendal, 1474)  |
| 17 | Item primum volumen Jeronimi impressum, rubeis tabulis.      | Jerome, <i>Epistolae</i> pt 1   | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, (not after 30 Aug) 1480); Venice (Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 22 Jan 1476, ed. Theodorus Lelius); Rome (Arnoldus Pannartz, 28 Mar 1476) |
| 18 | Item secundum volumen eiusdem impressum, rubeis tabulis      | Jerome, <i>Epistolae</i> pt 2   | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, (not after 30 Aug) 1480); Venice (Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 22 Jan 1476, ed. Theodorus Lelius); Rome (Georgius Lauer, 5 Apr 1479)     |
| 19 | Item prima quarti Alexandri manu scripta, nudis tabulis.     | Alexander of Hales, <i>Summa theologica</i> , vol. 4, pt 1                                      | S | Ang. lat. 555   |
| 20 | Item secunda quarti Alexandri manu scripta, nudis tabulis.   | Alexander of Hales, <i>Summa theologica</i> , vol. 4, pt 2                                      | S | Ang. lat. 556   |
| 21 | Item tertius Alexandri manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.         | Alexander of Hales, <i>Summa theologica</i> , vol. 3  | S | Ang. lat. 538   |
| 22 | Item secunda pars Alexandri manu scripta, nudis tabulis.     | Alexander of Hales, <i>Summa theologica</i> , vol. 2  | S | Ang. lat. 537   |
| 23 | Item prima secunde sancti Thome manu scripta, nudis tabulis. | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> , vol. 2, pt. 1   | S | ---   |
| 24 | Item eadem pars eiusdem impressa.                            | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> , vol. 2, pt. 1   | S | <u>Venice (Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn and Petrus de Bartua, 1478)</u>   |
| 25 | Item tertia pars sancti Thome impressa, nudis tabulis.       | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> , vol. 3  | S | Treviso (Michael Manzolus, 1476); Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 14 May 1478)  |
| 26 | Item quartus sancti Thome impressus, nudis tabulis.          | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Super quarto libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i> (?)                       | S | <u>Venice (Leonardus Wild, 18 Mar 1478)</u>   |

|    |   |  |   |   |
|----|---|--|---|---|
| 27 | Item quodlibet sancti Thome de spiritualibus et alia quolibeta manu scripta, nudis tabulis.   | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Quaestiones de duodecim quodlibet</i> and <i>De spiritualibus creaturis</i> (?) | S | ---   |
| 28 | Item quoddam opus sancti Thome manu scriptum, nudis tabulis, cuius initium <i>Veritatem meditabitur</i> , finis <i>Usque in sempiternam</i> . | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa contra gentiles</i>   | S | ---   |
| 29 | Item Thomas de malo et de potentia Dei manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Thomas Aquinas, <i>De malo</i> and <i>De potentia Dei</i>  | S | ---   |
| 30 | Item questiones sancti Thome impresse, nudis tabulis.   | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Quaestiones de duodecim quodlibet</i>   | S | Rome (Georgius Lauer, about 1470); <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476)</u>                     |
| 31 | Item ordo et assignatio questionum secundi libri sancti Thome impressus, rubeis tabulis.  | Thomas Aquinas, Table of contents of the 2nd book of ?   | S | ?   |
| 32 | Item primus Thome de Argentina manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.   | Thomas of Strasbourg, <i>Commentaria in IV libros Sententiarum</i> , pt 1                          | S | ---   |
| 33 | Item quartus Thome de Argentina manu scriptus, tabulis rubeis.  | Thomas of Strasbourg, <i>Commentaria in IV libros Sententiarum</i> , pt 4                          | S | ---   |
| 34 | Item posteriorum sancti Thome manu scriptum, nudis tabulis.   | Thomas Aquinas, <i>Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis</i>                                 | S | ---   |
| 35 | Item Nicholaus de Lira super libris novi Testamenti impressus, rubeis tabulis.  | Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i> (in 5 parts), pt 4 (?)                       | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471-72, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria, pt. 4 undated)        |
| 36 | Item secundus liber Nicholai de Lyra super libros Esdre impressus, rubeis tabulis.  | Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i> (in 5 parts), pt 2 (?)                       | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471-72, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria, pt. 2 on 26 May 1472) |
| 37 | Item tertius Nicolai de Lyra impressus, rubeis tabulis.   | Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i> (in 5 parts), pt 3                           | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471-72, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria, pt. 3 on 14 Jan 1472) |
| 38 | Item quintus Nicolay de Lyra impressus, tabulis rubeis.   | Nicholas of Lyra, <i>Postilla super totam Bibliam</i> (in 5 parts), pt 5                           | O | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471-72, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria, pt. 5 on 13 Mar 1472) |
| 39 | Item quadragesimale impressum fratris Gasparis de Pergola, tabulis rubeis.  | Gaspere di Pergola (?), <i>Quadragesimale</i>  | O | ?   |
| 40 | Item quadragesimale impressum fratris Leonardi, nudis tabulis.  | Leonardus de Utino, <i>Quadragesimale aureum</i>   | O | <u>Venice (Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn, (not after 23 Oct) 1471)</u>   |
| 41 | Item quadragesimale de floribus sapientie magistri Ambrosii impressum, nudis tabulis.   | Ambrosius de Spiera, <i>Quadragesimale de floribus sapientiae</i>                                  | O | <u>Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 18 Dec 1476)</u>  |

|    |   |  |   |   |
|----|---|--|---|---|
| 42 | Item quadragesimale Roberti impressum, nudis tabulis.   | Roberto Caracciolo, <i>Opera</i> (in 3 parts with pt. 1 <i>Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia</i> ) | O | Venice (Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn, 1479)   |
| 43 | Item quadragesimale Pauli Florentini impressum, tabulis nudis.  | Paulus Florentinus, <i>Quadragesimale de redditu peccatoris ad Deum</i>                                  | O | <u>Milan (Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 10 Sept 1479)</u>                            |
| 44 | Item quadragesimale portatile in pergameno.   | <i>Quadragesimale</i> by an unknown author   | O | ---   |
| 45 | Item primus sententiarum Gerardi de Senis manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.   | Gerard of Siena, <i>Lectura on the First Book of the Sentences</i>                                       | S | Ang. lat. 551   |
| 46 | Item Archiepiscopus predicatorum circa primum sententiarum manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                                    | Commentary on the first book of the Sentences by an unidentified Dominican                               | S | ---   |
| 47 | Item Gerardus super primo sententiarum manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Gerald of Odo (?), <i>Commentary on the First Book of the entences</i>                                   | S | ---   |
| 48 | Item reportatio super 4 <sup>o</sup> sententiarum magistri Francisci de ( <i>litt. omm.</i> ), nudis tabulis manu scriptus. | Francis of Marchia, <i>Reportatio on the Sentences</i>   | S | Barb. lat. 791  |
| 49 | Item prima pars 4 <sup>i</sup> sententiarum manu scripta, albis tabulis.  | Peter Lombard, <i>Sententiae</i> pt 1  | S | ---   |
| 50 | Item primus sententiarum magistri Johannis Rhodi manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Giovanni Capreolo, <i>Commentary on the First Book of Sentences</i>                                      | S | Ang. lat. 575   |
| 51 | Item lectura super primo sententiarum magistri Alfonsi manu scripta, tabulis nudis.   | Alfonso de Vargas y Toledo, <i>Lectura on the First Book of the Sentences</i>                            | S | Ang. lat. 577   |
| 52 | Item expositio tertii libri sententiarum manu scripta, tabulis nudis.   | Commentary on the third book of the <i>Sentences</i> by an unidentified author                           | S | ---   |
| 53 | Item secundus Bonaventure manu scriptus, tabulis nudis.   | Bonaventure, <i>Commentary on the Sentences</i> , pt 2   | S | ---   |
| 54 | Item breviliquium Bonaventure, de ordine minorum, impressum, viridibus tabulis.   | Bonaventure, <i>Breviloquium</i>   | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, (before 14 Aug) 1477)</u>                      |
| 55 | Item Robertus de timore et divinis iudiciis impressus, nigris tabulis.  | Roberto Caracciolo, <i>Sermones de timore divinorum iudiciorum</i>                                       | O | Naples (Arnaldus de Bruxella, 21 Jul 1473); Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1475) |
| 56 | Item liber Alexandri Sarmonete impressus, nigris tabulis.   | Alexander Sermoneta, <i>Super consequentiis Strodi commentum</i>   | S | Padua (N.T.S.P., 20 Aug 1477)   |
| 57 | Item consolatio Nicolai episcopi, tabulis rubeis, manu scripta.   | Nicholas of Modruš, <i>De consolatione</i>   | O | Vat. lat. 8764  |

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| 58 | Item Landulphus manu scriptus, tabulis nudis.  | Landolfus Sagax,<br><i>Historia Romana</i> (?)   | O | ---   |
| 59 | Item omelie beati Johannis Crisostomi impresse, nudis tabulis.                           | John Chrysostom,<br><i>Homiliae super Iohannem</i> (tr. Francesco Griffolini)                    | H | Rome (Georgius Lauer, 29 Oct 1470)  |
| 60 | Item questiones evangelistarum domini Johannis de Montecremata impresse, tabulis nigris. | Juan de Torquemada,<br><i>Quaestiones Evangeliorum de tempore et de sanctis</i>                  | S | Rome (Johannes Schurener de Bopardia, 30 Apr 1477)  |
| 61 | Item Franciscus de Maronibus super primo sententiarum manu scriptus, tabulis nigris.     | Francis of Meyronnes,<br><i>Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences</i>                    | S | ---   |
| 62 | Item primus eiusdem impressus, tabulis nudis.  | Francis of Meyronnes,<br><i>Super primo libro Sententiarum Petri Lombardi</i>                    | S | Treviso (Michael Manzolus, 1476)  |
| 63 | Item secundus, tertius et quartus eiusdem manu scripti, tabulis rubeis.                  | Francis of Meyronnes,<br><i>Commentary on the Second, Third and Fourth Book of the Sentences</i> | S | ---   |
| 64 | Item questiones Francisci de Maronibus super artem veterem manu scripte, tabulis nudis.  | Francis of Meyronnes,<br><i>Commentary on the Ars vetus</i>                                      | S | ---   |
| 65 | Item epistole sancti Johannis Crisostomi impresse, rubeis tabulis.                       | John Chrysostom,<br><i>Opuscula</i> (?)  | H | <u>Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, about 1477-78)</u>  |
| 66 | Item quolibet Henrici manu scriptum, rubeis tabulis.                                     | Henry of Friemar or Henry of Ghent or Henry of Lübeck, <i>Quodlibet</i>                          | S | ---   |
| 67 | Item liber litis inter Christum et diabolum manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                | <i>Quaestiones inter Christum et diabolum</i>  | O | ---   |
| 68 | Item sermones sancti Leonis pape impressi, tabulis rubeis.                               | Pope Leo I, <i>Sermones</i>  | H | Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, before Sept 1470);<br><u>Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, (after 21 Sept) 1470)</u> |
| 69 | Item scrutinium Scripturarum Pauli de sancta Maria impressum, rubeis tabulis.            | Paul of Burgos,<br><i>Scrutinium scripturarum</i>  | O | <u>Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, not after Apr 1471);</u><br>Mantua (Johannes Schallus, 1475)  |
| 70 | Item prima pars Astensis impressa, nudis tabulis.  | Astesanus de Ast,<br><i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i> , pt 1                                 | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 18 Mar 1478)</u>   |
| 71 | Item quintus Astensis impressus, tabulis nudis.  | Astesanus de Ast,<br><i>Summa de casibus conscientiae</i> , pt 5                                 | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 18 Mar 1478)</u>   |
| 72 | Item quoddam opus ubi notantur dicta Augustini manu scriptum, tabulis rubeis.            | Bartolomeo da Urbino,<br><i>Milleloquium Sancti Augustini</i> , pt. 1 (?)                        | O | ---   |

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| 73 | Item sermones in adventu Roberti, nigris tabulis.   | Roberto Caracciolo, <i>Sermones de adventu, Sermo de S. Ioseph, Sermo de beatitudine, Sermones de divina caritate, Sermo de immortalitate animae</i> | O | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1474); Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, about 1477-78) |
| 74 | Item exameron sancti Ambrosii manu scriptum in pergameno.   | Ambrose, <i>Hexaameron</i>   | H | ---   |
| 75 | Item secunda pars milleloquiorum Augustini manu scripta, rubeis tabulis.                              | Bartolomeo da Urbino, <i>Milleloquium Sancti Augustini</i> , pt. 2   | O | ---   |
| 76 | Item summa parva confessionis impressa, nigris tabulis.   | ?  | O | ---   |
| 77 | Item primus Rodulphi manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Radulphus Brito, <i>Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences</i> (?)  | S | ---   |
| 78 | Item Petrus de anima manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Pietro de' Rossi, <i>Commentary on Aristotle's De anima</i>  | S | Ang. lat. 545 (?)   |
| 79 | Item secundus Ugonis manu scriptus nudis tabulis.   | Hugh of Newcastle, <i>Questions concerning the Second Book of the Sentences</i>  | S | Neap. VII.G.100   |
| 80 | Item primus ( <i>litt. omm.</i> ) manu scriptus, nudis tabulis, cuius initium <i>Circa prologum</i> . | Commentary on the first book of the Sentences by an unidentified author (?)  | S | ---   |
| 81 | Item Nicolaus de contractibus manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.   | Nicholas (?), <i>De contractibus</i>   | S | ---   |
| 82 | Item tractatus magistri Radulphi manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.  | Radulphus Brito, Unidentified work   | S | ---   |
| 83 | Item epistole Cipriani impresse, rubeis tabulis.  | Cyprian, <i>Opera</i>  | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, (Jan or Feb) 1471); Venice ( <u>Vindelinius de Spira, 1471</u> )          |
| 84 | Item sermones Johannis Crisostomi impressi, tabulis rubeis.   | John Chrysostom, <i>Sermones morales XXV</i> (tr. Christoforo Persona)   | H | <u>Rome (Georgius Lauer, about 1470)</u>  |
| 85 | Item quartus Ricardi impressus, nudis tabulis.  | Richard of Middleton, <i>Commentum super quarto libro Sententiarum</i>   | S | Venice (Christophorus Arnoldus, about 1474); Venice (Christophorus Arnoldus, not after 1477)                              |
| 86 | Item sermoctatus de productione verbi manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                                   | Duns Scotus, <i>De productione verbi</i> (?)   | S | Ang. lat. 563 (?)   |
| 87 | Item calculationes manu scripte, tabulis rubeis.  | Richard Swineshead, <i>Liber calculationum</i>   | S | ---   |
| 88 | Item rationale divinorum officiorum manu scriptum, rubeis tabulis.                                    | William Durand of Mende, <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i>   | O | ---   |
| 89 | Item anima Gaietani manu scripta, nudis tabulis.  | Gaetano da Thiene, <i>Expositio on Aristotle's 'On the Soul'</i>   | S | Ang. lat. 553   |

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| 90  | Item epistole Atanasii impressae, tabulis rubeis.  | Theophylactus (ascribed to Athanasius), <i>Enarrationes in epistolas S. Pauli</i> (tr. Christoforo Persona)                                       | H | <u>Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, 25 Jan 1477)</u>                                  |
| 91  | Item astrolabium canonum impressum, viridibus tabulis.   | Robertus Anglicus, <i>De astrolabio canones</i> (incl. Prodocimus de Beldomandis, <i>De astrolabii compositione</i> )                             | O | Perugia (Petrus Petri de Colonia, Fridericus Eber, and Johannes Conradi, about 1477-79) |
| 92  | Item questiones Alberti circa libros Aristotelis de celo et mundo impressae, nudis tabulis.  | Albert of Saxony, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's On the Heavens</i>  | S | ?   |
| 93  | Item questiones Johannis Britani circa libros Aristotelis ethycorum manu scripte, nudis tabulis.                                       | John Buridan, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Ethics</i>  | S | ---   |
| 94  | Item questiones Johannis canonici super octavo physicorum impressae, nudis tabulis.  | John the Canon, <i>Quaestiones super Physica Aristotelis</i>  | S | Padua (Bonus Gallus, 25 Apr 1475)   |
| 95  | Item questiones magistri Blasii de celo et mundo manu scripte, nudis tabulis.  | Blaise of Parma, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's On the Heavens</i>   | S | ---   |
| 96  | Item questiones Johannis Binde et questio magistri Arberti de Saxonia super primo et secundo posteriorum, manu scripte, nudis tabulis. | John Buridan (?), <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics</i> ; Albert of Saxony, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics</i> | S | ---   |
| 97  | Item questiones magistri Blasii de sensu et sensato manu scripte, nudis tabulis.   | Blaise of Parma, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's On Sense and the Sensible</i>  | S | ---   |
| 98  | Item questiones et etiam quolibet manu scripte, albis tabulis.   | Harvey Nedellec, <i>Questions concerning Angels and Quodlibeta</i>  | S | Ang. lat. 550   |
| 99  | Item questiones circa librum de celo et mundo manu scripte, tabulis nudis.   | Albert of Saxony, <i>Questions concerning Aristotle's 'On the Heavens'</i>  | S | Ang. lat. 561   |
| 100 | Item questiones magistri Arberti de Saxonia circa primum physicorum manu scripte, nudis tabulis.                                       | Albert of Saxony, <i>Quaestiones on the First Book of Aristotle's Physics</i>   | S | ---   |
| 101 | Item questiones super 8 <sup>o</sup> physicorum domini Johannis Ambre manu scripte, nudis tabulis.                                     | John Ambra (?), <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Physics</i>   | S | ---   |
| 102 | Item questiones fratris Johannis manu scripte, nudis tabulis.  | <i>Quaestiones</i> by an unknown author   | S | ---   |
| 103 | Item questiones ethycorum magistri Johannis Britandi manu scripte, nudis tabulis.  | John Buridan, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Ethics</i>  | S | ---   |

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| 104 | Item questiones fratris Antonii, ordinis minorum, super libris methaphysice manu scripte, tabulis rubeis. | Antonius Andreae, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Metaphysics</i>  | S | ---  |
| 105 | Item questiones magistri Arberti de Saxonia super primo posteriorum manu scripte, nudis tabulis.          | Albert of Saxony, <i>Quaestiones on the First Book of Aristotle's Posterior Analytics</i>  | S | ---  |
| 106 | Item expositiones primi phisicorum manu scripte, nudis tabulis.   | <i>Expositiones on the First Book of Aristotle's Physics</i> by an unidentified author   | S | ---  |
| 107 | Item quinque libri numeralium Alberti magni impressi, nudis tabulis.                                      | Albert the Great, <i>De mineralibus</i>  | S | <u>Padua (Petrus Maufer de Maliferis for Antonius de Albricis, 20 Sept 1476)</u>   |
| 108 | Item problemata Aristotelis impressa, nigris tabulis.   | Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> (tr. Theodore Gaza)   | H | Mantua (Johannes Vurster and Johannes Baumeister, about 1473); Rome (Johannes Reinhardi, 19 May 1475)  |
| 109 | Item expositio problematum Aristotelis Petri Paduani impressa, nudis tabulis.                             | Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> (tr. Bartolomeo of Messina) with a commentary by Pietro d' Abano  | S | Mantua (Paulus de Butzbach, 1475)  |
| 110 | Item liber Aristotelis de proprietatibus elementorum manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.                       | Marsilius of Inghen, <i>Questions concerning Aristotle's 'On Generation and Corruption'</i> ; John Peckham, <i>Summa on Being and Essence</i> ; Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>On the Properties of Elements</i> | S | Ang. lat. 560  |
| 111 | Item Paulus Venetus super libro phisicorum impressus, nudis tabulis.                                      | Paul of Venice, <i>Expositio librorum naturalium Aristotelis</i>   | S | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476)</u> ; Milan (Christophorus Valdafer, 17 July 1476); Perugia (Petrus Petri de Colonia, Fridericus Eber and Johannes Conradi, 1477) |
| 112 | Item recolecte super libris phisicorum magistri Gaietani, manu scripte.                                   | Gaetano da Thiene, <i>Recollectae on Aristotle's 'Physics'</i>   | S | Ang. lat. 554 (?)  |
| 113 | Item translationes nove de phisico auditu Aristotelis impresse, nudis tabulis.                            | Aristotle, <i>Physica</i> (comm. Averroes)   | S | Padua (Laurentius Canozius de Lendenaria, 1472-1475)   |
| 114 | Item methaphisica fratris predicatoris manu scripta, nudis tabulis.                                       | Nicolas Bonet, <i>Commentaries on Aristotle's 'Metaphysics' and 'Categories'</i>   | S | Ang. lat. 558 (?)  |
| 115 | Item Albertus de animalibus impressus, nudis tabulis.   | Albert the Great, <i>De animalibus</i>   | S | Rome (Simon Nicolai Chardella de Lucca, 2 Apr 1478); <u>Mantua (Paulus de Butzbach, 12 Jan 1479)</u>   |
| 116 | Item de animalibus manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.   | <i>Quaestions on various works of Aristotle</i>  | S | Ang. lat. 549  |



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| 117 | Item Seneca de moribus impressus, tabulis rubeis.                        | Pseudo-Seneca, <i>De moribus</i>  | H | Rome (Johannes Gensberg, about 1474)  |
| 118 | Item Petrus de Abbano consiliator impressus, nudis tabulis.              | Petrus de Abano, <i>Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et medicorum; De venenis</i> | O | Mantua (Johannes Vurster and Thomas Septemcastrensis for Ludovicus Carmelita, 1472); Venice (Gabriele di Pietro for Thomas de Tarvisio, 1476) |
| 119 | Item methaura Boetii manu scripta, nudis tabulis.                        | Boethius of Dacia, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's Meteorology</i> (?)                      | S | ---   |
| 120 | Item methaora Aristotelis manu scripta, tabulis albis.                   | Aristotle, <i>Meteorology</i> (tr. William of Moerbeke)                                   | S | ---   |
| 121 | Item exortatorius manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                          | Pacian, <i>Libellus exhortatorius ad paenitentiam</i> (?)                                 | H | ---   |
| 122 | Item Britanus de anima manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                     | John Buridan, <i>Quaestiones on Aristotle's On the Soul</i>                               | S | ---   |
| 123 | Item ethyca Aristotelis manu scripta, rubeis tabulis.                    | Aristotle, <i>Ethics</i>  | S | ---   |
| 124 | Item speculum vite humane Rodorici impressum tabulis rubeis.             | Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, <i>Speculum vitae humanae</i>                                 | O | <u>Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1468)</u> ; Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 31 July 1473)                           |
| 125 | Item quedam opera Aristotelis impressa, nudis tabulis cum commentis.     | Aristotle, <i>Parva naturalia</i> (comm. Averroes) (?)                                    | S | Padua (Laurentius Canozius de Lendenaria, about 1473-74)  |
| 126 | Item Aristoteles de natura animalium impressus, nudis tabulis.           | Aristotle, <i>De animalibus</i> (tr. Theodore Gaza)                                       | H | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476)</u>  |
| 127 | Item liber posteriorum Pauli Veneti manu scriptus.                       | Paul of Venice, <i>Expositio on Aristotle's 'Posterior Analytics'</i>                     | S | ---   |
| 128 | Item methaphysica Avicene in pergamento, manu scripta, nudis tabulis.    | Avicenna, <i>Metaphysics</i>  | S | ---   |
| 129 | Item Burleus super octo volumina Aristotelis, impressus, tabulis nudis.  | Walter Burley, <i>Expositio in Aristotelis Physica</i> (without text)                     | S | Padua (Bonus Gallus and Thomas ex Capitaneis de Asula, 18 Jul 1476, ed. Hieronymus Turrianus Veronensis)                                      |
| 130 | Item Cicero de finibus bonorum et malorum manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis. | Cicero, <i>On Moral Ends</i>  | H | ---   |
| 131 | Item alegorie manu scripte, rubeis tabulis.                              | ?   | O | ---   |
| 132 | Item anima Mini de Colonia manu scripta, tabulis nudis.                  | Commentary on Aristotle's <i>De anima</i> by an unidentified author                       | S | ---   |
| 133 | Item defensio Platonis manu scripta, nigris tabulis.                     | Bessario, <i>Defensio Platonis adversus calumniatores</i>                                 | H | ---   |

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| 134 | Item methaura Aristotelis impressa cum commento, nudis tabulis.  | Aristotle, <i>Meteorology</i> (comm. Averroes)  | S | Padua (Laurentius Canozius de Lendenaria for Johannes Philippus Aurelianus et Fratres, 24 Jun 1474)   |
| 135 | Item translatio nova de celo et mundo impressa, nudis tabulis.   | Aristotle, <i>De caelo et mundo</i> (tr. William of Moerbeke, comm. Averroes)                       | S | Padua (Laurentius Canozius de Lendenaria for Johannes Philippus Aurelianus et Fratres, 5 Mar 1473)  |
| 136 | Item Albertus de quatuor coevis manu scriptus, cuius initium <i>Queritur</i> .                           | Albertus Magnus, <i>De quattuor coaequaevs</i>  | S | ---   |
| 137 | Item liber de veritate mineralium et artis archimie manu scriptus, nigris tabulis.                       | Albertus Magnus, <i>De mineralibus</i> (?)  | S | ---   |
| 138 | Item Johannes de Monte regio de astrologia impressus, rubeis tabulis.                                    | Regiomontanus, <i>Kalendarium</i>   | O | Venice (Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, 1476); Venice (Bernhard Maler (Pictor) and Erhard Ratdolt, 1478)   |
| 139 | Item Blasius Parmensis de astrologia manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                                       | Blaise of Parma, <i>On Astrology</i>  | O | ---   |
| 140 | Item liber quatuor partium Ptolomei manu scriptus, tabulis albis.  | Ptolemy, <i>Tetrabiblos</i> (tr. Plato of Tivoli)   | O | --- (mentioned in the colophon of Vat. lat. 2059)   |
| 141 | Item tabule Phtolomei depicte sive mappamundi.   | Ptolemy, <i>Map of the World</i>  | O | ---   |
| 142 | Item liber carminum astrologie manu scriptus, tabulis nudis.   | Poems of the Aratean corpus or/and Manilius   | H | ---   |
| 143 | Item declamationes Quintiliani manu scripte, nigris tabulis.   | (Pseudo-)Quintilian, <i>Declamations</i>  | H | ---   |
| 144 | Item Cicero ad Quintum fratrem impressus, rubeis tabulis.  | Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, ad Atticum</i>                                  | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, before 30 Aug 1470); <u>Venice</u> (Nicolaus Jenson, 1470)  |
| 145 | Item epistole Plinii et opus Mercurii Timegistri et quedam opera Ciceronis manu scripta, rubeis tabulis. | Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistles</i> ; Hermes Trismegistus, <i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> ; Cicero's works | H | ---   |
| 146 | Item epistole Pii pape 2 <sup>i</sup> impresse, tabulis viridibus.                                       | Pius II, <i>Epistolae in cardinalatu editae</i>   | H | Rome (Johannes Schurener de Bopardia, 14 July 1475); Rome (Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, about 1477); Rome (Johannes Bulle, 1478-79)  |
| 147 | Item Quintilianus de institutione oratoria impressus, rubeis tabulis.                                    | Quintilian, <i>Institutiones oratoriae</i>  | H | Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 3 Aug 1470, ed. Johannes Antonius Campanus); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, after 30 Aug 1470, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); <u>Venice</u> (Nicolaus Jenson, 21 May 1471, ed. <u>Omnibonus Leonicensis</u> ); Milan (Antonius Zarotus, 9 June 1476); Venice (Printer of 1480 Valla, about 1480) |

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| 148 | Item quedam opera Ciceronis manu scripta, nudis tabulis.                     | Cicero's works   | H | ---  |
| 149 | Item orationes Ciceronis impresse, rubeis tabulis.                           | Cicero, <i>Orationes</i>   | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, between May and July 1471); Bologna (Printer of Barbatia Johannina, about 1475); Venice (Christophorus Valdarfer, not after 9 Nov 1471); <u>Venice (Adam de Ambergau, 1472)</u> ; Milan (Antonius Zarotus, about 1478); <u>Venice (Nicolaus Girardengus de Novis, 10 Mar 1480)</u> |
| 150 | Item epistole Ciceronis familiares impresse, rubeis tabulis.                 | Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i>   | H | At least 28 Italian editions from 1467 til 1480  |
| 151 | Item invective Ciceronis contra Catelinam manu scripte, rubeis tabulis.      | Cicero, <i>In Catilinam</i>  | H | ---  |
| 152 | Item orationes quedam Marci Tullii nude.                                     | Cicero's speeches  | H | ---  |
| 153 | Item Antonius Luscus super orationes tulianas manu scriptus, tabulis rubeis. | Antonio Loschi, <i>Commentary on Cicero's Speeches</i>   | H | ---  |
| 154 | Item epistole Ciceronis ad Atticum impresse, tabulis rubeis.                 | Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, ad Atticum</i>   | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, before 30 Aug 1470); <u>Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1470)</u>   |
| 155 | Item rethorica Georgii Trabesuntii impressa, nigris tabulis.                 | George of Trebizond, <i>Rhetorica</i>  | H | Venice (Vindelinius de Spira, not before 1472)   |
| 156 | Item historia ecclesiastica Eusebii impressa, nigris tabulis.                | Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (tr. Rufinus Aquileiensis)   | H | Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 15 May 1476); Mantua (Johannes Schallus, not before 15 Jul 1479)  |
| 157 | Item Ammianus historiographus impressus, nudis tabulis.                      | Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Historiae libri XIV-XXVI</i>  | H | <u>Rome (Georgius Sachsel and Bartholomaeus Golsch, 7 Jun 1474, ed. Angelus Sabinus)</u>   |
| 158 | Item arbor deorum gentilium manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.                   | Boccaccio, <i>Genealogia deorum gentilium</i> (?)  | H | ---  |
| 159 | Item Dionysius Alicarnaspus manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.                   | Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i> (tr. Lapo Birago)   | H | ---  |
| 160 | Item Lutianus impressus, tabulis rubeis.                                     | Lucian of Samosata, <i>Dialogues</i> or <i>Dialogue of the Dead</i> (tr. Giovanni Aurispa), or <i>True Story</i> (tr. Lilius Tifernas) | H | Rome (Georgius Lauer, 1470-72) – Venice (Printer of Duns Scotus 'Quaestiones', about 1472) – Naples (Arnaldus de Bruxella, 6 Mar 1475/76)  |
| 161 | Item Leonardus Aretinus de temporibus manu scriptus, rubeis tabulis.         | Leonardo Bruni, <i>Memoirs</i>   | H | ---  |
| 162 | Item secunda pars Plutarchi impressa, nudis tabulis.                         | Plutarch, <i>Vitae illustrium virorum</i>  | H | Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, 1470) in 2 parts – Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 2 Jan 1478) in 2 parts  |

|     |   |   |   |  |
|-----|---|---|---|--|
| 163 | Item liber historiarum manu scriptus, tabulis rubeis.     | ?   | H | ---  |
| 164 | Item Justinus impressus, nigris tabulis.                  | Justinus, <i>Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias</i>  | H | Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1470); Rome (Ulrich Han / Udalricus Gallus, 1470-71) – Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 26 Sep 1472) – Milan (Antonius Zarotus for Marco Roma et socii, 13 Jun 1474); Milan (Christophorus Valdarfer, 1 Jun 1476) – <u>Venice (Filippo di Pietro, 12 Dec 1479)</u> |
| 165 | Item Cornelius Tacitus impressus, rubeis tabulis.         | Tacitus, <i>Opera or Germania</i>   | H | <u>Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, about 1471-72)</u> – Rome (Johannes Schurener de Bopardia?, about 1473)  |
| 166 | Item Eutropius historiographus impressus, tabulis rubeis. | Eutropius, <i>Breviarium historiae Romanae</i> (includes the continuation by Paul the Deacon) | H | <u>Rome (Georgius Lauer, 20 May 1471)</u>  |
| 167 | Item Herodotus historiographus impressus, rubeis tabulis. | Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> (tr. Lorenzo Valla)   | H | Venice (Jacobus Rubeus, 1474); Rome (Arnoldus Pannartz, 20 Apr 1475)   |
| 168 | Item Josephus impressus, nigris tabulis.                  | Josephus Flavius, <i>De bello Judaico</i> (tr. Rufinus Aquileiensis)                          | H | <u>Rome (Arnoldus Pannartz, 25 Nov 1475, ed. Bartolomeo Platina)</u>   |
| 169 | Item Appulegius impressus, nigris tabulis.                | Apuleius, <i>Opera</i>  | H | <u>Rome (In domo Petri de Maximis, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 28 Feb 1469)</u>  |
| 170 | Item Diodorus historiographus impressus, nudis tabulis.   | Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i> (tr. Poggio Bracciolini)                       | H | Bologna (Balthasar Azoguidus, 1472); <u>Venice (Andreas de Paltasichis, 31 Jan 1476/7)</u>   |
| 171 | Item historia Pii impressa, rubeis tabulis.               | Pius II, <i>Historia Bohemica or Historia rerum ubique gestarum</i>                           | H | Rome (Johannes Schurener de Bopardia and Johannes Nicolai Hanheymer de Oppenheim, 10 Jan 1475) or <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1477)</u>   |
| 172 | Item Quintus Curtius, rubeis tabulis.                     | Quintus Curtius Rufus, <i>Historiae Alexandri Magni</i>                                       | H | <u>Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, about 1471)</u> – Rome (Georgius Lauer, not after Jan 1472, ed. Pomponius Laetus)  |
| 173 | Item Strabo impressus, tabulis rubeis.                    | Strabo, <i>Geography</i> (Tr. Guarino of Verona and Gregorio Tifernate)                       | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1469); <u>Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1472); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 12 Feb 1473)</u>   |
| 174 | Item Suetonius manu scriptus, tabulis rubeis.             | Suetonius, <i>The Twelve Caesars</i>  | H | ---  |

|     |   |  |   |  |
|-----|---|--|---|--|
| 175 | Item Justinus historiographus impressus, nigris tabulis.  | Justinus, <i>Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias</i>   | H | Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1470); Rome (Ulrich Han / Udalricus Gallus, 1470-71); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 26 Sep 1472); Milan (Antonius Zarotus for Marco Roma et socii, 13 Jun 1474); Milan (Christophorus Valdarfer, 1 Jun 1476); <u>Venice (Filippo di Pietro, 12 Dec 1479)</u>  |
| 176 | Item Valerius Maximus impressus, rubeis tabulis.  | Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>  | H | <u>Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1471)</u> ; Brescia (Henricus de Colonia and Stadius Gallicus, before Nov 1474); <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1474)</u> ; <u>Milan (Antonius Zarotus, 26 Oct 1474, ed. Bonus Accursius)</u> ; Bologna (Hannibal Malpiglius for Sigismundus de Libris, 24 Dec 1476); <u>Milan (Philippus de Lavagnia, 4 Feb 1478)</u> ; Venice (P.F., B.R., S.F., Z.F., 1 Jul 1478) |
| 177 | Item Solinus et Phedon Platonis manu scripti, rubeis tabulis.                                   | Solinus, <i>De mirabilibus mundi</i> ; Plato, <i>Phaedo</i> (tr. Leonardo Bruni?)  | H | ---  |
| 178 | Item Plinius de viris illustribus, cum quibusdam aliis opusculis manu scriptis, tabulis rubeis. | Pliny, <i>On Famous Men</i>  | H | ---  |
| 179 | Item Polidorus impressus, nudis tabulis.  | Polybius, <i>Historiae</i> (tr. Niccolò Perotti) (?)   | H | <u>Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 31 Dec 1473 (i.e. 1472))</u>  |
| 180 | Item bellum hispanum Jacobi Genuensis manu scriptum.  | Giacomo Bracelli, <i>De bello hispaniensi</i>  | H | ---  |
| 181 | Item quoddam opus Georgii Alexandrini de honore Galeati impressum, tabulis nigris.              | Giorgio Merula, <i>In librum de homine Martii Galeotti opus</i> (includes <i>Epistolae, In Sapphus epistolam interpretatio, Emendationes Plinii, Emendationes Vergilii</i> ) | H | Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, about 1474)  |
| 182 | Item Platina de vitis pontificum impressus, rubeis tabulis.                                     | Platina, <i>Lives of the Popes</i>   | H | <u>Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 11 Jun 1479)</u>  |

|     |   |  |   |   |
|-----|---|--|---|---|
| 183 | Item Suetonius impressus, rubeis tabulis.                                   | Suetonius, <i>The Twelve Caesars</i>   | H | Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, Aug 1470, ed. J.A. Campanus); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, after 30 Aug 1470, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, before July 1471); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 17 Sept 1472); Bologna (Printer of Suetonius' <i>VItae</i> , about 1475-77) |
| 184 | Item quarta deca Titi Livii impressa, rubeis tabulis.                       | Livy, <i>Historiae Romanae decades</i> , dec. 4  | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1469, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, before 3 Aug 1470, ed. J.A. Campanus); Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1470, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 16 July 1472)  |
| 185 | Item Cornelius Tacitus manu scriptus, tabulis nigris.                       | Tacitus  | H | ---   |
| 186 | Item ... ad Alfonsum regem manu scriptus, albis tabulis.                    | ?  | H | ---   |
| 187 | Item Laertius Diogenes de vitis philosophorum manu scriptus, tabulis nudis. | Diogenes Laërtius, <i>Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers</i> (tr. Ambrogio Traversari) | H | ---   |
| 188 | Item tertia deca Livii impressa, nigris tabulis.                            | Livy, <i>Historiae Romanae decades</i> , dec. 3  | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1469, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Rome (Ulrich Han/Udalricus Gallus, before 3 Aug 1470, ed. J.A. Campanus); Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1470, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Rome (Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 16 July 1472)  |

|     |   |   |   |  |
|-----|---|---|---|--|
| 189 | Item commentaria Cesaris impressa, rubeis tabulis.                                    | Caesar, <i>Commentaries</i>   | H | Rome (In domo Petri de Maximis, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 12 May 1469, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1471); Rome (In domo Petri de Maximis, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 25 Aug 1472, ed. Johannes Andreas bishop of Aleria); Milan (Antonius Zarotus, 10 Feb 1477, ed. Petrus Justinus Philelphus); Milan (Philippus de Lavagnia, 8 Apr 1478, ed. Petrus Justinus Philelphus) |
| 190 | Item fasciculus timpani impressus, tabulis nudis.                                     | Werner Rolewinck, <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>                            | O | Venice (Georgius Walch, 1479); 8 German editions 1474-1480   |
| 191 | Item grammatica Diomedis impressa, tabulis rubeis.                                    | Diomedes, <i>Ars grammatica</i>   | H | Venice (Nicolaus Jensen, about 1476)   |
| 192 | Item expositio vocabulorum Nonii Marcelli manu scripta, nudis tabulis.                | Nonius Marcellus, <i>De compendiosa doctrina</i>                        | H | ---  |
| 193 | Item Varro de lingua latina impressus, nigris tabulis.                                | Marcus Terentius Varro, <i>De lingua latina</i>                         | H | Rome (Georgius Sachsel and Bartholomaeus Golsch, 1474); Rome (Georgius Lauer, 1471-72); Venice (Printer of Basiliius' 'De vita solitaria', 1471-72); Venice (Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1474); Venice (Printer of Pomponius Mela, 1478)   |
| 194 | Item vocabulista Juviniiani impressa, tabulis nigris.                                 | Giovanni Crastone, <i>Lexicon Latino-Graecum (Vocabulista)</i>          | O | Milan (Bonus Accursius, about 1480)  |
| 195 | Item Porphyrius super Oratium et Varro de lingua latina manu scripti, tabulis rubeis. | Porphyry, <i>Commentary on Horace</i> ; Varro, <i>On Latin Language</i> | H | ---  |
| 196 | Item commentaria Juvenalis impressa, viridibus tabulis.                               | Juvenal, <i>Satyrae</i> (with commentary by Domizio Calderini)          | H | Venice (Jacobus Rubeus, 24 Apr 1475); Pinerolo (25 Oct 1479)   |
| 197 | Item grammatica Sipontini impressa, nigris tabulis.                                   | Niccolò Perotti, <i>Rudimenta grammatices</i>                           | H | At least 32 Italian editions before Nicholas' death  |
| 198 | Item explanatio Porphyrii in arte poetica impressa, tabulis rubeis.                   | Horace, <i>Opera omnia</i> (with Porphyry's commentary)                 | H | Rome (Windelinus de Wila, about 1474-75)   |

|     |  |   |   |  |
|-----|--|---|---|--|
| 199 | Item opera Ovidii impressa, rubeis tabulis.                      | Ovid, <i>Opera</i>  | H | Bologna (Balthasar Azoguidus, 1471); Rome (Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471); Venice (Jacobus Rubeus, 1474); Parma (Stephanus Corallus, 1477); Milan (Antonius Zarotus, 1477); Vicenza (Hermannus Lichtenstein, 1480), Bologna (Balthasar Azoguidus, 1480) |
| 200 | Item Silvius Italicus impressus, nigris tabulis.                 | Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i>  | H | Rome (Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471)  |
| 201 | Item Omerus impressus, rubeis tabulis.                           | Homer, Partial translation of the <i>Iliad</i> (trans. Lorenzo Valla)                                   | H | Rome (Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1 Feb 1474); Brescia (Henricus de Colonia, and Statius Gallicus, 24 Nov 1474)   |
| 202 | Item expositio vulgaris super Petrarcha impressa, nudis tabulis. | Petrarch, <i>Canzoniere e Trionfi</i> (with <i>Commento sopra Petrarch</i> )                            | O | Venice (Dominicus Siliprandus, 1477)   |
| 203 | Item Plautus impressus, nigris tabulis.                          | Plautus, <i>Comedies</i>  | H | Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1472)   |
| 204 | Item Terentius manu scriptus, nudis tabulis.                     | Terence, <i>Comedies</i>  | H | ---  |
| 205 | Item sonetti domini Francisci Petrarche.                         | Petrarch, <i>Canzoniere</i>   | O | ---  |
| 206 | Item tragedie Senece manu scripte, viridibus tabulis.            | Seneca, <i>Tragedies</i>  | H | ---  |
| 207 | Item egroca(!) Theodori manu scripta, nudis tabulis.             | ?   | H | ---  |
| 208 | Item Catullus, Tibullus et Silviusviti impressi, tabulis nigris. | Tibullus, <i>Elegies</i> ; Propertius, <i>Elegies</i> ; Catullus, <i>Poems</i> ; Statius, <i>Silvae</i> | H | Venice (Vindelinus de Spira, 1472)   |
| 209 | Item Dantes manu scriptus tabulis rubeis.                        | Dante, <i>The Divine Comedy</i>   | O | ---  |
| 210 | Item Pogius impressus, tabulis nigris.                           | Poggio, <i>Facetiae</i> (?)   | H | 10 Italian editions of <i>Facetiae</i> from 1470 to 1480   |



## APPENDIX 8B: THE LIBRARY – CATALOGUE OF THE IDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPTS

The appendix includes the catalogue descriptions of all the identified manuscripts that formed part of the library of Nicholas of Modruš. The manuscript descriptions, however, are only drafts. They are arranged according to the following template.

*City, Library*

**: Catalog number :**  
***Shelf Mark***  
***Contents of the manuscript***  
***(Place, date)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Material of the manuscript, specifying whether it is a parchment or a paper one; if parchment, the disposition of the first three folios is provided, whereby ‘f’ refers to the flesh side and ‘h’ to the hair side of the parchment;<sup>1151</sup> if paper, the type of the watermark is provided and accompanied by its Briquet number if available, or the number of a similar Briquet watermark, with places and dates of its use as well. The size of the manuscript is expressed in the ‘height x length’ formula, in millimeters. Number of flyleaves and folios, whereby flyleaves are indicated in minuscule roman numerals, folios in arabic numbers. Foliations and/or paginations, from the earliest to the latest, with the first and last foliated/paginated number indicated. Damages to the manuscript are indicated, such as the presence of wormholes, ink corrosion or damages caused by humidity.

*Quire structure:* The organization of quires is presented in a formula, with minuscule roman numerals indicating the number of a quire and superscribed arabic number indicating its type, followed by the indication of folios covered by the quire in parentheses.<sup>1152</sup> Catchwords, their location and direction. Leaf and quire signatures, their position, and comments whether they restart or whether they have been cropped.

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<sup>1151</sup>Therefore the *f*, *h-h*, *f-f* disposition, which can be found in every manuscript analyzed here, signifies that the flesh side was used for fol. 1r, hair sides for fols. 1v–2r, and flesh sides again for fols. 2v–3r, i.e. that the manuscripts follow the Gregory’s Rule.

<sup>1152</sup>For instance *i*<sup>10</sup> (*fols. 1–10*) indicates that the first quire in a manuscript is a quinio and covers fols. 1–10. Missing folios are also recorded; e.g. *iii*<sup>12–1</sup> (*fols. 21–31*) indicates that the third quire in a manuscript is a senio, quire comprising 12 folios but here with one missing and thus covering fols. 21–31. In the cases of missing or added folios, only their number has been indicated, not the position from which they were cut or to which they were added.

*Written space*: Height and length of the ruled space. Number of lines (position of the first line, whether above or below the top border). Method of ruling, types of borders used.<sup>1153</sup> Pricking, visible or not.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: Number of scribes. Each scribe is described by the folios they write on, the color of ink and type of script they use, with special note on their use of capitals or large scale letters for incipits. Use of rubrication.

*Illumination and decoration*: The section begins with the description of the incipit page(s) of the manuscript, noting the type and size of initial, marginal decorations and their decorative features, and the coats of arms. Description of initials of specific items follows next, accompanied by the folios they appear with the exception of chapter initials. Use of paragraph marks. Spaces left for initials and titles are also indicated.

*Colophons*: Colophons are listed in the chronological order, accompanied by the folio number they appear on, dating and ink used.

*Marginalia*: Readers flagging the text with marginal notes are listed in chronological order, described by dating, color of ink, and type of marginal notes used (verbal or non-verbal).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Type of binding and covers, accompanied by the identification of papal (name of the pope, followed by the years of his papacy) and cardinal (name of the cardinal, followed by the years of his service as the cardinal librarian) coats of arms, if available, or rough dating if not. Presence of lunettes, clasps and strappings. Type of flyleaves and pastedowns (parchment or paper), with suggestion when they were added. Note on the decoration or titles written on the folio edges.

*Secundo folio*: First two or three words of the fol. 2r.

## **Contents**

The contents section provides information for every flyleaf and folio of a manuscript. Unlike in the material description, where the **minuscule roman numerals** indicate the cumulative number of flyleaves in the manuscript, here they refer to the number of the flyleaf in the sequence, noting also notable texts or notes pasted to it (modern shelf-mark stickers are not mentioned). For every item the following information is provided:

**Item number) folios containing the text: Author, English Title**

*Titulus*: The title as it appears in the manuscript. If it appears within the parentheses, it means that the title was written by the main scribe in smaller letters or on margin in order to provide it later with the rubricated one. Only titles recorded by the scribes while those supplied by the later readers are not listed here.<sup>1154</sup>

*Incipit*: The opening words of the item.

*Explicit*: The closing words of the item.

*Rubric*: The note or instruction indicating the end of the item.

*Note on the Text*: Comments regarding peculiarities found in the text, such as *lacunae* or additions.

## **Bibliography**

The section provides bibliographical references for the analyzed manuscript.

*Month and year when the manuscript was analyzed.*

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<sup>1153</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the description implies ruled lines.

<sup>1154</sup>Note that *Titulus*, *Incipit*, *Explicit*, and *Rubric* all preserve the orthography and style (minuscule or majuscule) used in the text. *Titulus*, *Incipit*, and *Explicit* are listed regularly, while *Rubric* and *Note on the Text* appear only if necessary. The abbreviations have all been expanded except for the suspended ones. Such as r. p. for example, denoting res publica.

: 1 :

*Vat. gr. 13*

*Theodore Gaza, Grammar*

(Venice, late 1450s)

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Paper, watermark *flèche* Briquet 6270 (Venice 1457, Venice 1459). 201x140mm. Fols. vi +188+ii. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–185, with an error skipping fol. 129b; later foliation in black ink in the upper right corner adding 186–189.

*Quire structure:* i<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–10), ii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 11–22), iii–xii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 23–122), xiii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 123–129b), xiv–xvi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 130–159), xvii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 160–167), xviii–xix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 168–187). Vertical descending catchwords in the lower part of the inner margin.

*Written space:* 138x90mm. 24 long lines (first line below the top border). Dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Scribe A, identified by Monfasani as George Hermonymus, in black ink writing fols. 1r–21v, and 23r–184r, using red capitals for the title of item 1, red initials for the beginning of sections, subsections and examples, and flagging the text in red ink on the margins. Scribe B, identified by Monfasani as Demetrios Trivolis writing fols. 22r–22v. Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink writing item 2.

*Illumination and decoration:* Red ornamental headpieces with decorative initials mark the beginnings of all four books of item 1 (fols. 1r, 23r, 67r, 130r).

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Andronico Callisto in brown ink emending the text and filling out the *lacunae* throughout item 1.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* 15th-century, pre-Vatican, wooden binding with leather over boards, decoratively tooled; in the upper part of both boards stand 25x70mm lunette. The remains of two leather straps are preserved on the back board. Flyleaves i and vi are parchment, while ii–v are paper and were added later. No pastedowns, but two notes have been pasted on the back of the front cover, one bearing the title (*Theodori gazae grammatica et alia*.33.), the other an older shelf mark (461), while another shelf-mark was written in black ink (*Nº 26 8 Plu 25*).

*Secundo folio:* καὶ αἰτιατικῆ.

### **Contents**

**i–vi:** Blank with the modern shelf-mark in blue crayon on the recto of flyleaf i (*Vat. Gr 13*), and a table of contents (*Πίναξ*) in 17-/18th-century hand in black ink on the recto of flyleaf v.

**1) fols. 1r–184r: Theodore Gaza, Greek Grammar**

*Titulus:* ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΓΟΓΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ Δ ΤΟ Α.

*Incipit:* Τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι γραμμῶν φωνήεντα μὲν ἑπτὰ α ε η ι ο ω υ.

*Explicit:* μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐρωτηματίζειν κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθεισάν ἡμῖν μέθοδον, λέγομεν.

**2) fols. 184r–185r: Mnemonic hexameters for studying Greek declensions**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Quinque alias normas hæc quinta facit pacientes.

*Explicit:* ωmega dat rectus quartus quintusque dualis.

**vii–viii:** Blank.

## **Bibliography**

Rollo, 'Interventi di Andronico Callisto,' 375–377; Monfasani, 'Testi inediti,' 233, n. 13.

*Analyzed in February and October 2011.*

: 2 :

**Vat. gr. 249**

**Aristotle's works on physics**

*(Papal States, 1466x1471)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h-h, f-f); 288x215mm. Fols. iv+228+i. 17th-/18th-century erroneous foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, crossed out at many places and supplanted by a contemporary one (seemingly by the same person who produced the table of contents on flyleaf iii) in brown ink appearing next to it, 1–226, with errors skipping fols. 81<sup>b</sup>, 188<sup>b</sup>.

*Quire structure:* Two fascicules. A i–vii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–70), viii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 71–81<sup>b</sup>); B ix–xxii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 82–220), xiii<sup>6</sup> (fols. 221–226). Quire signatures appearing at the beginning and end of the quires, situated at the bottom of the inner margin, and restarting from quire ix.

*Written space:* 200x125mm. 29 long lines (first line above the top border). Dry ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length of the manuscript. No pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All items written by one scribe, Andronico Callisto as identified by Rollo, in brown ink. Spaces left for titles of all items. No rubrication.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a six-line-long crimson initial with interlacing blue, red and green vines on a golden background; the vines extend to cover all four margins encompassing a number of putti and one lion; at the bottom right corner appears the figure of a bearded scholar in his study (Aristotle), while at the center of the lower margin the vines encircle a wreath of leaves with a blue filling at the center of which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš; space left for the headpiece. Five-to-seven-line-long crimson initials with interlacing blue, red and green vines on a golden background extending to cover half of the left margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs, mark the beginnings of the items and their books (fols. 9v, 18r, 26v, 42r, 49r, 59v, 64v, 82r, 98r, 113r, 123r, 128v, 144r, 154r, 169r, 184v, 190r), while those towards the end of the manuscript are also inhabited (on fol. 200v scribe writing on the left, and a figure dictating on the right, each on one side of a blue-colored *T* initial integrating Nicholas' coat of arms; on fol. 203v two figures discussing, each on one side of the blue-colored *T* initial; on fol. 218v figure standing within a blue-colored *O* initial). The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Different hand emending the texts of all items in brown ink.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with leather over boards; the spine bears the coat of arms of pope Leo XIII at the top, the shelf-mark in the middle (*VAT. 249 GR.*) and the coat of arms of cardinal Jean-Baptiste-François Pitra at the bottom. Flyleaves ii–iii are papers added during 17th/18th century, flyleaf iv is parchment and is older, while flyleaves i and v are marbled together with the pastedowns and were added during the rebinding.

*Secundo folio:* κινούμενα εἶναι.

### **Contents**

**i–iv:** blank with a 16th-century note (*Arist. libri Phisicorum et alia eiusdem. 174.*) pasted on the recto of flyleaf ii accompanied by an older shelf mark (*Vat. IV.340 6Plu*); 17/18th-century table of contents (*Πίναξ*) on the recto of flyleaf iii; and a 17th-century title in brown ink (*physica*) on top of the recto of flyleaf iv.

#### **1) fols. 1r–81v: Aristotle, Physics**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Επειδὴ τὸ εἶδέναι καὶ τὸ ἐπίσταθαι συνβαίνει περὶ πάσας τὰς μεθόδους.

*Explicit:* φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι ἀδιαίρε τὸν ἔστι καὶ ἀμερῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον μέγεθος.

fol. 81<sup>b</sup>r–81<sup>b</sup>v: blank

2) **fol. 82r–128v: Aristotle, *On the Heavens***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: Ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμη σχεδὸν ἢ πλείστη περὶ τε σώματα.

*Explicit*: καὶ τῶν αὐτὰ συμβαινόντων ἀφορίσθω τοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸν τρόπον.

3) **fol. 128v–154r: Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: περὶ δε γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν φύσει γενομένων καὶ φθειρομένων.

*Explicit*: οἷα εὐδέχεσθαι μὴ εἶναι.

4) **fol. 154r–200v: Aristotle, *Meteorology***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πρώτων αἰτίων τῆς φύσεως.

*Explicit*: οἷον ἄνθρωπον φυτὸν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

5) **fol. 200v–: Aristotle, *On the Soul***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμίων τὴν εἶδησιν ὑπολαμβάνοντες.

*Explicit*: γλώτταν δὲ ὅπως σημαίνει τι ἕτερον.

v: blank

### ***Bibliography***

*Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 1, 327–328; Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 208; Rollo, ‘Interventi di Androncio Callisto,’ 374.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 3 :

***Vat. gr. 257***

***Aristotle, *Metaphysics****  
*(Papal States, 1466x1471)*

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material*: Parchment (f, h-h, f-f); 293x212mm. Fols. ii+128+ii. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–127, with an error skipping fol. 3<sup>b</sup>.

*Quire structure*: i–xii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–119), xiii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 120–127). Quire signatures appearing at the beginning and end of the quires, situated at the bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space*: 195x125mm, 29 long lines (first line above the top border). Dry ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length of the manuscript. No pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: All items written in brown ink by one scribe, Andronico Callisto as identified by Rollo, leaving spaces for the titles of the books. No rubrication.

*Illumination and decoration*: Fol. 1r has an eight-line-long blue initial with interlacing blue, red and green vines on a golden background; the golden background fills all four margins with red, blue and green vines spreading from two pots, placed at the inner and outer margins, covering the inner, outer and the lower margin, and a different decorative pattern although in the same color arrangement covering the upper one; on the outer margin the vines encompass a rabbit and a bird; at the center of the lower margin the vines encircle two putti holding a wreath of leaves with a blue filling at the center of which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš; between the upper margin and the main text stands a blue-framed gold-colored headpiece bearing the title of the work in blue capitals. Seven-line-long blue initials with interlacing red and green vines on a golden background extending to cover half of the left margin mark the beginnings of the books of the item (fols. 13v, 15v, 23v, 35r, 49v, 52v, 68r, 72v, 80r, 88r, 100r, 107v, 120r). The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons*: None.

*Marginalia*: The main scribe, as identified by Mercati and Franchi de’ Cavalieri, emending the text and writing out *variae lectiones* on the margins in brown ink.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V (r. 1605–1621), the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli (1609–1618). Two 2cm-wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaves i (which used to be a pastedown) and ii are parchment that were perhaps part of the original binding, while iii and iv are paper and were added during the rebinding. No pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* ποιουμένων ἴσασιν.

### **Contents**

**i–ii:** blank with the verso of flyleaf ii bearing the old shelf-mark (*N.342. 6Plu*), the recto of flyleaf ii a pasted 16th-century note with the title and another old shelf mark (*Arist. Metaphysica. 181.*), and the verso a 17th-century table of contents (*Πίναξ*).

**1) fols. 1r–127v: Aristotle, *Metaphysics***

*Titulus:* ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΦΥΣΙΚΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ἸΑΛΦΑ ΜΕΪΖΟΝ.

*Incipit:* Πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναί ὀρέγονται φίδει.

*Explicit:* μὴ δὲ ταύτας εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς.

**iii–iv:** blank

### **Bibliography**

*Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 1, 338; Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 208; Rollo, ‘Interventi di Androncio Callisto,’ 374.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 4 :

*Vat. lat. 221*

*The works of Lactantius*

(*Papal States, 1464x1480*)

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f). 290x205mm. Fols. i+282. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–281, with an error numbering fol. 145 after fol. 143; modern hand in pencil continuing and numbering fols. 282–283. Wormhole damage at the end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–ix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–90), x<sup>8</sup> (fols. 91–98), xi–xxviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 99–279), xxix<sup>4</sup> (fols. 280–283). Catchwords written by the scribe A are vertical descending laying between the inner double border, those written by the scribe B are horizontal and situated at the center of the lower margin and are accompanied by simple decorative features, while those of the scribe D are situated at the bottom of the inner margin with one placed horizontally while the other vertically. The leaf signatures in brown ink occasionally appear in the lower right corner.

*Written space:* All four scribes use the same layout. 175x110mm, 32 long lines (first line below the upper border). Dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Four scribes. Scribe A (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of uncial a as minuscule, ct ligature, ampersand, e-caudata, round terminal s, capital Q with the cutting stroke extending down right), in brown ink writing fols. 1r–235v, writing the title of item 1 in purple capitals, and the chapter headings of its book 5 in red ink; scribe B (humanistic book hand, characterized by his use of lighter strokes, terminal capital R used as minuscule, ae and st ligatures, and seldom abbreviations), in brown ink writing fols. 236r–264v; scribe C (humanistic book hand, characterized by his use of gothic capital I, U-shaped capital V opening towards right, st ligatures, and e-caudatas) in light brown ink writing fols. 264v–267r; scribe D (semi-humanistic hand, characterized by his abbreviation stroke with a bridge in the center, and the occasional use of gothic capitals and gothic minuscule r, and frequent abbreviations) in brown ink writing fols. 267r–281v. Scribes A and B flagging at few places key names and terms on the margins in brown ink (see. e.g. fols. 74r, 87v, 241v, and 248v). Contemporary hand adding the Greek lines in dark red ink (see e.g. fols. 8v–11v, 64v–65r, 119v–121v). Nicholas of Modruš seems to be the one who added the titles of the items 2 and 3 in dark

red capitals, and the chapter headings of items 1, 2 and 3 in dark red minuscule letters (except for the book 5 of item 1), and also provided the running header for the same items in light red ink.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a ten-line-long purple initial with interlacing purple vines boxed within a purple background; all four margins are framed with golden lines filled with interlacing red, blue and green vines on a black background, on top of which appear forest animals and putti, a medallion with the duck in the water at the center of the upper margin, and a medallion with the portrait of the author standing and pointing at the text; at the center of the lower margin the vines encompass the wreath of leaves within which stand two putti on a red and blue background bearing the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Five-, nine-, and ten-line-long golden initials (with interlacing white vines that extend to the left margin covering majority of the folio, at the ends of which at places protrude simple pen drawn vines bearing golden studs or at the bottom of which stands a gold-colored pot) mark the beginnings of the books of item 1 (fols. 37r, 68v, 104r, 139v, 169r, 202v). Eleven-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the left margin, all framed with golden lines, marks the beginning of item 2 (fol. 231v). Seven-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines that extend to cover the left margin marks the beginning of item 3 (fol. 252v). Items 1, 2 and 3 have two-to-four-line-long golden initials boxed within a blue, green and or red background (or in the combination thereof) filled with pen-flourish decoration marking the beginning of chapters. Spaces left for the initials of item 4 and its chapters.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš emending the texts of items 1, 2 and 3 in brown ink, and in light red ink heavily flagging all four items with verbal and nonverbal (nota signs, quotation marks, vertical nota lines, *maniculae*, a human face at fol 192v) marginal notes.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Two 2-cm wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaf is parchment added during the rebinding. No pastedowns except for a catalog description pasted on the back of the front board. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Secundo folio:* sine eloquentia.

## Contents

**i:** blank with the note bearing the title pasted on the recto (*Lactan. Firm. diuin. inst. Lib: vii. et alia eiusdem. 221.*)

**1) fols. 1r–231r: Lactantius, *Divine Institutes***

*Titulus:* FIRMIANI LACTANTII DIVINARVM INSTITVTIONVM LIBER PRIMVS INCIPIT. QVANTI SET(!) ET FVERIT SEMPER COGNITIO VERITATIS QVOD NEC SINE RELIGIONE SAPIENTIA NEC SINE SAPIENTIA SIT PROBANDA RELIGIO.

*Incipit:* MAGno et excellenti ingenio uiri cum se doctrine penitus dedissent.

*Explicit:* ac deuicto aduersario triumphantes premium uirtutis quod ipse promisit a domino consequamur.

*Rubric:* FINIS.

**2) fols. 231v–252v: Lactantius, *On the Wrath of God***

*Titulus:* ARNOBII LACTANTII FIRMIANI DE IRA DEI.

*Incipit:* ANIMADVERTI sepe donante plurimos id existimare quod etiam non nulli philosophorum putauerunt.

*Explicit:* ita uiuemus ut et propiciam semper habeamus et nunquam uereamur iraturum.

*Note on the Text:* Parts are missing on fols. 247r and 247v.

**3) fols. 252v–267r: Lactantius, *On the Works of God***

*Titulus:* FIRMIANI LACTANTII AD DEMETRIADEM DE OPIFICIO HOMINIS FOELICITER INCIPIT.

*Incipit:* IN Summis necessitatibus ac supra uires nostras libellum uolui intimare.

*Explicit:* et officium hominis impleuisse si labor meus aliquos homines ab erroribus liberatos(!) ad iter celeste deduxerit.

*Rubric:* DEO GRATIAS AMEN IESUS.

**4) fols. 267r–281v: Lactantius, *On the Works of God***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* [Q]uam minime quietus etiam in summis necessitatibus sum ex hoc libello poteris existimare.

*Explicit:* et officium hominis impleuisse si labor meus aliquos homines ab erroribus liberatos ad iter celeste deduxerit.

**fols. 282r–283v:** blank

**iii:** blank

## **Bibliography**

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 170; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 208.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 5 :

**Vat. lat. 353**

**Jerome, Letters**

*(Papal States, 1464x1480)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 324x225mm. Fols. ii+235+ii. Later foliation in brown ink, occasionally cropped, in the upper right corner, 11–233, with an error numbering fol. 116 twice; wherever lacking supplanted with a modern one in pencil, which continues until fol. 234. Slight wormhole damage at the end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–ix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–90), x<sup>8</sup> (fols. 91–98), xi–xxiii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 99–227), xxiv<sup>8</sup>–1 (fols. 228–234). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border, occasionally cropped.

*Written space:* 215x125mm, 40 long lines (first line below the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical and upper horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking occasionally visible and only in quires i–ix.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The text was written by one scribe (humanistic book hand, using e.g. e-caudata, ampersand, gothic capital N at places, U-shaped capital V and a capital Q with the cutting stroke extending right, distinctive ligature ct, and 2-shaped minuscule r regularly) in brown ink writing, using roman capitals for the incipits of items and adding the rubricated titles for items 2 and 3 (fols. 5v, 6r, 7v, 8v). Illuminator added the title in golden roman capitals on fol. 1r. Nicholas of Modruš in red ink adding the titles of items (fols. 9v–65v). Spaces left presumably for Greek and Hebrew.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a sixteen-line-long golden and gold-boxed initial with interlacing white vines; white vines extending over the inner and upper margins framed within two and the outer and lower margins within three concentric gold frames, decorated with forrest animals, birds, a caterpillar and putti; in the upper margin the white vines encompass two putti holding a gold-framed medallion within which appears Jesus on the cross, while in the lower two putti holding the a larger and elaborately decorated blue-, red-, and green-colored gold-framed medallion within which appears coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Three-line-long golden initials boxed within a red, green or blue backgrounds (or various combinations thereof) filled with pen-flourish decoration mark the beginning of each item (with space left for that of item 95). The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in red ink flagging items with verbal (including Greek terms) and nonverbal (*maniculae*, vertical nota lines, quotation marks) marginalia (fols. 1v–4r, 5r–7v, 8v–9v, 20v, 22r–23r, 33r, 46r, 53r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; at the top of the spine stands the coat of arms of Pius VI (1775–1799), while at the bottom that of cardinal Francisco Javier de Zelada (1779–1801), with the shelf-mark number in the middle (353). Four modern paper flyleaves, with two outer ones being marbled together with the pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* cristi tantum.

### **Contents**

i–ii: blank.

#### **1) fols. 1r–5v: Jerome, Letter 53**

*Titulus:* DIVI AC GLORIOSI HIERONIMI PRESBITERI EPISTVLARUM OPVS INCIPIT FELICITER. EPISTVLA HIERONIMI AD PAVLINVM PRESBITERVM DE STVDIO SCRIPTVRARVM.



- Incipit:* FRATER AMBROSIVS TVA mihi munuscula perferens detulit.  
*Explicit:* Facile contemnit omnia qui se semper cogitat esse moriturum.
- 2) **fol. 5v–6r: Jerome, Letter 34 (Damasus to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Damasi Papę ad hieronimum super tribus quęstionibus libri genesis.  
*Incipit:* DORMIENTEM te et longo iam tempore legentem.  
*Explicit:* sed cui uoluit deceptus errore benedixit.
- 3) **fol. 6r–7v: Jerome, Letter 35**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronimi ad Papam Damasum de septem uindictis Caim.  
*Incipit:* BEATISSIMO Pape Damaso Hieronimus. Postquam epistolam tue sanctitatis accepi.  
*Explicit:* Quod utique nisi exponitur uidetur esse contrarium.
- 4) **fol. 7v–8v: Jerome, Letter ?**  
*Titulus:* Item Hieronimi responsio de quattuor generationibus filiorum israel.  
*Incipit:* HOC uero problema cum legissem cepi.  
*Explicit:* uir iustus et deo carus.
- 5) **fol. 8v–9v: Jerome, Letter ?**  
*Titulus:* Responsum Hieronimi.  
*Incipit:* Differo paulisper typos et ea que a maioribus nostris.  
*Explicit:* tunc omnis israel saluus erit.
- 6) **fol. 9v–10r: Jerome, Letter**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Damasum papam de canticis Origenis.  
*Incipit:* BEATISSIMO Pape Damaso Hieronimus. Origenes cum in ceteris libris omnes uicerit.  
*Explicit:* cum sic possint placere que parua sunt.
- 7) **fol. 10r–20r: Origen, Homily on The Song of Songs (tr. Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Cantica canticorum Origenis a beato Hieronymo interpretata. prohemium.  
*Incipit:* QVOMODO didicimus per Moysen esse quedam non solum sancta.  
*Explicit:* ut digni efficiamur sponsi sermone et sapientia iesu cristi, cuius est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 8) **fol. 20r–20v: Jerome, Letter 62**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MAIORA spiritus uincola esse quam corporum si olim ambiebas nunc probabimus.  
*Explicit:* Sanctus frater Tacianus diaconus impendio terre uos salutat.
- 9) **fol. 20v: Jerome, Letter 19**  
*Titulus:* Epistola pape Damasi ad Hieronymum de Osanna.  
*Incipit:* DILECTISSIMO filio Hieronimo Damasus episcopus in domino salutem. Commentaria cum legerem greco latinoque sermone.  
*Explicit:* de multis tibi cure nostre in cristo iesu gratias referam.
- 10) **fol. 20v–22r: Jerome, Letter 20**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Damasum responsiua.  
*Incipit:* MVLTİ super hoc sermone diuersa finxerunt.  
*Explicit:* quam aliena lingua falsam referre sententiam.
- 11) **fol. 22r–23r: Jerome, Letter 15**  
*Titulus:* Epistola hieronymi ad damasum papam.  
*Incipit:* QVONIAM Vetusto oriens inter se populorum furore collisus.  
*Explicit:* tres ipostasis cum antiquo sensu predicent.
- 12) **fol. 23r–23v: Jerome, Letter 16**  
*Titulus:* Epistola hieronymi ad Damasum papam.  
*Incipit:* IMPORTVNA in euangelio mulier tandem meruit audiri.  
*Explicit:* Noli despiciere animam pro qua cristus mortuus est.
- 13) **fol. 23v–24v: Jerome, Letter 18b**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* SEPTVAGINTA. Et missus est ad me unus de Seraphim.  
*Explicit:* cum siluanum in apostolorum actibus non legerimus.
- 14) **fol. 24v–29v: Jerome, Letter 18a**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* ET Factum est in anno quo mortuus est Rex ozias.  
*Explicit:* auribus tantum studeamus et lingua.
- 15) **fol. 29v–30r: Jerome, Letter 101 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola augustini ad Hieronymum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO Carissimo et desiderantissimo et honorando fratri et compresbitero hieronimo Augustinus in domino salutem. Audiui peruenisse in manus tuas litteras meas.  
*Explicit:* qui tecum ac de te in domino gloriantur.
- 16) **fol. 30r–30v: Jerome, Letter 102**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronimi ad Augustinum.

- Incipit:* DOMINO uere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino Hieronimus in cristo salutem. In ipso profectonis articulo.
- Explicit:* Frater communis te suppliciter salutat.
- 17) **fol. 30v–31r: Jerome, Letter 103**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronimi ad Augustinum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO uere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino Hieronimus in cristo salutem. Anno preterito per fratrem nostrum Asterium Hippodiamonem.  
*Explicit:* Incolumen te et memorem mei cristus dominus noster tueatur omnipotens domine uere sancte et suscipiende papa.
- 18) **fol. 31r: Jerome, Letter 111 (Augustine to Presidius)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Augustini ad presidium presbyterum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO Beatissimo et merito uenerando fratri et consacerdoti presidio augustinus in domino salutem. Sicut presens rogauit sinceritatem tuam.  
*Explicit:* si meam culpam ipse cognouero.
- 19) **fol. 31r–32v: Jerome, Letter 56 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Augustini ad Hieronymum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO dilectissimo et cultu sincerissimo caritatis obsequendo atque complectendo fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo Augustinus in domino salutem. Nunquam me tam facile quisquam.  
*Explicit:* et meticulousam mihi uidear in me potius quam iustam tulisse sententiam.
- 20) **fol. 32v–34r: Jerome, Letter 105**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronimi ad Augustinum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO uere sancto et Beatissimo pape Augustino hieronimus salutem. Crebras ad me epistulas dirigis.  
*Explicit:* ut quicquid mihi scripseris ad me primum facias peruenire.
- 21) **fol. 34r–35v: Jerome, Letter 105 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola augustini ad Hieronymum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO dilectissimo et cultu sincerissimo caritatis obseruando atque amplectendo fratri et compresbitero hieronimo Augustinus in domino salutem. Habeo gratiam quod pro subscripta salutatione.  
*Explicit:* cuius in nostris regionibus existimationi bonum coram deo testimonium perhibemus.
- 22) **fol. 35v–39r: Jerome, Letter 14**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVANTO Amore et studio contenderam ut pariter in heremo moraremur.  
*Explicit:* quibus nunc labor durus est, plurimum peto, co.
- 23) **fol. 39r–45r: Jerome, Letter 125**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NIHIL est cristiano felicius cui promittuntur.  
*Explicit:* Sed magna sunt premia.
- 24) **fol. 45r–46r: Jerome, Letter 104 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Augustini ad Hieronymum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO uenerabili et desiderabili sancto fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo Augustinus in domino salutem. ex quo cepi ad te scribere aut tua scripta desiderare.  
*Explicit:* ad omnia respondere et parere mihi quantum potueris presentiam tuam.
- 25) **fol. 46r–53r: Jerome, Letter 112**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Augustinum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO uere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino Hieronimus. Tres simul epistulas imo libellos.  
*Explicit:* cum auditore et lectore pauperculo in angulo monasterii susurrare.
- 26) **fol. 53r–53v: Jerome, Letter 126**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Marcellum et Anapsichiam.  
*Incipit:* DOMINIS uere sanctis atque omnium officiorum caritate uenerandis filiis Marcello et Anapsichie hieronimus in cristo salutem. Tandem ex africa uestre litteras humanitatis accepi.  
*Explicit:* deus noster tueatur omnipotens domini uere sancti.
- 27) **fol. 53v–60v: Jerome, Letter 131 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Augustini ad Hieronymum de multis questionibus anime.  
*Incipit:* DOMINVM deum nostrum qui nos uocauit.  
*Explicit:* per gratiam nominis cristi quam in suis sacramentis commendauit posse liberari.
- 28) **fol. 60v–65r: Jerome, Letter 132 (Augustine to Jerome)**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Augustini ad Hieronimum de illo Iacobi quicumque titam legem seruauerit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.  
*Incipit:* QVOD ad te scripsi honorande mihi in cristo frater Hiornime querens de anima humana.  
*Explicit:* ut id nobiscum communicare digneris.
- 29) **fol. 65r–65v: Jerome, Letter 134**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Augustinum.

- Incipit:* VENERABILI pape Augustino Hieronimus. Virum uenerabilem fratrem meum, filium dignationis tue orosium presbiterum.  
*Explicit:* Pleraque enim prioris laboris ob fraudem cuiusdam amisimus.
- 30) **fol. 65v: Jerome, Letter 141**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Augustinum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO sancto atque beatissimo pape Augustino Hieronimus. Omni quidem tempore beatudinem tuam.  
*Explicit:* tueatur domine uenerande et beatissime papa.
- 31) **fol. 65v–66r: Jerome, Letter 142**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MVLTI utroque claudicant pede et ne fractis quidem ceruicibus inclinantur.  
*Explicit:* et ibi seruitute pereat sempiterna.
- 32) **fol. 66r: Jerome, Letter 143**  
*Titulus:* Epistola Hieronymi ad Alippium et Augustinum.  
*Incipit:* DOMINIS uere sanctis atque omni affectione ac iure uenerandis Alippio et augustino episcopis Hieronimus in cristo salutem. Sanctus innocentius presbiter qui huius sermonis est portitor.  
*Explicit:* atque omnium affectione uenerabiles patres.
- 33) **fol. 66v–67r: Jerome, Letter 10**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* HVMANE uite breuitas dominatio delictorum est.  
*Explicit:* ad te si spiritus sanctus afflauerit nauigabunt.
- 34) **fol. 67r–68r: Jerome, Letter 7**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NON debet carta diuidere quos amor mutuus copulauit.  
*Explicit:* Confusa turbatur oratio, amor ordinem nescit.
- 35) **fol. 68r: Jerome, Letter 9**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVI circa te affectus meus sit, carissimus ambobus Heliodorus.  
*Explicit:* cum hoc ipsum debueris scribere te aliud non habuisse quod scriperis.
- 36) **fol. 68v: Jerome, Letter 12**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DOMINVS noster humilitatis magister disceptantibusde dignitate discipulis.  
*Explicit:* et cum seruo sermonem conseruus impertias. Vale in domino.
- 37) **fol. 68v–69r: Jerome, Letter 2**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVAM uellem tunc uestro interesse conuentui.  
*Explicit:* et ad portum optati littoris prosequatur.
- 38) **fol. 69r–75r: Jerome, Letter 119**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* IN ipso iam profectionis articulo sancti fratris nostri Sisinii.  
*Explicit:* autem immutabimur quorum qui sensus sit supradiximus.
- 39) **fol. 75r–76v: Jerome, Letter 140**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* FRATER carissime Cypriane scito prenoscens quia si scribatur extrema littera.  
*Explicit:* quoniam amicus meus uenit de uia ad me et non habeo quod ponam ante illum.
- 40) **fol. 76v–77v: Jerome, Letter 39**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MANCTVS euangelista docet nos necessitatem inopie tolerantes.  
*Explicit:* et accendat animas per caritatem atque illuminet.
- 41) **fol. 77v–78r: Jerome, Letter to Damasus**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DOMINO meo uere domino Monarchiam ecclesiarum tocius orbis tenenti pape Damaso Hieronimus. Desiderii mei ardor tandem accepit remedium.  
*Explicit:* magnis testimoniis approbata coruscans in qua inueniri si tamen digni fuerimus mereamur.
- 42) **fol. 78r–83v: Jerome, Letter 52**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* PETIS a me Nepotiane carissime et crebro petis ut tibi breui uolumine diggeram precepta uiuendi.  
*Explicit:* sed qui mihi irasci uoluerit, prius ipse de se quod talis sit confiteatur.
- 43) **fol. 83v–89r: Jerome, Letter 60**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* GRANDES Materias ingenia parua non sufferunt.  
*Explicit:* et cum quo loqui non possumus de eo loqui nunquam desinamus.
- 44) **fol. 89r–90v: Jerome, Letter 3**

- Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* PLVS dominum tribuere quam rogatur et ea sepe concedere.  
*Explicit:* Amicitia que discerne potest uera nunquam fuit.
- 45) **fol. 90v–91r: Jerome, Letter 49**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* CRISTIANI interdum pudoris est et apud amicos tacere.  
*Explicit:* sed uniuerso loquatur hominum generi.
- 46) **fol. 91v–93r: Jerome, Letter 50**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* LITTERE tue et amorem sonant et querelam.  
*Explicit:* propter nocturnos forsitan metus soli cubitare non possunt uxores ducere.
- 47) **fol. 93r–95r: Jerome, Letter 40**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* BENEDICTO et dilectissimo parenti Thirasio Hieronimus. Caritatis tuę scripta recepi  
*Explicit:* si alios contra illam non cesses armare.
- 48) **fol. 95r–95v: Jerome, Letter 81**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* INDICAVIT neq̄ dubito spiritualium parentum ad patriam reuocatam desiderium.  
*Explicit:* non omnes mei similes inuenias qui possint figuratis laudibus delectari.
- 49) **fol. 95v–97r: Jerome, Letter 75**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* LVGVBRI nuntio consternatur super sancti et uenerabilis mihi dormitione Lucinii.  
*Explicit:* ad te quoque ueniat et possis dicere ego dormio et cor meum uigilat.
- 50) **fol. 97r–101r: Jerome, Letter 46 (Paula and Eustochius to Marcella)**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MENSVRAM Caritas non habet et impatientia nescit modum.  
*Explicit:* Tenebo eum et non dimictam illum.
- 51) **fol. 101r–105r: Jerome, Letter 117**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* RETTVLIT mihi quidam frater e Gallia se habere sororem uirginem.  
*Explicit:* Quod iccirco dixi et qui non ignoscit ingenio ignoscat uel tempori.
- 52) **fol. 105r: Jerome, Letter 11**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* CARTAE exiguitas inditium solitudinis est.  
*Explicit:* Amice si ego bonus quare oculus tuus nequam est.
- 53) **fol. 105r–105v: Jerome, Letter 13**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* IOHANNES idem apostolus et euangelista in epistola sua ait.  
*Explicit:* epistola me hec cum lecta fuerit absoluet.
- 54) **fol. 105v–106r: Jerome, Letter 40**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* HIERONYMVS Marcellę. Medici quos uocant cyurgicos crudeles putantur.  
*Explicit:* Atque ita et formosus uideri poteris et disertus.
- 55) **fol. 106r–108r: Jerome, Letter 1**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* SAEPE a me Innocenti carissime postulasti ut de eius rei miraculo.  
*Explicit:* sollicitudine promeretur, ut redditam uitę rederet libertati.
- 56) **fol. 108r–111r: Jerome, Letter 8**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* TRES quodammodo uirtutes dei assumens propheta.  
*Explicit:* cui est gloria et uirtus et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 57) **fol. 111r–112v: Jerome, Letter 45**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* SI TIBI PVTEM a me gratias referri posse non sapiam potens est deus.  
*Explicit:* fluctus quoque maris tuis precibus mitiga.
- 58) **fol. 112v–118v: Jerome, Letter 64**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* VSQVE hodie in lectione ueteris testamenti super faciem moysi uelamen positum est.  
*Explicit:* Non enim magnorum uirorum ingeniis sed meis sum uiribus extimandus.
- 59) **fol. 118v–120r: Jerome, Letter 59**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MAGNIS me prouocas questionibus et torpens ocio ingenium.  
*Explicit:* sed eorum merita describuntur apud quos esse dedignatur.

- 60) **fol. 120r–120v: Jerome, Letter 26**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NVPER cum pariter essemus non per epistolam.  
*Explicit:* ut audivis uelles audire que tacita sunt.
- 61) **fol. 120v–121r: Jerome, Letter 25**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NONAGESIMVM psalmum legens in eo loco qui scribitur.  
*Explicit:* Cuius rei exemplum nos in lingua nostra habere possumus gręcum.
- 62) **fol. 121r–122r: Jerome, Letter 41**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* TESTIMONIA de Iohannis euangelio congregata.  
*Explicit:* quam quid sentirem a me uolueris sciscitari.
- 63) **fol. 122r–123r: Jerome, Letter 42**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* BREVIS atque succincta quęstiuncula est quam misisti.  
*Explicit:* ut non tam epistolam quam commentariolum dictarem.
- 64) **fol. 123r–123v: Jerome, Letter 27**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* POST priorem epistolam in qua de hebreis uerbis pauca perstrinxeram.  
*Explicit:* Beatus qui seminat super omnem aquam ubi bos et asinus calcant.
- 65) **fol. 123v: Jerome, Letter 44**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* VT absentiam corporum spiritus confabulatione solemur faciat.  
*Explicit:* semper malum conscientie formidantes cereos accendisse sit gratum.
- 66) **fol. 124r–125r: Jerome, Letter 43**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* AMBROSIVS quo chartas sumptus notario ministrante tam innumerabiles libros.  
*Explicit:* hec ut uulgo dicitur amatorię cantationes. Vale.
- 67) **fol. 125r–126r: Jerome, Letter 38**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* ABRAAM tentatur in filio et fidelior inuenitur.  
*Explicit:* cum dominus eius factus sit belzebub.
- 68) **fol. 126r–128v: Jerome, Letter 29**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* EPISTOLARE offitium est de re familiari aut de quotidiana conuersatione.  
*Explicit:* dum magna sectamur etiam minora perdentes.
- 69) **fol. 128v–130r: Jerome, Letter 34**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* BEATVS Pamphilus martir cuius uitam eusebius cesariensis.  
*Explicit:* et saltem reliquo horarum spatio sub repente somno frustraretur infirmitas.
- 70) **fol. 130r–130v: Jerome, Letter 28**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVAE acceperis reddenda cum fenore sunt, sortisque dilatio usuram parturit.  
*Explicit:* nos maluimus in hac disputatione dumtaxat peritiam sequi quam stultam scientiam.
- 71) **fol. 131r–131v: Jerome, Letter 23**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* CVM hora ferme tertia hodierno diei LXXII psalmum.  
*Explicit:* non nos perpetuos estimemus ut possimus esse perpetui.
- 72) **fol. 131v–132r: Jerome, Letter 24**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NEMO reprehendat quod in epistolis aliquos aut laudamus aut carpimus.  
*Explicit:* et uirgines maritatę colant noxię timeant suscipiant sacerdotes.
- 73) **fol. 132r–135v: Jerome, Letter 127**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* SAEPE multum flagitas uirgo cristi Principia.  
*Explicit:* et de eo et legentibus placere desiderans.
- 74) **fol. 135v–136v: Jerome, Letter 11**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* PARENTVM meritis subiungans filios opem deus seruiendi legere in ofitiis posteris.  
*Explicit:* cum moriretur cum fratribus a domino coram Angelis coronatur.
- 75) **fol. 136v–137r: Jerome, Letter 31**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* PARVA spetie sed caritate magna sunt munera accepisse a uirgine Armillas.

- Explicit:* Si adhuc hominibus placerem cristi ancilla non essem.
- 76) **fol. 137r–138r: Jerome, Letter 80**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* VCIO(!) quam plurimos fratrum scientię scripturarum desiderio prouocatos.  
*Explicit:* sic distinctus codex non sit maiores obscuritates legentibus generet.
- 77) **fol. 138r–139r: Rufinus, The Apology**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVDIVI(!) quosdam cum apud beatitudinem tuam controuersias siue de fide.  
*Explicit:* et scandala fratribus propter inuidiam solam generant et liuorem.
- 78) **fol. 139r–154v: Jerome, Against Rufinus Book 3**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* LECTIS Litteris prudentię tuę quibus in me inueheris.  
*Explicit:* Sit inter nos una fides et ilico pax sequetur.
- 79) **fol. 154v–160r: Jerome, Letter 133**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NON audacter ut falso putas sed amanter studioseque fecisti.  
*Explicit:* aliud lingua pretendere cum manus sentire aliud comprobetur.
- 80) **fol. 160r–162v: Jerome, On the Incarnation of Christ**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* IOHANNES quicquid est quod Maria genuit euangelizando suo commendat eloquio.  
*Explicit:* et plena diuinitas in cristo intelligatur homine et plena humanitas in deum sit assumpta.
- 81) **fol. 162v–164r: Jerome, Letter 28**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* HODIE fratres carissimi populus israel et uere homo uidens deum.  
*Explicit:* qui sequuntur agnum quocunque uadit christum ihesum cui est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 82) **fol. 164r–165r: Jerome, Letter 29**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NON queo fratres carissimi quod mente concepti ore proferre sermonem.  
*Explicit:* cum loquetur inimicis suis in porta in christo ihesu cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 83) **fol. 165r–166v: Jerome, Letter 34**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* ADMIRABILE diuine dispositionis examen magno consilio et solerti scientia sacrationem mandauit.  
*Explicit:* et in die iudicii securus inueniatur si nulla dei offensa in eo reperiatur.
- 84) **fol. 166v–169v: Jerome, Letter 82**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* EPISTOLA tua hereditatis dominicę te indicat possessorem.  
*Explicit:* sed uero et fideli amore sociemur ne mordentes inuicem consumamur ab inuicem.
- 85) **fol. 169v–170r: Psuedo-Chromatius and Pseudo-Heliodorus, Letter to Jerome**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DILECTIS Fratri hieronymo presbytero cromacius et heliodorus episcopi salutem in domino. Ortum Marię reginę uirginis simul et natiuitatem.  
*Explicit:* quod idoneum credideris recipere facias. Vale in domino et ora pro nobis.
- 86) **fol. 170r: Psuedo-Jerome, Letter to Chromatius and Heliodorus**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DOMINIS sanctis et beatissimis Cromacio et heliodoro episcopis hieronimus exiguus christi seruus in domino salutem. Qui terram auri consciam fodit non ilico arripit quicquid.  
*Explicit:* qui ad saluatoris nostri infantiam per nostram potuerint obedientiam peruenire.
- 87) **fol. 170v–171r: Jerome, Letter 37**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NVPER cum reticii Augustudunensis episcopi qui quondam a Constantino imperatore.  
*Explicit:* et Amos pastor caprarum in sacerdotium princeps inueniatur.
- 88) **fol. 171r–171v: Jerome, Letter 25**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* HODIE uerus Sol ortus in mundo hodie in tenebris seculi lumen ingressum est.  
*Explicit:* super aspidem et basiliscum per dominum nostrum ihesum christum cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 89) **fol. 171v–172r: Jerome, Letter 26**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DIES epiphanorum graeco nomine sic uocatur.  
*Explicit:* super aquam refectionis educauit me cui est honor et gloria in secula.
- 90) **fol. 172r–173v: Jerome, Letter 22**  
*Titulus:* None given.

- Incipit:* IN OMNI psalterio dominum noster ihesus christus prophetatur atque canitur.  
*Explicit:* adoptati sumus per ipsum dominum cuius est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 91) fols. 173v–176v: Jerome, Letter 41**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* DIVERSORVM obprobrium tribulationem multiplices quibusdam insidiantibus.  
*Explicit:* qui diligunt dominum nostrum ihesum christum cui cum pre omnipotente laus uirtus et gloria cum spiritu sancto et nunc et semper et in omnia secula seculorum. Amen.
- 92) fols. 176v–177v: Jerome, Letter 27**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVOMODO miles semper exercetur ad prelium.  
*Explicit:* ut digni efficiamur aduentu pasche et carnibus et sanguine agni christi ihesu.
- 93) fols. 177v–182r: Jerome, Letter 13**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* QVANTAM in cęlestibus beatudinem uirginitas sancta possideat post scripturarum testimonia.  
*Explicit:* cuius corpus integrum est ut sit imuiolabilis conseruatio.
- 94) fols. 182r–184r: Jerome, Letter 3**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* MAGNAM humilitati nostrę fiduciam scribendi ad uenerationem tuam caritas christi dedit.  
*Explicit:* Potens sicut et Anna uenerabilis in ieiuniorum castimonia et orationum constantia nocte et die permanet.
- 95) fols. 184v–185v: Jerome, Letter 16**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* (C)REDIMVS in deum patrem omnipotentem cunctorum uisibilium et inuisibilium.  
*Explicit:* uel maliuolum uel etiam non catholicum nomine hereticum comprobabit.
- 96) fols. 185v–186r: Jerome, Letter 85**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* VOCE me prouocas ad scribendum terres eloquentia.  
*Explicit:* libenter accepi et munere et muneris auctore letatus.
- 97) fols. 186r–186v: Jerome, Letter 6**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* ANTIQVVS sermo est Mendaces faciunt ut nec uera dicentibus credatur.  
*Explicit:* et me de communi in christo gloria crebris reddas sermonibus lectiorem(!).
- 98) fols. 186v–187r: Jerome, Letter 8**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* TVRPILIVS Comicus tractans de uicissitudine litterarum sola inquit res.  
*Explicit:* Magnum in hoc desiderii solamen, si amici litteras uel indignantis accipiam.
- 99) fols. 187r–191r: Jerome, Letter 54**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* OBSECRAS litteris et suppliciter deprecaris ut tibi rescribam.  
*Explicit:* Cogitate quottidie etiam morituram et nunquam de secundis nuptiis cogitabis.
- 100) fols. 191r–191v: Jerome, Letter 47**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* LECTO sermone dignitatis tue quem mihi non opinanti tua beniuolentia tribuit.  
*Explicit:* de iudice minus habueris paulatim scribi faciam si uolueris.
- 101) fols. 191v–192v: Jerome, Letter 68**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* SANCTVS filius meus heradius diaconus mihi rettulit quod cupiditatis nostre causa.  
*Explicit:* libenter suscipiam dispensationis moram magnitudine foenoris duplicati.
- 102) fols. 192v–194r: Jerome, Letter 71**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* NON opinanti mihi subito littere tuę reddite sunt.  
*Explicit:* per absentem Lucinum nostrum semper presentem litterarum uicissitudine(!) senciamus.
- 103) fols. 194r–194v: Jerome, Letter 145**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* INTER omnia quę mihi sancti fratris Quintiliani amicitie prestiterit.  
*Explicit:* Si aperueris nos crebro habebis hospites.
- 104) fols. 194v–207v: Jerome, Letter 22**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* AVDI filia et uide et inclina aurem tuam et obliuiscere populum tuum.  
*Explicit:* Aquę multe non poterunt extinguere caritatem et flumina non cohoperient(!) eam.
- 105) fols. 207v–209r: Jerome, Letter 61**  
*Titulus:* None given.  
*Incipit:* IVSTVM quidem fuerat ut nequaquam tibi litteris satisfacerem.

*Explicit:* ut audias quia taceas ut intelligas et sic loquaris.

**106) fols. 209r–209v: Jerome, Letter 17**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* DECREVERAM quidem utendum mihi psalmiste uoce dicentis.

*Explicit:* et beati fratris zenobii quem tecum omnes qui hic sumus plurimum salutamus.

**107) fols. 209–214r: Jerome, Letter 57**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* PAVLVS apostolus presente Agrippa rege de criminibus responsurus.

*Explicit:* quam demosthenis et tullii philippicas tibi scribere.

**108) fol. 214v: Jerome, Letter 83 (Pammachius and Oceanus to Jerome)**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* SANCTVS aliquis ex fratribus cędulas ad nos cuiusdam detulit quę origenis uolumen.

*Explicit:* Purga ergo suspitiones hominum et conuince criminantem ne si dissimulaueris consentire uidearis.

**109) fols. 214v–218v: Jerome, Letter 84**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* CAEDVLE quas misistis honorifica me affecere contumelia sic ingenium predicantes.

*Explicit:* Et eadem ad uerbum exprimere nequaquam eius qui seruare uelit eloquii uenustatem.

**110) fols. 218v–220r: Jerome, Letter 70**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* SABELLIVM NOSTRVM tuis monitis profecisse non tam epistola sua.

*Explicit:* Diues ut cernis ad disputandum materia. Sed iam epistolaris angustia sumenda est.

**111) fol. 220v: Jerome, Letter 4**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* QVANTVS beatudinis tuę rumor diuersa populorum ora compleuerit.

*Explicit:* quem ego uidere desiderans cathaene langoris innector.

**112) fols. 220v–223v: Jerome, Letter 58**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* BONVS HOMO de bono cordis thesauro profert ea quę bona sunt.

*Explicit:* Sanctam conseruam tuam et tecum in domino militantem per te salutari uolo.

**113) fols. 224r–226r: Jerome, Letter 18**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* NVLLA RES uetus inquit comedia tam facilis est .

*Explicit:* Itaque inuitus placentiam te remitto lugens.

**114) fols. 226v–227v: Jerome, Letter 72**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* TE NON nauclerus per quem dicis mihi tue sanctitatis litteras esse transmissas.

*Explicit:* Nostra uicissim per desiderium missa suscipe.

**115) fols. 227v–228r: Jerome, Letter 5**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* IN EA mihi per te commoranti quę iuxta syriam saracenis iungitur.

*Explicit:* Rogaui carissimum mihi euagrium quam mei eam instanter negocium prosequatur.

**116) fols. 228r–230r: Jerome, Letter 42**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* SOPHRONIVS eusebius hieronimus oceano salutem. Deprecatus es ut tibi breuiter exponerem.

*Explicit:* ut bonorum operum testificatio casto confirmetur affectu.

**117) fols. 230r–231r: Jerome, Letter 146**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* LEGIMVS in Isaia Fatuus fatua loquatur.

*Explicit:* hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi uendicent in ecclesia.

**118) fols. 231r–233r: Jerome, Letter 73**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* MISISTI mihi uolumen Melchiteton et nescio utrum tu de titulo nomen subtraxeris.

*Explicit:* ut quod exercitatione linguę profuit nocuerit carporis(!) ualitudini.

**233v–234v:** blank

**iii–iv:** blank

## ***Bibliography***

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 264–266; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 208.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*



*Miscellany containing the works of Jerome and Augustine*  
(Papal States, 1464x1480)

**Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f). 292x213mm. Fols. ii+186+i. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–186. Slight wormhole damage at the front of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–xviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–180), xix<sup>4</sup> (fols. 181–184), xx<sup>2</sup> (fols. 185–186); quires xv and xvi were bound in the reverse order. Catchwords written by the scribe A are vertical descending laying on the inner border, while those written by the scribe B are horizontal and situated at the center of the lower margin, surrounded with simple decorative features. Leaf signatures in the bottom right corner, occasionally with cropped bottom.

*Written space.* Both scribes use 185/190/195x130mm, 37 long lines (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical and upper horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Two scribes.<sup>1155</sup> Scribe A (humanist book hand, could be the same as in 353 judging by minuscule g, ampersand and capital Q) in light brown ink writing fols. 1r–138r, using roman capitals for the incipits of the items and books of the items, leaving space for the titles; scribe B (semi-humanistic book hand, characterized by distinctive minuscule g with the upper bowl not unconnected to the lower swerve, and frequent use of abbreviations) in black ink writing fols. 138v–185r, at places using roman capitals for the rubrics marking the ends and beginnings of books of item 9. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a five-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn lines bearing golden stubs; forrest animals and birds adorn the white vines, which also encompass at the lower margin a gold-framed medallion with the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on a green background (which was drawn over the white vines). Two-to-seven-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines extending to cover half of the inner margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs mark the beginning of every item and the book of every item (fols. 11r, 23v, 38r, 44v, 50v, 55v, 60r, 64r, 68r, 77v, 83r, 88r, 93r, 93v, 103v, 112v, 113r, 125r, 133v, 149r, 151r, 158v, 168r, 177v), with space left at fol. 74r. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the spine bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) at the top and cardinal Angelo Mai (1853–1854) at the bottom, with the shelf-mark number in the middle (*VAT. 432*). Flyleaves i and iii along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date, while flyleaf ii is parchment and was originally bound.

*Secundo folio:* onerabo pondere.

**Contents**

**i–ii:** blank with recto of ii bearing a 15th-century title *B. Hieronymus de uita B. Hilarionis cum quibusdam epistolis, et Augustinus de Adulterinis coniugiis* and a modern shelf-mark written by a later hand.

**1) fols. 1r–11r: Jerome, The Life of St Hilarion**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* SCRIPTVRVS VITAM BEati hilarionis habitorem eius inuoco spiritum sanctum.

*Explicit:* sed magis in ortulo cipri forsitan quia plus illum locum dilexerat.

**2) fols. 11r–38r: Jerome, Apology against Rufinus**

<sup>1155</sup>Catalog of the Vaticana suggests three scribes (A fols. 1–138r, B fols. 138v–145r and 151–160, C. 145v–150v, 161r–185v), but some of the features found in B and C (such as the appearance of nasal abbreviations and *e*-caudata, minuscule *g* and *z*, or majuscule *U*) suggest that from *ca.* fol. 145r the scribe B began to write more tidily. The peculiar ordering of the seeming changes in script is due to the mistake in binding of quires.

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* ET VESTRIS ET MVLTORVM LITTERIS didici obiici mihi in scola tyrannica.

*Explicit:* inimicum cauere quam hostem latentem sub amici nomine substinere.

3) **fols. 38r–44r: Jerome, Letter 133**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* NON AMANTER VT FALSO PVTAS SED amanter studioseque fecisti.

*Explicit:* aliud lingua pretendere cum manus sentire aliud comprobetur.

4) **fols. 44v–93r: Augustine, Treatise on John's Epistle to the Parthians**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* MEMINIT SANTITAS VESTRA EVANGELIUM SECVNDVM IOHANNEM EX ORDINE LECTIIONVM NOS SOLERE tractare.

*Explicit:* qua diffunditur ista remissio peccatorum per omnes GENTES.

*Note on the Text:* The text is missing the final sentence 'Ecce crede Christo... Christo praedicenti.'

5) **fols. 93r–112v: Augustine, On Adulterous Marriages**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* PRIMA QVESTIO EST FRATER DILECTISSIME POLLENTI EARVM QVAS AD ME SCRIBES TANQVAM consulendo tractasti.

*Explicit:* aut ita sinat ut timor periclitatis salutis fiat illis amplioris siue probationis occasio castitatis.

*Note on the Text:* Item is preceded by chapter 57 of the second book of Augustine's *Retractions* (fols. 93r–93v; *incipit:* SCRIPSI DVOS LIBROS DE CONIVGIIS).

6) **fols. 112v–125r: Augustine, On the Good of Marriage**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* QVONIAM VNVSQVISQVE HOMO HVMANIS generis pars est et sociale quoddam est humana natura.

*Explicit:* cum abraham isac et iacob recumbant qui non propter hoc seculum sed propter christum coniuges propter christum fratres fuerunt.

*Note on the Text:* Item is preceded by chapter 22 of the second book of Augustine's *Retractions* (fols. 112v–113r; *incipit:* IOVINIANI HERESIS SANCTARVM VIRGINVM).

7) **fols. 125r–185r: Augustine, On Baptism against the Donatists**

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* IN EIS LIBRIS QVOS ADVERSVS EPISTOLAM PARMENIANI quam dedit ad Tichonium scripsimus.

*Explicit:* Quod cum ab unitate non recesserunt. Gaudeamus quia cum eis edificamur in petra.

*Rubric:* Explicit liber. Amen. M SS.

*Note on the Text:* Quires xv and xvi have been bound in the wrong order.

**fols. 185v–186v:** blank

**iii:** blank

### ***Bibliography***

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 293; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 208.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 7 :

***Vat. lat. 432***

***Augustine, The City of God***

***(Ascoli, 1468x1470)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 333x230mm. Fols. i+356+i. Later foliation in black ink in the upper right corner, 1–360, with an error in foliation, numbering fol. 156 after fol. 152, thus adding three folios to the final count. Slight wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire Structure:* i–xiv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–140), xv<sup>8</sup> (fols. 141–148), xvi–xxix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 149–291), xxx<sup>8</sup> (fols. 292–299), xxxi–xxxvi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 300–359). Vertical descending catchword laying on the inner border only at the first quire.

*Written space:* 226x135mm, 42 long lines (first line below the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical and upper horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Item 1 written by scribe A (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of the ct and st ligatures, e-caudata, long upright terminal s, and occasionally the Byzantine capital M) in brown ink using capitals for the incipits of the books and chapters. Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink added the list of incipits on fols. 357r–359r, and in red ink the chapter headings along with the running title for the first nine books of item 2 (until fol. 120), also supplying the title of book 4 in red capitals (fol. 41r).

*Illumination and decoration:* Even though the list of the chapters of the first book starts on fol. 1r, fol. 2r acts as the incipit page with the beginning of the text marked by a thirteen-line-long gold-framed golden initial G with interlacing green, red, blue and crimson vines on a black background; all four margins are covered by a golden frame with four different decorative patterns: at the inner margin the frame is filled with a chain of seven medallions in the shape of closed flowers with representations of forrest animals, cities, a putto, a flower, and a bearded human figure; at the outer margin the frame is filled with white vines which are cut through at length by two parallel golden lines and on top of which appear various forrest animals; at the upper margin the frame is also filled with white vines which are cut at the center by the boxed coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš, all drawn in purple; at the center of the lower margin appears the framed representation of Augustine in the bishop's robes sitting in his study on the left with two younger figures standing outside on the street on the right side, while from both sides of the representation extend interlacing blue, green and red vines on a golden background with putti. Twenty-line-long boxed golden initial with interlacing white vines marks the beginning of the chapter from *Retractions* preceding the work (fol. 1r). Seven-to-eight-line-long boxed golden initials with interlacing white vines extending to cover almost the entire left margin at the ends of which protrude pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs, mark the beginning of each book of item 2 (fols. 14v, 27r, 41r, 54v, 71r, 81r, 96r, 110v, 120r, 138r, 150v, 167r, 179v, 195v, 214r, 234r, 250v, 275v, 292v, 313r, 332r). Two-line-long golden initials boxed within a blue, red or green background (or the combination thereof) filled with penflourish decoration mark the beginning of every chapter. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* 1) Augustinus. De Ciuitate Dei Bibliothecae Apostolicae (on the top of fol. 1v); 2) *chirographum pasted onto flyleaf ii and numbered as fol. 360 with the right side cropped:* Nos Nicolaus Episcopus Modrusciensis Asculi etc gube(rnator...) / hoc presentis nostro chirographo habuisse ac recepisse mutuo (...) / a circumspecto uiro Antonio Ferreto quos illi pollicemur (...) / restituere ad omne beneplacitum ipsius in cuius rei maiorem fi(dem...) / manu nostra / Iesus. On the same side but written from the opposite direction: La eta anni 25 statura picula la carnaxon negra / ueste mantel negro soto uno gonelino celestre chaulo baio / scuro porta la patente del re.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš emending the text throughout item 2 in brown ink and flagging the begging until fol. 6r in red ink.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards, with the spine bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius IX at the top and cardinal Angelo Mai at the bottom, with the shelf-mark number in the middle (*VAT. 432*). Two flyleaves along with the pastedowns are of modern date and were added during rebinding.

*Secundo folio:* De clementia.

## **Contents**

i: blank

### **1) fols. 1r–356v: Augustine, *The City of God***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* GLORIOSISSIMAM ciuitatem dei siue in hoc temporum cursu cum inter ipsios ex fide uiuens.

*Explicit:* Quibus autem satis est non mihi sed deo mecum gratias congratulates(!) agant. Gloria et honor patri et filio et spiritui sancto omnipotenti deo in excelsis in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Rubric:* Laus deo pax uiuis et requies defunctis usque in eternum. amen.

*Note on the Text:* Every book is preceded by a list of chapter headings, including the first one (fols. 1r–2r). The first book is also preceded by chapter 43 of the second book of Augustine's *Retractions* (fol. 1r, *Incipit:* INTEREA dum Roma ghothorum).

**fols. 357r–359r:** list of the incipits of all the chapters of item 1

**fol. 359v:** blank

ii: blank

### **Bibliography**

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 328; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 209.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 8 :

**Vat. lat. 507**

**Augustine, Against Faustus**

*(Papal States, 1464x1480)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h-h, f-f); 334x234mm. Fols. 170. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1-170. Slight wormhole damage at the end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i-xvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1-170). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border. Quire signatures in the between the outer double borders.

*Written space:* 205x130mm, 38 long lines (first line above the upper border). Ink ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All items written by a single scribe (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of the long upright terminal s, ct and st ligatures, ampersand, e-caudata, and at the beginning capital R used as the terminal minuscule r abbreviating genitiv plural) in brown ink, numbering on the margin the points of every speaker. The same scribe provided the title of the item in light red capitals, and a running title in red ink accompanying all the folios.

*Illumination and decoration:* On fol. 1r appears a nine-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines on a crimson, green, blue and golden background, which extend to cover the inner margin; in the lower margin appears a ribbon-decorated wreath of leaves with a crimson filling, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Six-line-long red initial marks the beginning of the second book (fol. 104v). Two-line-long alternating red and blue initials followed by the incipits in capitals mark the changes of speakers in the dialogue. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644), the back bearing the coat of arms of cardinal Scipione Cobelluzzi (1618-1626). Two 3cm-wide clasps are lacking. Pastedowns are parchment and were added during rebinding.

*Secundo folio:* distinctum satis.

### **Contents**

#### **1) fols. 1r-170v: Augustine, Against Faustus**

*Titulus:* AVRELII AVGVSTINI DOCTORIS RETRACTACIO IN LIBRO CONTRA FAVSTVM.

*Incipit:* FAVSTIVS(!) QVIDAM FVIT gente Affer, ciuitate Mileuitanus, eloquio suauis.

*Explicit:* et manichei continuo non eritis ut aliquando et catholici esse possitis.

*Rubric:* Sancti Augustini contra Faustum Manicheum liber explicit (*in red ink*).

*Note on the Text:* The text is divided into two books, first encompassing books 1 to 21 (fols. 1r-104v), second books 22 to 33 (104v-170v).

### **Bibliography**

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 387; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 209.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

*Augustine's works and erroneously attributed to him*  
(Papal States, 1464x1480)

**Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 286x213mm. Fols. 106. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–106. Wormhole damage at end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–x<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–100), xi<sup>6</sup> (fols. 101–106). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border, occasionally cropped.

*Written space:* 180x115mm, 39 long lines (first line above the upper border). Combination of crayon and dry ruling with vertical and upper horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All items written by a single scribe (humanistic book hand, characterized by the elongated capitals in the first row, U-shaped capital V opening towards right, capital Q with the elongated lower stroke to the right, and occasional use of e-caudata) in brown ink, using rubrics for titles of chapters in item 4 (only fols. 61r–69r).

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has all four margins covered by a frame with green, red and blue vines over a gilt background; in the upper-right corner the frame and the vines protrude towards the middle of the folio to incorporate a ten-line-long blue initial; birds, forrest animals and a centaur intertwine with the vines along the whole frame, which also includes four medallions, most notably the one with Augustine appearing in the episcopal robes situated at the outer margin; at the lower margin the frame encompasses two putti holding a yellow-framed wreath of leaves with a blue filling within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Items 2, 3, and 4 begin with seven-line-long golden initials framed within a blue background with interlacing white vines protruding to form simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs (fols. 10v, 22r, 41r). Fol. 43v, marking the beginning of the main text of item 4, has a six-line-long golden initial framed within a blue-green-red filled box with protruding simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs. Item 5 has a five-line-long golden initial framed within a blue-green-red background filled with decorative penflourish (fol. 71r). Items 4, 5 and 6 have three-line-long alternating red and blue initials marking the beginnings of sections, while item 2 has two-line-long alternating red and blue initials indicating the changes of the speakers in the dialogue. Five-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginnings of items 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* 1) *Bibliothecae Apostolicae* (fol. 1r added by a 16th-century hand in brown ink).

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards, with the spine bearing the shelf-mark at the top and the coat of arms of cardinal Angelo Maria Quirini (1730–1755) at the bottom. Pastedowns and flyleaves are parchment and were added during binding

*Secundo folio:* et omnium.

**Contents**

- i:** blank with a modern shelf-mark written in blue crayon on the recto
- 1) **fols. 1r–10v: Pseudo-Augustine, *Against Five Heresies***  
*Titulus:* None [*Adversus quinque haereses*].  
*Incipit:* DEBITOR SVM FATEOR non necessitate sed quod est uehementius caritate.  
*Explicit:* turris fortitudinis a facie inimici qui in se credentes custodit in secula seculorum. Amen.
  - 2) **fols. 10v–22r: *Dialogue between Orosius and Augustine***  
*Titulus:* None [*Dialogus Orosii et Augustini Quaestionum LXV*].  
*Incipit:* SIC ET MVLTI ET PRObatissimi Viri diuerso quidem stilo.  
*Explicit:* sine aliquo preiudicio diligentioris traditionis que mihi uidebantur expositi.
  - 3) **fols. 22r–40v: Prosper of Aquitaine, *Sentences from Augustine's Works***  
*Titulus:* None [*Sententiae ex operibus A. Augustini*].  
*Incipit:* INNOCENTIA uera est que nec sibi nec alteri nocet.  
*Explicit:* Memor autem eris si te ipsum respexeris.
  - 4) **fols. 41r–71r: Augustine, *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love***

*Titulus:* None [*Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate*].

*Incipit:* DICI NON POTEST DILECTISSIME FILI LAurenti quam tua eruditione delecter.

*Explicit:* librum ad te sic ualui ut tam commodum quam prolixum de fide spe et caritate conscripsi.

*Note on the Text:* The work is preceded by the chapter 63 of Augustine's second book of Retractions (*Incipit:* SCRIPSI ETIAM uobis librum de fide) along with the chapter headings of the Enchiridion (fols. 41r–43v).

**5) fols. 71r–86r: Pseudo-Augustin, *On all Virtues***

*Titulus:* None [*Liber de omnibus uirtutibus*].

*Incipit:* AVt rogasti studui scribere. Noui enim ardorem animi tui erga scripturas diuinas.

*Explicit:* ipse tamen animus uoluptatibus carnis reluctans in delectatione carnali aliquando legatur inuitus.

*Note on the Text:* The text is missing a few words in the beginning (Tuae non immemor piae petitionis, o charissima mater, tibi, ut rogasti...)

**6) fols. 86r–94v: Pseudo-Augustine, *On the Christian Life***

*Titulus:* None [*De uita Christiana*].

*Incipit:* VT EGO peccator et ultimus insipientior ceteris.

*Explicit:* ut quod presentes preestare non possumus conferamus absentes.

**7) fols. 94v–95v: Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermon on Obedience and Humility***

*Titulus:* None [*Sermo de obedientia et humilitate*].

*Incipit:* NIHIL deo tam placet quam obedientia.

*Explicit:* Qui habet aures audiendi audiat in christo iesu domino nostro, Cui est honor uirtus et potestas in secula seculorum. Amen.

**8) fols. 95v–99v: Augustine, *Letter 167***

*Titulus:* None [*Epistola CLXVII*].

*Incipit:* QVOD ad te scripsi honorate in christo frater hyeronime querens de anima humana.

*Explicit:* per dominum obsecro ut nobiscum communicare digneris.

**9) fols. 99v–101v: Ildefonso, *Sermon 13***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* EXORTATUR nos Dominus deus noster pariter et admonet.

*Explicit:* uerbum caro factum est et habitatum in nobis.

**10) fols. 101v–103r: Pseudo-Augustine, *On Mercy***

*Titulus:* None [*Tractatus de oratione et eleemosyna*].

*Incipit:* FELIX ille qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem.

*Explicit:* Per hanc postremo beata martiria consummauius(!).

**11) fols. 103r–103v: Augustine, *Sermon 393***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* PENitentes peccatores situm penitentes eritis.

*Explicit:* Ergo dimitte incertum, itaque et tene certum certum.

*Rubric:* Explicit. Amen.

**fols. 104r–106v:** blank

**ii:** blank

### ***Bibliography***

Vattasso and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 1, 390–391; Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 209.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 10 :**

***Vat. lat. 995***

***Nicholas of Modruš, On the Titles and Authors of the Psalms***

***(Perugia, 1478)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 216x144mm. Fols. vi+45+vi. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, fols. 1–45.

*Quire Structure:* i–iii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–40), iv<sup>6</sup> (fols. 41–45)–1 (after fol. 45). Vertical descending catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space:* 145x85mm, 23 long lines. First line below the upper border. Dry ruling with double vertical and horizontal covering the whole length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The item was written by one scribe (humanistic cursive, characterized by the use of e-caudatas, ampersands, st ligature and capital R used as the terminal minuscule r abbreviating genitiv plural) in light brown ink, using capital letters in red for the title (fol. 1r).

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has the nine-line-long golden initial with interlacing red, green and blue vines extending within a golden frame to cover the inner and half of the upper margin; at the lower margin appears the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš within a gold-framed wreath of leaves held by two angels at the sides, encompassed by pen-drawn blue-, green- and red-colored flowers, golden stubs and birds. Two-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginnings of chapters.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the title on the spine 995; At the top of the spine stands a golden-colored coat of arms of Pius VI, while at bottom that of Francisco Javier de Zelada, librarian of the Vatican library. All flyleaves are modern papers, with i and xii being also marbled together with the pastedowns

*Secundo folio:* altissimi uniuersa.

### **Contents**

i–vi: blank

1) **fols. 1r–44r: Nicholas of Modruš, *On the Titles and Authors of the Psalms***

*Titulus:* DOMINO ANGELO FELTRENSE PONTIFICI N. EPISCOPVS MODRUVSSIENSIS S. D. P.

*Incipit:* POSTVLASTI A ME CVM ROME ESSEM PROPRIOS singulorum psalmodum aperire auctores.

*Explicit:* uel ut littera habet non uidebo salutare dei in terra uiuentium.

**fols. 44v–45v:** blank

**vii–xii:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 2.1, 477. Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 209–210.

*Analyzed in February and October 2011.*

: 11 :

*Vat. lat. 1527*

***Columella, On Agriculture and On Trees***

*(Papal States, 1464x1480)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 288x212mm. Fols. ii+232+ii. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–231 (fol. 172b skipped during foliation). Some wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–xxii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–219), xxiii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 220–231). Horizontal catchwords placed within 4 simple decorative motifs at the bottom of the inner margin. Quire signatures at the bottom of the outer margin.

*Written space:* 180x110mm, 33 long lines (first line above the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink and rubrication:* the whole text written by a single scribe (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of reverse capital N, capital V with an extending and curving left stroke, capital S inclining towards left, terminal capital R as minuscule abbreviating genitive plural, long upright terminal s, ampersand, st and ct ligatures, and e-caudata) in brown ink, occasionally introducing *variae lectiones* at the margins. Rubrication used for the lists of chapter headings

preceding the books, chapter headings themselves along with their numbers appearing either on the margin or in the main body of text, and finally for the incipits and rubrics. Occasionally rubricated capitals appear for the titles of the books, incipits and rubrics.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a six-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude pen-drawn lines bearing golden studs; in the center of the lower margin the white vines encompass the two putti holding the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Three-line-long golden initials framed within blue, green and red backgrounds mark the beginnings of the books (fol. 17r, 37v, 49v, 70r, 89r, 108r, 126r, 140r, 157v, 171v, 178r, 203v). Spaces left for the list of chapter headings of the first book on fol. 1r, while those on fols. 90v–92v were possibly intended for drawings. The manuscript has gilded folio edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves and pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the spine bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius VI at the top and that of cardinal Francisco Javier de Zelada at the bottom along with the shelf-mark number 1527. Four modern paper flyleaves, with two outer ones being marbled together with the pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* est quo magis.

### **Contents**

i–ii: blank

1) **fols. 1r–231v: Collumela, *On Agriculture and On Trees***

*Titulus:* L. IVNII MODERATI COLVMPELLAE REI RVSTICAE LIBER FOELICITER INCIPIT. CAPITVLA PRIMI LIBRI.

*Incipit:* SAepenumero ciuitatis nostrę principes audio culpantis.

*Explicit:* nam et quicumque sunt habiti mortalium sapientissimi multa scisse dicuntur non omnia.

*Rubric:* Laus Deo. Amen. (*in brown ink continuing after the text*) / L. IVNII MODERATI COLVMELLE REI RVSTICE LIBER XIII EXPLICIT FOELICITER (*in red ink*).

*Note on the Text:* ***On Trees*** inserted after the book II as book III, fols. 39r–49r.

iii–iv: blank

### **Bibliography**

*Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, p. 46. Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 210. Élisabeth Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 3.1 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 104–105.

*Analyzed in March 2011.*

: 12 :

***Vat. lat. 1532***

***Aulus Gellius, Attic Nights***

*(Viterbo, 1464x1468)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 293x216mm. Fols. ii+140+ii. Later foliation in black ink in the upper right corner, 1–139. Some wormhole damage at the end of the codex.



*Quire structure:* i–xiv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–140). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border and starting close to the end of the main text. Quire signatures at the bottom of the outer margin, occasionally cropped.

*Written space:* 173x105mm, 40 long lines (first line above the upper border). Dry ruling with single upper horizontal and both vertical borders covering the whole width and length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The main text was copied by Giovanni da Itri (semi-gothic cursive, characterized by the use of gothic 2-shaped r, capital S inclining towards left and a ct ligatures) in dark brown ink, rubricating the chapter headings in dark red ink, whether within the text or on the margin; space was left originally for chapter headings and Greek, indicated by the fact that many of them later continued on the margin. Greek passages in light red ink were subsequently written by Andronico Callisto, as identified by Antonio Rollo.

*Illumination and decoration:* Even though the list of the chapters of the first book starts on fol. 11r, fol. 11v acts as the incipit page; the text begins with an eight-line-long golden initial boxed within a blue background filled with pen-flourish decoration, while white vines cover the outer, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs; two parallel golden lines cut through the length of the white vines at the outer and lower margin – at the lower margin they bend shape to encircle the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on a blue background filled with pen-flourish decoration. Four-to-five-line-long golden initials boxed within blue or blue and red background decorated with pen-flourish mark the beginning of each book (fols. 22r, 32r, 38v, 44v, 51r, 58v, 63v, 69v, 77r, 82r, 88v, 97v, 103v, 110r, 124v, 128v, 133v, 137v). Two-line-long alternating blue and red initials mark the beginnings of chapters. The manuscript has gilded side and bottom edges of the folios, with only traces left on the upper ones.

*Colophons:* 1) Hoc opus scripsit Iohannes Nardi fusci de Ithro feliciter etc. (fol. 139r, see Contents).

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in dark gray ink providing the translation of the section excerpted from Plato's *Gorgias* on the margins of fols. 75v–76r.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards, with the spine bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius VI at the top and that of cardinal Francisco Javier de Zelada at the bottom along with the shelf-mark number 1532 placed in the middle. Four modern paper flyleaves, with two outer ones being marbled together with the pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* Bouator tergiuersator.

## Contents

i–ii: blank

**fols. 1r–10v:** Alphabetical index of names and subjects for item 1 (with the old-shelf mark 5032 written at the top of fol. 1r)

### 1) fols. 11r–139r: Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Plutarcus in libro de herculis magnitudine Capitulum primum quem quantum inter homines animi corporisque ingenio intersit conscripsit.

*Explicit:* quando animus eorum interstitione aliqua negociorum data laxari indulgerique potuisset. Finis.

*Rubric:* (colophon 1 in brown ink) /Auli Gellii Noctium Athicarum commentarii finiunt mediocriter (in red ink).

*Note on the Text:* Each book is preceded by a list of chapter headings (chapter headings of the first book at fols. 11r–11v). The preface of the work comes last with a heading *Conclusio totius operis* (fols. 137r–139r).

**fols. 139v–140v:** blank

iii–iv: blank

## Bibliography

*Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, pp. 49–50; Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' 42–48; Rollo, 'Interventi di Andronico Callisto,' 372–374; Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 106–107.

*Analyzed in March and October 2011.*

***Macrobius' Commentary on Scipio's Dream; Calcidius' Commentary on Plato's Timaeus***  
(Papal States, 1470)

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 278x210mm. Fols. ii+124+ii. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–126, according to which fols. 51 and 52 are missing (which corresponds to the missing beginning of item 2).

*Quire structure:* i–v<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–50), vi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 53–60), vii–xii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 61–120), xiii<sup>6</sup> (fols. 121–126). Horizontal catchwords centered at the very bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 160x115mm, 36 long lines (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical and double horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. No pricking visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All items written by a single scribe, Niccolò di Antonio da Montelparo (semi-gothic script, characterized by the use of gothic initials, gothic minuscule d, round terminal s, no diphthongs or e-caudatas, but with spaced-out words) in brown and black ink. Originally spaces were left for diagrams in items 1 and 2, which were filled only in item 2 by Nicholas of Modruš in red ink, who also added the of item 1 in red capitals (fol. 1r).

*Illumination and decoration:* On fol. 1r there is an nine-line-long golden inhabited initial with a human figure looking at the firmament and the landscape in the background; at the bottom margin appears a golden-framed landscape with two putti holding a wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Thirteen-line-long red-blue gothic initial marks the beginning of item 1 on fol. 3v. Nine-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines boxed with a blue background marks the beginning of book 2 of item 2 (fol. 32r). Alternating red and blue roman initials mark the beginnings of chapters of item 1. The manuscript has gilt and gauffered fore edges.

*Colophons:* 1) 147<sup>0</sup> per me nicolaum Antonii de montelpero (fol. 50v, continuing after the rubric).

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš heavily flagging item 2 in red ink (fols. 53v–111r) with verbal (indicating key points, arguments, names etc) and nonverbal marginalia (vertical nota lines, *maniculae*, quotation marks) including the diagrams. 16th-century hand in brown ink supplied the title of item 2.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards, with the coat of arms of Pius VI standing at the top of the spine, that of Francisco Javier de Zelada at the bottom and the shelf-mark number in between. Four modern paper flyleaves, with the two outer ones being marbled together with the pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* ut me imperii.

### **Contents**

**i–ii:** blank

**1) fols. 1r–50v: Macrobius, *Commentary on Scipio's Dream***

*Titulus:* MACROBII IN SOMNVN(!) SCIPIONIS.

*Incipit:* INTER Platonis et Ciceronis libros quos de re publica utrumque constituit (on fol. 3v).

*Explicit:* quanto ab illis uiolentius seperantur tanto ad supera serius reuertuntur. Idem ut supra.

*Rubric:* Liber Macrobi Ambrosii Theodosii Viri Eloquentissimi Feliciter Explicit. Amen (in brown ink).

*Note on the Text:* Macrobius' text (beginning at fol. 3v) is preceded by Cicero's *Scipio's Dream* (fols. 1r–3v, *incipit:* Cum Venissiem in Affricam anitio mallio consule).

**2) fols. 53r–126r: Calcidius, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* (...) scrutaretur imaginem quandam depinsit urbis que iustis moribus institutisque regeretur.

*Explicit:* Simul habet exhortationem ferme ad affectionem ingenue institutionis.

**126v:** blank

**iii–iv:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini*, vol 3, 57; Giovanni Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 170. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 116–117.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 14 :**

***Vat. lat. 1579***

***Works of Vergil***

***(Viterbo, 1465)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 291x212mm. Fols. i+234+i. Foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–233 (fol. 129b skipped during foliation). Slight wormhole damage at the both ends of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–x<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–100), xi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 101–108), xii–xxiii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 109–227), xxiv<sup>6</sup> (fols. 228–233). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner borders. Quire signatures at the bottom of the lower margin, occasionally cropped.

*Written space:* 178x113mm, 28 long lines (first line below the top border). Dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All text written by the same scribe, Giovanni Yvelor (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use uncial a as minuscule, ct and st ligatures, avoidance of writing out diphthongs and occasionally a long upright terminal s) in dark brown ink. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* On fol. 1r there is a four-line-long golden initial framed within green background marking the beginning of the first eclogue; on its left side, it is bordering with gold-framed white vines covering the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing blue, green and red flowers, and golden studs; in the center of the lower margin, the white vines are cut by a framed representation of a scene from the *Eclogues* (Tityrus and Meliboeus); in the center of the upper margin white vines encompass two putti holding a wreath of leaves with a blue filling, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. On fol. 16r, a three-line-long golden initial framed within a red background marking the beginning of the tetrastich summarizing the first book of *Georgics*, is followed two lines down by a four-line-long golden initial framed within a blue background marking the beginning of the first book; on their left side, they border with the gold-framed white vines covering the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing purple, green and red flowers, and golden studs; in the center of the lower margin white vines are cut by a framed representation of a scene from the *Georgics* (peasant ploughing); extending along the white vine frame is a thinner gold frame filled with green leaves at the upper and inner margin, and blue leaves at the lower. On fol. 56r stands a blue initial with interlacing green and red vines framed within a golden background marking the beginning of the first book of *Aeneid*; on the left it is bordering with three concentric golden frames covering all four margins, of which the innermost and the outermost have alternating sections of green, blue and purple leaves, green-red and blue-red vines, while the central one has white vines at all sides, with representations of forrest animals, birds, and putti included; at the center of the lower margin, cutting all three concentric frames, is a framed representation of a scene from *Aeneid* (Aeneas meets Dido with the walls of Carthage and the sea with the ships in the background); at the center of the upper margin, cutting all three concentric frames, are two putti on a blue background holding the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš; at the center of the outer margin, cutting all three concentric frames, is a golden-framed medallion representation of a scholar in his study (Vergil). Item 1 has two-line-long golden initials framed within a blue-and-green- or blue-and-red-colored background marking the beginnings of eclogues (fols. 2v, 3v, 5v, 6v, 8v, 11r, 13r, 14v). Item 2 has a two-to-three-line-long golden initial framed within a purple background (fol. 25r) or red framed within a golden background (fols. 35r, 45r) marking the beginnings of (Pseudo-)Ovid's tetrastichs summarizing each of the book

of *Georgics*; and golden initials with interlacing white vines extending on the margin to cover half of the folio, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs (fols. 25r, 35r, 45r). Item 3 has three-line-long blue or red initials framed within a golden background marking the beginning of (Pseudo-)Ovid's ten-line summaries of each of the book of the *Aeneid* (fols. 69v, 83v, 96v, 109v, 125v, 141v, 156v, 169v, 183v, 200r, 216v); and three-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines extending on the margin to cover half of the folio, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs (fols. 69v, 97r, 109v, 125v, 142r, 156v, 170r, 183v, 200r, 217r), with the exception of a three-line-long dark-blue-colored initial framed within a blue background beginning the book 3 (fol. 84r), attached, though, to the same type of white vines as the other. Space left for the initials of eclogue 7 (fol. 10r), the summary of *Aeneid* (fol. 55v), and (Pseudo-)Ovid's summary of the first book of *Aeneid* (55v). The manuscript has gilt fore edges.

*Colophons*: 1) Explicit liber Virgilii scriptum per me Iohannem yuelor pro Reuerendo Patre Domino Domini Dei et apostolice sedis gratia Episcopo Madrusensi tunc temporis Viterbii Arcis Castellano Anno domini 1465 (*at fol. 233v below the text in brown ink*).

*Marginalia*: Greek marginalia in dark brown ink translating the words from the text (fols. 56r–77v, 78v–81r, 82r, 83r, 84r–85v, 87r–95r, 96r, 97r–104r, 105r–106r, 111r–111v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Wooden binding with leather over boards; modern spine, with the remains of an older one bearing the coats of arms of pope Pius IX and cardinal Luigi Lambruschini are pasted to the front pastedown. Pastedowns and flyleaves are of modern date and were added during restauration in 1996.

*Secundo folio*: Hibleis apibus.

### **Contents**

i: blank

**1) fols. 1r–15v: Vergil, *Eclogues***

*Titulus*: None given.

*Incipit*: Titire tu patule recubans sub tegmine fagi.

*Explicit*: Ite domum sature uenit hesperus ite capelle.

**2) fols. 16r–55v: Vergil, *Georgics***

*Titulus*: None given.

*Incipit*: Quid faciat letas segetes quo sydere terram.

*Explicit*: Titire tu patule tecum sub tegmine fagi

*Note on the Text*: Every book is preceded by (Pseudo-)Ovid's tetrastich summarizing it.

**3) fols. 56r–233v: Vergil, *Aeneid***

*Titulus*: None indicated

*Incipit*: Arma uirumque cano troie qui primus ab oris.

*Explicit*: Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

*Rubric*: *Explicit liber Virgilii*.

*Note on the Text*: The whole work is preceded by a twelve-verse summary (fol. 55v), and every book is preceded by (Pseudo-)Ovid's summary in ten verses.

ii: blank

### **Bibliography**

*Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, 78. Mercati, 'Notizie varie,' 170. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 153.

*Analyzed in February 2011.*

: 15 :  
*Vat. lat. 1729*  
***Cicero, Tusculan Disputations***  
(Viterbo, 1464x1465)

***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 289x211mm. Fols. ii+69+ii. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–68.

*Quire Structure:* i–vi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–60), vii<sup>10</sup>–1 (fols. 61–69). Horizontal, occasionally framed, catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin (in the first quire it appears at the center of the lower margin).

*Written space:* 173x111mm, 39 long lines (first line below the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All items written by a single scribe (semi-humanistic cursive, characterized by the use of *ct* and *st* ligatures, ampersand, occasional e-caudata, and occasional long upright terminal s) in black and gray ink. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has white vines with gold, blue, green and red background extending over the upper, inner and lower margin, on top of which appear birds, caterpillars and forest animals; at the lower margin the white vines encompass two putti holding a wreath of leaves with a blue filling within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on a blue background filled with pen-flourish decoration; in the upper right corner of the center of the page and not connected to the marginal white vines appears an eight-line-long framed golden initial with interlacing white vines marking the beginning of the text. Five-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines extending over the left margin at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs mark the beginning of each book of item 1 (fols. 17v, 27r, 39v, 52r).

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink emending the whole text of item 1, and at one instance (fol. 8v) also flagging the text with a *manicula* and a key term. Near-contemporary reader *b* marking the text with a *manicula* on fol. 13v.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; at the top of the spine stands a golden-colored coat of arms of Pius VI, while at the bottom that of cardinal Francisco Javier de Zelada. Four modern paper flyleaves, with two outer ones being marbled together with the pastedowns. A woodcut image of a putto holding the coats of arms of Pius and Zelada was pasted onto the front pastedown.

*Secundo folio:* ratio contra

***Contents***

i–ii: blank

**1) fols. 1r–68r: Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus.

*Explicit:* alia nulla potuit inueniri leuatio.

*Rubric:* FINIS.

**2) fols. 68v: Claudian, *Archimedes' Sphere***

*Titulus:* CLAVDIANVS.

*Incipit:* Iuppiter in paruo cum cerneret ęthera uitro.

*Explicit:* Aemula naturę parua reperta manus.

**3) fols. 68v: Martial, *On the Spectacles 25b***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* Cum peteret dulces audax leandrus amores.

*Explicit:* Parcite dum propero mergite cum redeo.

**fol. 69:** blank

iii–iv: blank

## **Bibliography**

*Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, pp. 205–206. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 340–341.

Analyzed in October 2011.

: 16 :

*Vat. lat. 1748*

***Cicero, Against Catiline***  
(*Papal States, 1464x1480*)

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material*: parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 337x235mm. Fols. i+80+i. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–80. Slight wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire structure*: i–viii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–80). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border.

*Written space*: 225x125mm, 31 long lines (first line above the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical and horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking visible only in quires i–iii.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: All items written by a single scribe (humanistic book hand, clear in appearance and characterized by the use of long upright terminal s, ct and st ligatures, g with two bowls, and line fillers) in dark brown ink, using capitals for the incipits of the items, and red capitals for their titles.

*Illumination and decoration*: On fol. 1r there is an three-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines that extend to cover the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs; in the lower margin, the white vines circle around two putti holding a wreath of leaves with a blue filling, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Three-line-long golden initials boxed within a blue, green and red background mark the beginning of each item (fols. 2r, 3r, 13r, 19r, 24r, 29v, 34v, 36v, 38v, 42r, 59r, 61r). Manuscript has gilt fore edges.

*Colphons*: None.

*Marginalia*: Nicholas adding the text left out by the scribe (fol. 13r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Parts of a parchment were used to strengthen the binding. Two 3cm-wide clasps are lacking. No pastedowns.

*Secundo folio*: sceleratorum hominum.

### ***Contents***

i: blank except for the current shelf mark written in pencil on the verso

**1) fols. 1r–2r: Pseudo-Cicero, *Against Catiline***

*Titulus*: M. TVLLII CICERONIS CONS. INVECTIVA IN L. CATELINAM IN SENATV PRO CONIVRATIONE AB EO INITA INCIPIT.

*Incipit*: NON EST AMPLIVS TEMPVS OCII P. C. non est locus amplius.

*Explicit*: si de ciuitate Catilinam immo errorem omnium expuleritis.

**2) fols. 2r–3r: Pseudo-Catiline, *Against Cicero***

*Titulus*: L. CATELINAЕ RESPONSIО IN CICERONEM CONSVLEM PRO INVECTIVA CONTRA SE IN SENATV EDITA.

*Incipit*: SI SVBTILITER A CIRCvNSTANTIBVS QVE sit praesentis actionis controuersia.

*Explicit*: confectum est ut nemo se Catelinae tutorem audeat confiteri.

**3) fols. 3r–13v: Pseudo-Cicero, *Against Catiline***

*Titulus*: ORATIO CICERONIS CONS. IN L. CATELINAM ET CONIVRATOS APVD IVDICES

*Incipit*: SI QVID PRECIBVS APVD DEOS IMMORTALES sanctissimi Iudices.

*Explicit*: ab hoc inusitato prorsusque tristissimo genere calamitatis.

**4) fols. 13v–18v: Cicero, *Against Catiline II***

- Titulus:* CONCIO CICERONIS CONS. IN CAELINAM ET CONIVRATOS APVD POPVLVM.  
*Incipit:* TANDEM ALIQVANDO QVIRITES L. CAELINAM furem.  
*Explicit:* a perditissimorum ciuium nefario scelere defendant.
- 5) **fols. 18v–24r: Cicero, *Against Catiline III***  
*Titulus:* CONCIO CICERONIS IN CAELINAM AD POPVLVM.  
*Incipit:* REM PVBLICAM QVIRITES VITAMQVE OMNIUM uestrum.  
*Explicit:* atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis prouidebo Quirites.
- 6) **fols. 24r–29v: Cicero, *Against Catiline I***  
*Titulus:* IN L. CAELINAM CICERONIS INVECTIVA.  
*Incipit:* QVOVSQVE TANDEM ABVTERE CAELINA PATIENTIA nostra.  
*Explicit:* æternis suppliciis uiuos mortuosque mactabis.
- 7) **fols. 29v–34v: Cicero, *Against Catiline IV***  
*Titulus:* ORATIO CICERONIS IN CAELINAM TRANSMISSA AD SENATVM DVM ERAT IN EXILIVM(!).  
*Incipit:* VIDEO P.C. IN ME OMNIUM ORA ATQVE oculos uestrum esse.  
*Explicit:* defendere quoad uiuet et per se ipsum præstare possit.
- 8) **fols. 34v–36v: (Pseudo-)Sallust, *Invective against Cicero***  
*Titulus:* CRISPI SALVSTII IN CICERONEM INVECTIVA IN SENATV.  
*Incipit:* GRAVITER ET INIQVO ANIMO MALEDICTA tua paterer.  
*Explicit:* neque in hac neque in illa parte fidem habens.
- 9) **fols. 36v–38v: (Pseudo-)Cicero, *Response to Sallust***  
*Titulus:* M. TVLLII CICERONIS RESPENSIO INVECTIVA IN SALVSTIVM AD SE NATVM.  
*Incipit:* EA DEMVM TIBI MAGNA VOLVPTAS EST CRISPE Salusti.  
*Explicit:* sed ea dicam, si qua honeste effari possum.
- 10) **fols. 38v–42r: Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law against Rullus I***  
*Titulus:* ORATIO CICERONIS CONS. IN LEGEM AGRARIAM CONTRA RVLLVM A SENATVM.  
*Incipit:* QVAE RES APERTE PETEBATVR EA NUNC OCCVLte cuniculis oppugnatur.  
*Explicit:* eadem nunc longo interuallo r. p. restituta esse uideatur.
- 11) **fols. 42r–59r: Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law against Rullus II***  
*Titulus:* CONCIO CICERONIS CONS. IN LEGEM AGRARIAM CONTRA RVLLVM AD POPVLVM.  
*Incipit:* EST HOC IN MORE POSITVM QVIRITES instituoque maiorum.  
*Explicit:* tamen uos uniuersos in consules deligendo plurimum uidisse fateantur.  
*Text:*
- 12) **fols. 59r–60v: Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law against Rullus III***  
*Titulus:* CONCIO CICERONIS AD POPVLVM CONTRA LEGEM AGRARIAM IN RVLLVM TR. PL. EIVSQVE LEGIS LATOREM.  
*Incipit:* COMMODIVS FECISSENT TR. PL. QVIRITES SI QVE apud uos de me ferunt.  
*Explicit:* in uestram concionem uobis flagitantibus euocauerunt et disserant.
- 13) **fols. 61r–80v: Cicero, *On his House***  
*Titulus:* M. TVLLII CICERONIS ORATIO AD PONTIFICES PRO DOMO SVA RESTITVENDA HABITA.  
*Incipit:* CVM MVLTA DIVINITVS PONTIFICIBVS A MAIORibus nostris inuenta.  
*Explicit:* nunc quem Senatus uult manibus quoque uestris in sedibus meis collocetis.  
ii: blank

### ***Bibliography***

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini*, vol. 3, 218–219. Pellegrin, et al., *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 364–365.

*Analyzed in March 2011.*

: 17 :

*Vat. lat. 1752*

**Cicero, Against Verres**

(Viterbo, 1464x1468)

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 281x210mm. Fols. i+184+i. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–182 (fol. 129b skipped during foliation). Slight wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire Structure:* i–xviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–180), xix<sup>4</sup> (fols. 181–184). Both scribes use vertical descending catchwords in the between the inner double borders, although those of scribe A start higher and closer to the text.

*Written space:* Two scribes employing two different layouts. A (fols. 1r–90v): 181x108mm, 38 long lines (first line above the top border), dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length; B (91r–182r): 179x107mm, 28–34 long lines (first line above the top border), dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The manuscript was written by two different scribes. Scribe A, Giovanni da Itri (semi-humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of ct and st ligature, ampersand, uncial a and r, round terminal s, occasional capital Byzantine M) in light brown ink fols. 1–90v; scribe B (humanistic book hand, characterized by long upright terminal s, e-caudata, minuscule g with two distinct bowls, avoidance of abbreviations) in dark brown ink fols. 91r–182v, flagging the text at few places on the margins (with the longer texts written in order to form a triangle, as on fol. 140v). Both scribes use capitals for the incipits of the speeches. Scribe B using red capitals for the rubric on fol. 182r.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol 1r. has a seven-line-long golden boxed initial with a blue background with penflourish decoration and a golden frame; not connected to it, over the upper, inner and lower margin extend two parallel golden frames, with the outer narrower one filled with green and blue leaves, and the inner one with white vines, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs; cutting the white vines, at the center of the lower margin are framed two putti on a blue background holding the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Five-to-six-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines extending on the margin to cover half of the folio, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs, mark the beginning of each of the speeches (fols. 10v, 18r, 42v, 72v, 115r, 147r). Manuscript has gilt and gauffered edges of the folios.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš making addition to, and corrections of, the text on the margins and *inter lineas* (fols. 1r–2r, 3r–4v, 6v–9r, 10r–13r, 14r–28v, 29v–38v; particularly long addition at 35v), but also possibly noting a passage with a *manicula* (fol. 36v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with leather over boards, with spine bearing the shelf-mark *VAT. 1752* and the coats of arms of pope Pius IX and cardinal Luigi Lambruschini. Flyleaves and pastedowns are of modern date added during the rebinding.

*Secundo folio:* -neos non habere.

### **Contents**

i: blank

#### **1) fols. 1r–10v: Cicero, The Verrine Orations**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* SIQVIS VESTRVM IVDICES AVT eorum qui adsunt.

*Explicit:* quam improbos accusare necesse sit.

*Rubric:* M. TVLLII CICERONIS IN VERREM LIBER SEPTIMVS ET VLTIMVS ACCVSATIONVM FOELICITER EXPLICIT. LAVS DEO (*in red ink*).

*Note on the Text:* The speeches appear in regular order.

**fols. 182v–184v:** blank

ii: blank



## **Bibliography**

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini*, vol 3, 221; Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' 50–51. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 369.

*Analyzed in March and October 2011.*

**: 18 :**

***Vat. lat. 1756***

***Cicero, Philippics***

***(Viterbo, 1464x1468)***

## ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 290x215mm. Fols. i+80+i. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–80. Slight wormhole damage at the end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–viii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–80). Vertical descending catchwords in the between the inner double borders beginning close to the main text. Traces of quire signatures in the lower right corner.

*Written space:* irregular 175/185x108mm, 36–39 long lines (first line below the top border), dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Text written by a single scribe, Giovanni da Itri (semi-humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of *st* and *ct* ligatures, *e*-caudata, round terminal *s*) in light brown ink, using capitals for the initials of the speeches. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol 1r. has a five-line-long golden initial with a blue background framed with gold; over the upper, inner and lower margin extend three parallel golden frames, with the outer ones filled with green, purple and blue backgrounds, and the inner one with white vines; at the ends of the inner one protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs; at the center of the lower margin the white vines encompass the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Five-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines extending on the margin to cover half of the folio, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs, mark the beginning of each *Philippic* (fols. 6v, 25r, 27r, 31r, 39r, 42r, 45v, 50r, 52r, 56v, 62v, 67v), except for the final one where the space for the initial was left empty (fol. 75v). Manuscript has gilt fore edges.

*Colophons:* 1) HOC OPVS SCRIPTVM PER IOHANNEM de ITRO ETC. (*fol. 80v below the rubric*)

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Two 3cm-wide clasps are lacking. Two parchment flyleaves added during rebinding. No pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* austro sum.

## ***Contents***

i: blank with the note 'M. T. Ciceronis Philippicae 744' pasted on the recto and and two older shelf marks written on the verso ' V. 744 / 2016'

### **1) fols. 1r–80v: Cicero, Philippics**

*Titulus:* None indicated.

*Incipit:* ANTEquam de re p. c(!) dicam ea que dicenda.

*Explicit:* si illi uicissent qui morte uicerunt.

*Rubric:* DEO GRATIAS.

*Note on the Text:* The speeches appear in the standard order.

ii: blank

## **Bibliography**

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, 222–223; Cherubini, ‘Giovanni da Itri,’ 51–52. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 371–372.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 19 :**

**Vat. lat. 1759**

***Cicero’s philosophical works; Vegetius’ On Military Matters***

*(Papal States, 1464x1480)*

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 282x210mm. Fols. iii+174+i. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–173 (fol. 84b skipped during foliation). Slight wormhole damage at the beginning of the codex.

*Quire Structure:* Changeable size of quires: i–x<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–99), xi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 100–107), xii–xv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 108–147), xvi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 148–155), xvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 156–165), xviii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 166–173). Framed horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the center of the lower margin, occasionally cropped. Cropped quire signatures occasionally appear in the lower right corner.

*Written space:* 175x110mm, 39 long lines. Dry ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length, neither horizontal borders nor lines drawn. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All texts written by the same scribe in black ink (Italian gothic, characterized by a capital *V* opening towards left, and medieval orthography such as avoidance of diphthong, or spelling *michi* instead of *mihī*), writing rubrics of items 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 in black ink but in a larger module. Space left for the rubricated titles, with those of items 3, 4 and 6 being indicated on the margin in small letters; however, only those of item 1 have been written by Nicholas of Modruš, using roman capitals in red for the titles of the first two books and the running title on fols. 8v–15r.

*Illumination and decoration:* On fol. 1r appears an eleven-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs. Within the white vines, in the upper and at the top of the inner margin appear the brown-colored figures of forrest animals, while in the lower the white vines encompass Nicholas of Modruš’s coat of arms (appearing without wreath of leaves or any other framing background) supported by two putti and two laying foxes. Golden initials with interlacing white vines mark the beginning of each item and the books of each item (fols. 15v, 37r, 49v, 68r, 87r, 93r, 99v, 109r, 126r, 136v, 148r, 163v, 169v). The manuscript has gilt and gaufered fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš flagging item 1 in red ink on the margin (up to fol. 28v) with verbal and nonverbal marginalia (*maniculae*, nota signs and vertical nota lines), flagging specific words in brown ink.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Original wooden binding with the spine of modern date bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius IX at the top and cardinal Luigi Lambruschini at the bottom; on the upper parts of both boards 25x70mm spaces were carved out presumably where the title plate once stood, while in all four corners appear small eagles; at the top of the front board appears a number *1080*, presumably an older shelf-mark. Two 3cm-wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaves ii and iii in parchment were bound early with the volume if not originally, while i and iv in paper and are of modern date.

*Secundo folio:* cum ocio langueremus.

### ***Contents***

**i–iii:** blank with *M. T. Ciceronis liber Academicorum 1759* added by a later hand at ii<sup>r</sup>

**1) fols. 1r–49v: Cicero, *On the Nature of Gods***

*Titulus:* MARCI TVLLII CICERONIS ACADEMICORUM SEV DE NATVRA DEORVM LIBER PRIMVS FOELICITER INCIPIT.

*Incipit:* CVm multe res in phylosophia nequaquam adhuc satis explicate sint.

*Explicit:* ad ueritatis similitudinem uideretur esse propensior.

*Rubric:* Explicet(!) liber de natura deorum.

2) **fols. 49v–87r: Cicero, *On Divination***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* VEtus est iam opinio usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus.

*Explicit:* Que cum essent dicta statim resurreximus. etc...

*Rubric:* Marci Tullii Ciceronis De diuinationibus liber explicit...

3) **fols. 87r–93r: Plato, *Timaeus* (tr. Cicero)**

*Titulus:* (de Vniuersitate).

*Incipit:* MVlta sunt a nobis in cademicis(!) contra physicos.

*Explicit:* nullum prestantius neque datum est mortalium generi deorum concessu neque munere dabitur.

4) **fols. 93r–99v: Cicero, *On Fate***

*Titulus:* (M.T.C. de fato).

*Incipit:* Quia pertinet ad mores quos ethos illi uocant.

*Explicit:* Illud quoque necesse est declinare quibusdam athomis uel si uolunt omnibus naturaliter etc. Deo gratias.

*Rubric:* Marci Tullii Ciceronis Liber de fato explicit...

5) **fols. 99v–163r: Cicero, *On Moral Ends***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Non enim nescius brute cum que summis ingeniis exquisitaque doctrina.

*Explicit:* Quodcumque ille dixisset et satis dubitatum esse uideretur in oppidum et pomponium perreximus omnes.

*Rubric:* Explicet Liber quintus et ultimus de fine malorum et bonorum.

6) **fols. 163v–169v: Plato, *Timaeus* (trans. Cicero)**

*Titulus:* (de Vniuersitate).

*Incipit:* MVlta a nobis sunt in achademicis nostris conscripta contra physicos.

*Explicit:* nullum prestantius neque datum est mortalium generi nec deorum concessu atque munere dabitur.

*Rubric:* Marci Tullii Ciceronis Liber Ptimeus a Boetio sic intitulatus explicit.

*Text:*

7) **fols. 169v–173r: Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science* (Excerpts)**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* REs militaris in duas diuiditur partes Equites pedites classes.

*Explicit:* ad postremum olim in obliuionem perducta cognoscitur. Amen.

*Rubric:* De re militari explicit....

**iv:** blank

### ***Bibliography***

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, p. 224. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 374–375.

*Analyzed in February and October 2011.*

**: 20 :**

***Vat. lat. 1762***

***Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory***

*(Viterbo, 1464x1468)*

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 293x218mm. Fols. i+236. Later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–233 (fols. 103b, 115b, 234 not numbered). Slight wormhole damage at the end of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–xxiii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–228), xxiv<sup>10</sup>–4 (fols. 229–234). Vertical descending catchwords in between the double inner borders. Traces of quire signatures in the lower right corner.

*Written space:* 177x110mm, 36 long lines (first line above the top border). Dry ruling with double vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* The whole text written by a single scribe, Giovanni da Itri in brown ink (semi-gothic script), writing small chapter headings in light strokes in order to write later the rubricated ones over them; marking with a red stroke the first letter of a sentence and rubricating titles of books in capitals and sections in minuscule letters (fols. 1–128). Nicholas of Modruš using rubricated capitals for the titles of the books and sections (fols. 129–233), and adding a running title (fols. 42v–46r). Greek words in red ink added later by a contemporary hand, which seems to be in the same ink as Nicholas’.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has three boxed initials of different sizes (seven-, three- and a nine-line-long respectively) and colors (yellow, blue and purple respectively), while simple pen-drawn vines (with blue, green and purple flowers, and golden studs) connect them covering the entire length of the inner margin; at the center of the bottom margin two putti are holding a wreath of leaves with a blue filling, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Six-line-long gold-framed golden initials with blue, green, or red background (or a combination thereof) filled with pen-flourish decoration mark the beginning of each book of the work (fols. 24r, 42v, 61v, 77r, 99v, 114r, 129r, 147v, 174v, 192r, 214v). Initials of sections alternating in blue and red ink. The manuscript has gilded side and bottom edges of the folios, with only traces left on the upper ones.

*Colophons:* 1) Iohannes de Idria id est de itro scripsit (*fol. 128v*); 2) Hoc opus scripsit Iohannes Nardi Fusci de Itro (*fol. 233r, below the rubric*).

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš emending the text in black ink (fols. 3r, 5v, 8r–8v, 9v, 10r, 12r, 14v–15r), and flagging it in red ink (fols. 43r–45v). Contemporary reader adding *variae lectiones* (e.g. fols. 114r–114v, 117v, 132v, 134v–135r, 144r–146r, 168v–169r, 170v–171r, 172r, 187r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Two 2-cm wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaf is parchment added during the rebinding (as it can be gathered from the fact that it has unlike fol. 1r many wormholes). Parts of a parchment containing a text in gothic script were used to strengthen the binding. No pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* putauerunt ad.

## Contents

i: blank with the pasted note on the recto indicating the title and an older shelf-mark (*M. F. Quintilia. de insti. orato. lib. 12. 1077*), and with the verso bearing another old shelf-mark 2022.

### 1) fols. 1r–233r: Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*

*Titulus:* Marci Fabii Quintiliani de institutione oratoria liber primus incipit primo proemium secundo.

*Incipit:* Fabius quintilianus Triphoni salutem. Efflagitasti quotidiano conuicio ut libros quos ad Marcellum meum de institutione oratoria scripseram.

*Explicit:* quorum cognitio studiosis iuuenibus si non magnam utilitatem afferet, at certe quod magis petimus, bonam uoluntatem.

*Rubric:* Marci Fabii Quintiliani De Institutione AD marcellum Victorinum Liber Duodecimus Et Vltimus feliciter Explicit. Xm Xm.

*Note on the Text:* In between the Letter to Tryphon and the preface, there is a short summary of each of the books (*Incipit: Primo proemium. Secundo Quemadmodum prima elementa tradenda sunt. Tertio...*).

**fol. 233v–234v:** blank.

## Bibliography

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, 225–226. Mercati, ‘Notizie varie,’ 172. Cherubini, ‘Giovanni da Itri,’ 52–53. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 377–378.

*Analyzed in March and October 2011.*

: 21 :

*Vat. lat. 1956*

*Pliny the Elder, Natural History vol. 1*

*(Papal States, 1464x1480)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 336x234mm. Fols. i+392. Foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–388 (fols. 28b, 92b, 302b skipped during foliation).

*Quire structure:* i–xxxix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–387), xl<sup>2</sup> (fols. 388–389). Horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin. Quire signatures at the bottom of the outer margin.

*Written space:* 218x127mm, 40 long lines (first line above the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical and horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking visible only in quires iv and v.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the whole text written by a single scribe (semi-humanistic book hand characterized by the use of with distinctive long bowls of *g* and *q* in the last lines, use of *ct*, *st* and occasionally *ae* ligatures, *e*-caudata, ampersand, round terminal *s*, and capital *R* used as the terminal minuscule *r*) in brown ink, using capitals for the incipits of books and chapters. Space left for the rubrics between books.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol 1r. has an eighteen-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines within golden frames, both of which extend to cover the inner, upper and lower margin, at the ends of which protrude pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs; at the center of the lower margin, cutting the white vines, is a golden-framed wreath of laurels with a blue filling, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Fol. 30r (marking the beginning of the work) has a ten-line-long golden initial within a green background, bordering with golden frames covering all four margins; yellow-and-blue-colored floral decorations on a red background fill the inner margin, while the other three are filled with white vines, on top of which are drawn animals and *putti*, and red-framed-medallion representations of animals; in the bottom of the outer margin golden-framed-medallion representation of earth as an island surrounded by Ocean on all sides; at the center of the lower margin stands the golden-framed representation of a scholar in his study on the left (Pliny the Elder?) and a boy playing with a cat on the right (Pliny the Younger?), with someone's leg protruding from the entrance and dog barking in the center; at the center of the upper margin are two *putti* on a blue background holding the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Ten-to-sixteen-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines, golden-framed and extending to cover the entire left margin at the ends of which protrude pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs, mark the beginning of each book (fols. 59r, 75r, 88v, 103v, 126r, 146v, 168v, 187r, 206v, 230r, 241v, 252r, 264r, 275v, 296r, 318v, 348v, 364v). Three-to-four-line-long golden initials framed within various combinations of blue, green and red background filled with penflourish decoration mark the beginning of each chapter of the books.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink making emendations in the text of the preface, and books II and VII (marginal and interlinear corrections *passim* at fols. 1r–3r, 30r–60r, 126r–147v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Two 3cm-wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaf i is parchment seemingly added during the rebinding. No pastedowns save for a 282x48mm severely cropped folio containing a text in at least two columns (dark brown ink in Gothic script) pasted at the back board. The manuscript has gilt edges of the folios, along with the two coats of arms of Nicholas of Modruš drawn on the upper, two on the lower, and one on the fore edges.

*Secundo folio:* uita narratur.

### **Contents**

i: traces of an erased list

1) **fols. 1r–338v: Pliny, *Natural History* (Books I to XX)**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* PLINIVS SECVNDVS Vespasiano suo salutem. Libros naturalis historie nouitium camenis quiritum tuorum opus natum.

*Explicit:* hac theriaca magnus Rex Antiochus aduersus omnia uenenata usus traditur.

**fol. 389r:** written old shelf-marks "V. 949 / 2216" in brown ink

**fol. 389v:** blank

### ***Bibliography***

Nogara. *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol 3, 371. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 499–500.

*Analyzed in March 2011*

**: 22 :**

***Vat. lat. 1957***

***Pliny the Elder, Natural History vol. 2***

***(Papal States, 1464x1480)***

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Parchment (f, h–h, f–f). 333x228mm. Fols. i+284+i. Foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–283 (fols. 132b, 253b skipped during foliation).

*Quire Structure:* i–xxvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–268), xxviii–xix<sup>8</sup> (fols. 269–284). Horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space:* 218x127mm, 40 long lines (first line above the upper border). Dry ruling with single vertical and horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the whole text written by a single scribe in brown ink (semi-humanistic book hand characterized by the use of with distinctive long bowls of g and q in the last lines, use of ct, st and occasionally ae ligatures, e-caudata, ampersand, round terminal s, and capital R used as the terminal minuscule r), in brown ink, using capitals for the incipits of books and chapters. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has in the center of the lower margin four putti holding the wreath of leaves with blue filling within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Eight-to-sixteen-line-long golden initials with interlacing white vines, golden-framed and extending to cover the entire left margin at the ends of which protrude pen-drawn vines bearing golden studs, mark the beginning of each book (fols. 1r, 29v, 37r, 54r, 72r, 89v, 106r, 120v, 146v, 160r, 174v, 187r, 201v, 216v, 232v, 249v, 271v). Three-to-four-line-long golden initials framed within various combinations of blue, green and red background filled with penflourish mark the beginning of each chapter of the books. The manuscript has gilt fore edges.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the spine bearing the coat of arms of pope Pius IX at the top and cardinal Luigi Lambruschini at the bottom with the shelf-mark *VAT. 1957* in the middle. Two flyleaves along with the pastedowns are modern papers added during the rebinding.

*Secundo folio:* quam filia.

### ***Contents***

i: blank

**1) fols. 1r–283v: Pliny, *Natural History* (Books XXI to XXXVII)**

*Titulus:* None indicated

*Incipit:* IN ORTIS SERI et Coronamenta Cato iussit, inenarrabili florum maxime subtilitate.

*Explicit:* Experimenta pluribus modis constant primum pondere.

fol. 284: blank

ii: blank

### **Bibliography**

Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol 3, 371. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 499–500.

*Analyzed in March 2011*

: 23 :

*Vat. lat. 2059*

*Geber, On Astronomy (trans. Gerard of Cremona)*

*(Italy, 14th c.)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 338x243mm. Fols. i+194. Later foliation in the upper right corner, 1–193. Slight wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–x<sup>8</sup> (fols. 1–80), xi<sup>12</sup>–2 (fols. 81–90), xii–xxiv<sup>8</sup> (fols. 91–194). Scribe A writing out horizontal catchwords preceded by a pilcrow at the center bottom of the lower margin, occasionally cropped, while a 14th-, or 15th-century hand wrote them out again in light brown ink at places where it was cropped; scribe B writing out horizontal catchwords occasionally framed at the bottom of the inner margin. At the end of each quire appear quire numbers in pencil at the bottom of the inner margin.

*Written space:* Two scribes using two slightly different layouts: A) 187x110mm, 23-to-25 (fol. 90v 30 in order to fit the text) long lines (first line below the top border); B) 175x110mm, 21-to-23 long lines (first line below the top border). Lead ruling with double vertical and horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Two scribes: scribe A (gothic script) in black ink, writing fols. 1–90; scribe B (gothic script) in black ink, writing fols. 91–193. In the manuscript appear occasional chapter headings and rubrics marking the endings and beginnings of books in red ink (at places those appearing at the margins are cropped, see e.g. fol. 176v), and the running title in red and blue throughout. Diagrams in red appear on the margins throughout the manuscript.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a four-line-long blue-red initial with pen-flourish decoration; at the center of the lower margin stands the episcopal coat of arms of Domenico Dominici on a blue background within a gold-framed window, and with two letters *d* placed at each side; at both ends of the window protrude pen-drawn vines bearing flowers and golden stubs. Two-, and towards the end of the text occasionally three-, and four-line-long blue and red initials mark the beginnings books and chapters. Occasional use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* 1) M. Venturinus de Feltro (*at fol. 193v*); 2) Ego dominicus episcopus torcellanus emi a domino iohanne aurispa hunc librum geber anno domini 1458 die 3 iuli solutio facta fuit per bonichum de baronzellis testis est magister stefanus phisicus de florentia (*on the verso of flyleaf i, with Domenico Dominici's monogram below*); 3) Ego Nicolaus Episcopus Modrussiensis emi hunc librum a prefato Reuerendissimo domino Torcellano olim, nunc brixiensi cum comento hali super quadrupartitum Tholomei anno domini 1467. testis est ipse id est Reuerendissimus dominus Dominicus Brixiensis (*on the verso of flyleaf i, below colophon 2*); 4) V 2105 / 2319 (*at the recto of flyleaf i*).

*Marginalia:* 15th-century reader A (humanistic book hand) flagging the text in brown ink (e.g. fols. 4r–5r); 15th-century reader B (semi-gothic cursive) flagging the text in brown ink (e.g. fol. 2v–3r, 18r–19r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Wooden binding with leather over boards; the front cover bearing the coat of arms of pope Paul V, the back that of cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. Two 2cm-wide clasps are lacking. Flyleaf i is parchment and was bound with the codex at least in the 15th century, if not earlier. No pastedowns.

*Secundo folio:* uales enim.

### **Contents**

**i:** blank with colophons 4 on the recto, and 2 and 3 on the verso.

**1) fols. 1r–192v: Jabir ibn Aflah, *On Astronomy* (tr. Gerard of Cremona)**

*Titulus:* Verba Gebri filii Affra hispalensis qui corrigit in pluribus ptholomeum.

*Incipit:* SCiencia species habet quarum melior post scienciam fides est.

*Explicit:* sunt digniores et euanescant et destruantur et illud est propositum.

*Note on the Text:* The text is followed by a note on the figure 13 of the first book (**fols. 192v–193v**. *Incipit:* Nota in figura 13 primi libri geber quod. *Explicit:* sit maior quarto circuli et uterque sit minor).

**fols. 194r–194v:** blank.

**ii:** blank.

### **Bibliography**

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 24 :**

***Vat. lat. 2372***

***Celsus, On Medicine***

***(Viterbo, 1466)***

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* parchment (f, h–h, f–f); 288x215mm. Fols. i+130+i. Original foliation added by the scribe in red ink in the upper right corner, 1–34; later foliation in light brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–7 and 35–130. Slight wormhole damage at both ends of the codex.

*Quire structure:* i–xiii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–130). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border. Quire signatures occasionally appear in the bottom right corner.

*Written space:* 172x115mm, 40 long lines (first line above the top border). Crayon ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* All texts written by Giovanni da Itri in brown ink (semi-gothic script, characterized by the use of e-caudata, 2-shaped r, ct ligature, capital S tilting towards left, abbreviation stroke shaped in a curve, and tendency to squeeze in the final word on the folio by writing the letters vertically down), writing small chapter headings on the margins in order to supplant them later with rubricated ones. Until fol. 34r using red ink for the titles of books and chapters in minuscule letters, and for the chapter numbers, running title and folio numbers situated on the margins.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a six-line-long initial with interlacing white vines and simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs protruding to the left margin; at the center of the lower margin stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on a blue background and within a wreath of leaves, from which spread out simple pen-drawn lines bearing golden stubs. Five-line-long golden bare initials mark the beginning of the books (fols. 10v, 27r, 43v, 59v, 80v, 95v, 118v). Alternating blue and red two-line-long initials mark the beginning of every chapter. The manuscript has gilded side and bottom edges of the folios, with only traces left on the upper ones.

*Colophons:* 1) Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxvi<sup>o</sup> decimo nono vygesima quarta ora nouembris Iohannes nardi de fuscis de itro scripsit (fol. 130v); 2) desunt in uetustissimo exemplari iiii folia (fol. 49v, by Giovanni da Itri); 3) VA (fol. 1r in 16th-century hand); 4) Nicolo S(illegible, 5 to 7 letters) Chi(illegible, 5 letters) di S. Pietro(?) ha collazionato(?) q. Cod. (illegible, 3 letters) 1756(?) (fol. 99v; added by a later hand and crossed and smudged out).



*Marginalia*: Reader A (15th-, or 16th-century cursive hand) in brown ink flagging the entire text.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Cardboard binding with marbled paper over boards; the spine bears the coat of arms of pope Pius IX at the top, and that of cardinal Angelo Mai at the bottom, with the shelf-mark (*VAT. 2372*) in the middle. Flyleaves and pastedowns are papers of modern date.

*Secundo folio*: abditarum et.

### Contents

i: blank

1) **fols. 1r–130v: Celsus, *On Medicine***

*Titulus*: ARTIVM AVRELII CORNELII CELSI LIBRI VI.

*Incipit*: VT ALIMENTA Sanis corporibus agri cultura sic sanitatem aegris medicina promictit.

*Explicit*: Talus in omnes partes prolabitur Vbi in interiorem partem excidit prima pars.

*Rubric*: Finis.

*Note on the Text*: Every book is preceded by a list of chapter headings. Even though the title indicates six books, all eight of the work are contained in the manuscript. However the text has lacunae (fols. 49v–52v, 56r–56v; 126r–127v), which the scribe has left because of the missing folios of the exemplar; the text is also missing the final four chapters of book 8.

ii: blank.

### Bibliography

Cherubini, ‘Giovanni da Itri,’ 53–56. Bertola, ed., *I due primi registri*, 103. Pellegrin, et alii, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins*, vol. 3.1, 554–555.

Analyzed in October 2011.

: 25 :

*Vat. lat. 6029*

*Nicholas of Modruš, On the Wars of the Goths*

(*Papal States, 1471x1472*)

### Codicological Description

*Material*: paper, watermark *chapeau* similar to Briquet 3372 (Palermo, 1473). 281x210mm. Fols. i +117+i. Late 17th-century foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner (by Lorenzo Zacagni), fols. 1–110.

*Quire Structure*: i–xi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–110), xii<sup>8</sup>–1 (fols. 111–117). Vertical descending catchwords in between the inner double borders.

*Written space*: 190x120mm, 36 long lines (first line below the top border). Dry ruling with double vertical and horizontal borders covering the whole length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: Main scribe (humanistic book hand, characterized by the use of e-caudata, ct and st ligatures, long upright terminal s) in light brown ink, using capitals for the incipits of the books. Nicholas of Modruš emending the text in light brown ink (the final one at fol. 40r). No rubrication.

*Illumination and decoration*: Space left for the initials (f. 1r, 27r, 47v, 67r, 84r).

*Colophons*: 1) Laurentius Zacagnius (*fol. 1r, at the end of the marginal note*).

*Marginalia*: Late 17th-century hand in dark brown ink (Lorenzo Zacagni), suggesting the authorship of Domenico Dominici (fol. 1r), and underlining passages where Nicholas introduces *exempla* from his own life (fols. 1v, 5r, 6v, 11v, 33v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Wooden binding with green-colored parchment over boards, with the spine bearing the coat of arms of Pius IX at the top, cardinal Luigi Lambruschini at the bottom and the shelf-mark ‘VAT. 6029’ in between. Front and back covers are pasted over with a green-colored parchment bearing the golden-colored coat of arms of Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644) on the front and that of cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini (1633–1646) on the back cover. Two flyleaves are, along with the pastedowns, papers added when the manuscript was rebound.

*Secundo folio*: carorum confractos.

### **Contents**

**i**: blank.

**1) fols. 1r–110v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On the Wars of the Goths***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: [B]ELLA GOTHORVM Scripturus quę ter Italia dirissima pertulit.

*Explicit*: In eo si (datę semel non...).

**fols. 111–117**: blank.

**ii**: blank.

### **Bibliography**

Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2, 337.

*Analyzed in February 2011.*

**: 26 :**

***Vat. lat. 8764***

***Nicholas of Modruš, *On Consolation****

*(Papal States, ca. 1470)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: Paper with two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 238x165mm. Fols. ii+139+i. Later foliation in black ink in the upper right corner, fols. 1–135. Remains of a spider in the center of the bottom margin of fol. 85v. The manuscript suffered some damage from humidity at the inside margin of the beginning of the codex.

*Quire structure*: i<sup>10</sup>–1 (fols. 1–9), ii–xiv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 10–139). Framed horizontal catchwords at the bottom center of the lower margin.

*Written space*: 155x95mm, 24 long lines. First line below the upper border. Dry ruling with double horizontal and vertical borders covering the whole width and length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: The whole text written by one scribe, Stephanus Sabinus (humanistic cursive, characterized by the use of g with two bowls, st ligature, ampersand, and e-caudata) in brown ink, rubricating the titles of the sections, and using red capitals for the title of the work. Nicholas of Modruš emending the text in brown ink, and in red ink flagging the names and key terms in the margins.

*Illumination and decoration*: Space left for the initials of the work, books and sections.

*Colophons*: 1) Stephanus Sabinus escriptsit (*colophon in red ink on fol. 135v*).

*Marginalia*: None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: cardboard binding with parchment over boards, while the spine bears the coat of arms of pope Pius IX and the shelf-mark *VAT. 8764*. Flyleaves i and iii are modern additions along with the pastedowns. Flyleaf ii was originally bound with the main text, and perhaps formed the part of the first quire as fol. 1. The manuscript has traces of a title written on the bottom edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio*: aut de illis.

### **Contents**

**i–ii**: blank

**1) fols. 1r–135v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On Consolation***

*Titulus:* NICOLAI EPISCOPI MODRUSIENSIS AD DOMINVM MARCVM VICENTINVM PRAESVLEM LIBER DE CONSOLATIONE FOELICITER INCIPIT.

*Incipit:* CVM VRGEREM DILIGENTIVS OPVS TVO NOMINE CEPTUM.

*Explicit:* in cuius unitate uiuit pater et filius per immensa SECVLA. Finis.

*Rubric:* FINIS (in red ink).

**fols. 136r–139v:** blank

**iii:** blank

## **Bibliography**

*Analyzed in March 2011.*

**: 27 :**

**Barb. lat. 791**

***Francis of Marchia, Reportatio on Peter Lombard's Sentences***

**(Fano, 1471)**

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* both fascicules interchangeably use two types of paper, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (both similar to Briquet 7464 Florence, 1464; with *var. simil.* Venice 1460–67 : Venice and Ferrara 1471–76, Venice 1472, Venice 1470–71; with the differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail); 333x233mm. Fols. iii+162+iii. Later foliation in black ink in the upper right corner, 1–162. The manuscript suffered some damage from humidity at the margins of the beginning of the codex.

*Quire structure:* Two separate fascicules. A: i–ix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–90), horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin; B: x–xvi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 91–160), xvii<sup>2</sup>+1 (fols. 161–163), horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the lower margin. Quire signatures at the bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* A: 221x150mm, 49 lines in two columns (first line below the upper border), lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length, pricking not visible; B: 211x150mm, 51 lines in two columns, lead ruling only for the single vertical borders covering the whole length with no lines ruled, pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Two separate fascicules written by two different scribes (both writing in gothic script), scribe A in dark brown and scribe B (*Theodiricus de Almaniam*) in light brown ink. Use of red and blue four-line-long initials (with the opening ten-line-long initial at fol. 1r) with succeeding capital letters for the incipits of sections; use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Illumination and decoration:* Red and purple penflourish decorating the initials that mark the beginnings of sections.

*Colophons:* 1) Franciscus de Marchia super quatuor sententiarum / Bibliothecę S. Marię de Populo Urbis (*colophon on the verso of flyleaf iii written in brown ink by a 15-th century hand*); 2) Laus tibi christe quia liber explicit iste. Nunc scriptor cessat qui plus uult scribere scribat (*fol. 89v*); 3) Explicit reportatio super quattuor sententiarum magistri francisci de marchia Scriptum per me theodiricum de almania ad instantiam reuerendissimi in Christo patris ac domini domini mey singuli(?) Episcopi Modrusiensis Gubernatoris phani sublimis(?) domini(?) m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxii<sup>o</sup> tempore sanctissimi in christo patris ac domini domini Sixti diuina prouidentia pape quarti. Amen. Deo gratias (*fol. 162v*).

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with parchment cover; the spine bears the title *FRANCISCUS DE MARCHIA* and the written-out shelf-mark numbers *XV* at the top and *68* at the bottom, and an older one *1804* written in different color. Flyleaves iii and iv are parchment and can be dated judging by the colophon to 15th century, while i–ii and v–vi are paper and are of modern date. The manuscript has traces of title being written on each of the edges of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio:* realiter sed diuisa.

## Contents

**i–iii:** blank with colophon 1 in the upper left corner of the verso of flyleaf iii and the title in a later hand at the center of the page

**1) fols. 1r–162v: Francis of Marchia, *Reportatio on Peter Lombard's Sentences***

*Titulus:* None

*Incipit:* Circa principium secundi libri quero utrum Creatio sit demonstrabilis.

*Explicit:* Sed ratio posset reduci ad oppositum quia libitum per essentiam nobilius est quam libitum per participationem etc.

*Rubric:* (See colophon 3).

*Note on the text:* Fols. 90r–90v are blank.

**iv–vi:** blank

## Bibliography

Analyzed in October 2011.

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica

: 28 :

*Ang. lat. 537*

*Alexander of Hales, Sum of Theology (Book 2)*

(Rome, 1470)

## Codicological Description

*Material:* paper, watermark *balance dans un cercle* (no Briquet number); 430x287mm. Fols. i+406+i. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–409, with errors, numbering fol. 182 after fol. 179, and fol. 211 after fol. 208 (the latter could be due to a binio falling out between the two items), thus adding four folios to the final count.

*Quire structure:* i–xvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–170), xviii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 171–178), xix–xx<sup>10</sup> (fols. 179–200), xxi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 201–208), xxii–xxxv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 211–350), xxxvi<sup>8</sup> (fols. 351–358), xxxvii–xv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 359–398), xvi<sup>12</sup> (fols. 399–410). Horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. Quire signatures at the bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 240x175mm, 60 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Items 1 and 2 written by the main scribe A, Hugo Dordraci (gothic hand with distinctive long bowls used for g in the last row) in brown ink, using roman capitals for the incipits of the chapters, except on fols. 1r and 211r that mark the beginnings of items 1 and 3 where the 3-line-long gothic letters are used. Table of contents written by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink who also added the running title for item 1 on fols. 1v–16r in red ink. Titles of the chapters in red ink supplied by Hugo Dordraci on the fols. 1r–104v and 211v–232v, and Nicholas on the fols. 232v–247v.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a twenty-line-long pink-blue-green initial C in the shape of a flower framed with a golden background, within which stands a medallion of a human figure sitting with an open book facing the viewer on his legs; the inner, outer and upper margins have flower decoration in blue, green and pink combined with pen-flourish and golden stubs, with the intertwined medallion representing a landscape on the outer margin; across the lower margin extend two angels in the horizontal position holding in between them the gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Fol. 211r has a thirteen-line-long boxed initial in gold with interlacing white vines; connected to it across the inner, upper and lower margin extend the gold-framed white vines, at the ends of which protrude simple pen-drawn vines bearing golden stubs; at the

lower margin, the white vines encompass a gold-framed wreath of leaves with a blue filling within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Five-to-seven-line-long alternating red and blue gothic initials mark the beginning of the chapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons*: 1) Hec lectura finita est Rome prope sanctum petrum Ad instantiam Reuerendissimi domini Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis per me Hugonem dordraci alias Leck de hollandia traiectensis dyocesis anno domini m<sup>o</sup>ccccc<sup>o</sup>lxx die iiii mensis octobris etc. Alexander de Ales (fol. 408v).

*Marginalia*: Reader A, Nicholas of Modruš in red ink, flagging the text in verbal and nonverbal marginalia, 1v–15v, 232v–247v. Reader B, near-contemporary hand, adding the titles at the top of the page on fols. 1r, 211r, and a rubric on fol. 408v.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Cardboard binding with marbled paper on covers and a parchment-covered spine with the title *ALEXANDER DE ALES 1470* impressed. Four flyleaves along with the pastedowns are of modern date. The manuscript has *AH 2 PARS* written on each of the side edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio*: ex quo primo.

### Contents

i–ii: blank

1) **fols. 1r–204v: Alexander of Hales, *The Sum of Theology Book 2, Part 1***

*Titulus*: None given.

*Incipit*: Completis tractatibus de hiis que pertinent ad speculationem dei.

*Explicit*: uel denuntiatores diuine uoluntatis predicta operantis etc.

*Rubric*: Explicit prima pars libri secundi magistri alexandri de ales etc.

**fols. 205r–207r**: table of contents of items 1 and 2

**fols. 207v–208v**: blank

2) **fols. 211r–408v: Alexander of Hales, *The Sum of Theology Book 2, Part 2***

*Titulus*: None given.

*Incipit*: Quoniam dictum est de substantia spirituali uisibili.

*Explicit*: sed ne cerimonialia tanquam ydolatria gencium dampnare credentur etc. Deo gratias.

*Rubric*: ALEXANDER DE ALES (after colophon 1 and the rubric of a later date).

**fols. 409–410**: blank

**iii–iv**: blank

### Bibliography

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 237.

Analyzed in October 2011.

: 29 :

*Ang. lat. 538*

*Alexander of Hales, Sum of Theology (Book 3)*

*(Rome, 1470)*

### Codicological Description

*Material*: paper, watermark *colonne* (similar to Briquet 4412, Siena 1465; with *var. simil.* Siena 1467-76, Venice 1476-77, Venice 1470, and Venice 1471; the same watermark appears in Ang. lat. 577); 414x294mm. Fols. iii+292. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–292, with errors, numbering fol. 28 after fol. 26, numbering fol. 32 twice. Some damage caused by the corrosion of ink in the first five quires.

*Quire structure*: i–xxviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–280), xxix<sup>12</sup> (fols. 181–192). Horizontal catchwords at the center or the bottom of the lower margin, with those written by the scribe A surrounded by 4 decorative motifs. Quire signatures situated at the bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space*: 265x160mm, 60 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Scribe A (gothic book hand) in brown ink writing fols. 1r–113r, using ; scribe B (semi-gothic hand, characterized by the use of long upright terminal s, st ligature, and often upright minuscule r and gothic minuscule d) in brown ink writing fols. 113v–292r; scribe C, Nicholas of Modruš, wrote the table of contents in brown ink. Scribes A and B using large-scale gothic minuscule letters for the incipits of the books and the chapters. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Space left for the initials.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in red ink (at places also in brown), heavily flagging items 1 and 2 in verbal and nonverbal marginalia, and placing paragraph marks in the text.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Original basic wooden boards slightly damaged by wormholes, with a modern parchment-covered spine bearing the title *ALEXANDRI DE ALEXANDR. QUAEST. THEOLOG. / COD. SAEC. XV.* impressed. At the back cover 15th- or 16th-century hand wrote in capitals *III ALEXANDRI DE ALES MINOR.* Four 2cm-wide clasps are lacking. First three flyleaves are papers and were originally bound. No pastedowns. The manuscript has the title in roman capitals written on the edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* Sapientibus. xi.

### **Contents**

**ir–iiir:** table of contents of items 1 and 2

**iiiv:** blank

**1) fols. 1r–89v: Alexander of Hales, *First part of the Third Book of Summa***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* [T]ota christiane fidei disciplina pertinet ad duo.

*Explicit:* licet etiam de aliis intelligatur.

*Rubric:* Et sic est finis prime partis tercii libri Alexandri de Ales. Deo gratias.

**fols. 90r–90v:** blank

**2) fols. 91r–292r: Alexander of Hales, *Second part of the Third Book of Summa***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* [S]umma theologice disipline in duo constitit.

*Explicit:* quia hic scientia aggrauat et contemptis.

*Rubric:* DEO GRACIAS.

**fols. 292v:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 237.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 30 :**

**Ang. lat. 549**

***Quaestiones on the works of Aristotle***

***(Papal States, ca. 1470)***

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Paper, three fascicules use the same paper, with interchanging two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 350x250mm. Fols. iii+131+ii. Foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–128, with an error numbering fol. 90 after 88; modern hand in pencil numbering fols. 129–132, and occasionally writing over the earlier foliation. Some damage cause by humidity at the upper edges of the folios, at the beginning of the codex.

*Quire structure:* Three fascicules: A: i–vii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–70); B: viii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 71–82); C: ix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 83–93), x<sup>8</sup> (fols. 94–101), xi–xii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 102–121), xiii<sup>12</sup>–1 (fols. 122–132). Scribe A writing horizontal catchwords at the bottom of the inner margin, while scribe B used horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. Leaf signatures at the center of the lower margin in fascicule A and in the bottom right corner in fascicules B and C, restarting with each fascicule.

*Written space:* Both scribes use 200x155mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Text written by two scribes: scribe A (Italian gothic hand) in brown ink, writing items 1 and 2 (although the module of the script is smaller for fols. 45v–82r and strokes are thinner, judging by the forms of the letters and the location of the catchwords it seems more likely that it is the same scribe who was writing until fol. 82r); scribe B (gothic book hand characterized by thinner strokes, smaller module of writing, slight inclination and greater uniformity), in dark brown ink writing items 3, 4, 5 and 6. Both scribes used two-line-long gothic letters for the incipits of items and books of items. The table of contents (on fols. 128v–132v) was supplied by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a twenty-line-long pink inhabited initial P framed with a golden background; while in the center on a black background appears the image of the author reading a book; across all four margins and between the two columns extend pink-, blue- and green-colored flowers with penflourish decoration and golden stubs, encompassing two birds at the outer margin; at the center of the lower the flowers are cut by the gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Three-to-five-line-long alternating red and blue gothic letters mark the beginnings of chapters. Presence of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Near-contemporary hand in brown ink adding in the margin the rubrics marking the end of items and books of items.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern cardboard binding with parchment over boards. First and last two flyleaves along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date, while flyleaf iii seems to be from the 16th century. The manuscript has traces of a title written on the side edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* -uersitatem ferme.

## Contents

i–iii: blank with a 16th-century table of contents on the recto of flyleaf iii

1) **fols. 1r–70r: Quaestiones on Aristotle's 16 books of De animalibus**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Primo queritur utrum iste liber sit de animalibus.

*Explicit:* sed humilitas cordis non est proportionalis humilitati omnium uerborum(?).

**fols. 70v–76v:** blank

2) **fols. 77r–82r: Gerard of Brolio, Quaestiones de generatione et corruptione**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Antiquorum ante quidem Circa ea que dicta sunt.

*Explicit:* ut dictum est.

*Rubric:* Expliciunt questiones extracte ex scripto gerardi de brolio claromonensis canonaci.

**fol. 82v:** blank

3) **fols. 83r–97v: Quaestiones super 4 Metheororum Aristotelis.**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Quoniam autem quatuor cause determinate sunt.

*Explicit:* utrum terra pura possit fieri lapis. Et utrum quodque in se (...).

*Note on the text:* End is missing.

4) **fols. 98r–99v: Quaestiones de memoria et reminiscencia**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* (...) ea differentiam abeunte autem.

*Explicit:* et per hoc patet solutio ad ultimum.

*Rubric:* Expliciunt questiones super librum de memoria et reminiscencia .

*Note on the text:* The beginning is missing.

5) **fols. 99v–112r: Quaestiones de somno et uigilia**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Queritur circa librum de sompno et uigilia.

*Explicit:* in sompno propter multitudinem simulacrorum ideo non oportet.

6) **fols. 112r–128r: De motu animalium**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Communiter qui circa librum de motibus animalium.

*Explicit:* accedit dolor qui sequitur apprehensionem serui intellectum.

**fols. 128v–132v:** table of contents for all items with space blank fol. 131r, presumably in order to cater for the list of chapters of an item that was supposed to come after item 1.

**iv–v:** blank

***Bibliography***

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 241.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 31 :

*Ang. lat. 550*

***Harvey Nedellec, Quaestiones de angelis and Quodlibetum***

*(Papal States, ca. 1470)*

***Codicological Description***

*Material:* two fascicules with two different papers used, A watermark *chapeau* (no Briquet number but different from that used for Ang. lat. 555), B two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* interchanging (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 350x252mm. Fols. ii+206+ii. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–154; modern hand in pencil continuing until fol. 206.

*Quire structure:* two fascicules: A i–xv<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–150), xvi<sup>10</sup>–1 (fols. 151–159); B xvii–xx<sup>10</sup> (fols. 160–199), xxi<sup>10</sup>–3 (fols. 200–206). Horizontal catchwords at the very bottom of the inner margin, mostly cropped, occasionally almost completely, for quires i–x, and vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border for quires xi–xv; scribe B writing underlined horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. In the fascicule A appear traces of the cropped leaf signatures (see e.g. fol. 14r).

*Written space:* two separate scribes using different layouts: scribe A using 225/220x145/140mm, 52 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); scribe B using 200x145mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); both fascicules are lead ruled with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* two scribes: scribe A (semi-gothic book hand), in brown ink writing item 1, using two-line-long gothic letters for the incipit of the work and its chapters; scribe B (gothic book hand, scribe B of Ang. lat. 549, of 550 and of Ang. lat. 560) in dark brown ink writing item 2; Nicholas of Modruš writing the table of contents on fol. 159v. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Spaces left for initials of works and chapters.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Note by 19th-century hand in brown ink on the available printed edition of item 2 (fol. 160r).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern cardboard binding with leather over boards, and no title indicated on the covers. All four flyleaves along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date; on top of the front pastedown is pasted a part of the older spine bearing the handwritten title in brown ink. The traces of the title of the volume written in capitals are visible on all the edges of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio:* Queritur utrum deus.

***Contents***

**i–ii:** blank

1) **fols. 1r–154r: Hervei Natalis Britonis *Questiones de Angelis***

*Titulus:* None.



*Incipit:* [Q]Veritur primo Vtrum deus sit summe simplex.

*Explicit:* post tempus sufficiens ad deliberandum.

*Text:*

**fol. 154v–159r:** blank

**fol. 159v:** table of contents of item 1

2) **fol. 160r–206r: Hervei Natalis Britonis *Quodlibetum***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* [Q]Veritur utrum finis.

*Explicit:* tantum actus imperatus. amen.

*Note on the text:* The text is followed by a table of contents without folio numbers (fol. 206r).

**fol. 206v:** blank

**iii–iv:** blank

### ***Bibliography***

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 241.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 32 :

***Ang. lat. 551***

***Gerard of Siena, Commentary on the First Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences***  
(Ascoli, 1469)

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Paper, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 354x240mm. Fols. i+283+i. Modern foliation in pencil in the upper right corner, 1–282, with fol. 283 left not numbered.

*Quire structure:* i–xxi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–210), xxii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 211–218), xxiii–xxviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 219–278), xxix<sup>6</sup>–1 (fols. 279–283). Horizontal catchwords at bottom center of the lower margin. Quire signatures at the bottom center of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 210x155mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Text written by the main scribe, Hugo Dordraci (gothic book hand with distinctive long bowls used for g in the last row) in brown ink, using roman capitals for the incipits of the work and the first chapter on fol. 1r, and writing the titles of the subchapters in red ink. Incipits of all other chapters in large-scale gothic letters appear to have been added by another scribe.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a twenty-line-long pink inhabited initial T framed with a golden background, with a bishop (Augustine) facing towards right and preaching while next to him stands a small medallion with Christ within; a smaller six-line-long golden initial framed within a pink-blue-green background marks the beginning of the first chapter; across all four margins and between the two columns extend pink and green straight flower stalks, with attached blue flowers and leaves, and protruding simple pen drawn flowers bearing golden stubs; at the center of the lower margin stand two putti blowing trumpets and holding the gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš with letter N on both sides, while the gold-colored keys of St Peter appear on top of it. Six-line-long alternating blue, red and red-blue initials mark the beginning of chapters. Presence of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* 1) Explicit lectura primi libri sententiarum edita a fratre Gerardo de senis sacre pagine baccalario ordinis fratrum hermitarum sancti augustini Scriptum per me Hugonem Leck de hollandia traiectensis diocesis Ad instantiam Reuerendissimi domini Nicolai episcopi Modrusiensis Ciuitatis Asculique Gubernatoris Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxix, Decima octaua die mensis octobris In die sancti Luce etc. DEO GRATIAS SEMPER (fol. 279v below the text).

*Marginalia:* 17th-century reader commenting on the text (fols. 6v–8v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Cardboard binding with marbled paper over boards and a parchment-covered spine with the title *GERARDUS SENESIS ORD.S.AUGUSTINI 1469* impressed. Two flyleaves along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date. The manuscript has traces of a title written in roman capitals on the side edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio*: euidetiam ergo.

### **Contents**

i: blank

**1) fols. 1r–279v: Gerard of Siena, *Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: TESTATVR BEATVS AVGVSTINVS QVARTO DE trinitate.

*Explicit*: cum suo patre et spiritu sancto sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen etc.

*Rubric*: (see colophon 1).

**fols. 280r–282r**: list of chapter headings of item 1

**fol. 282v–283v**: blank

**iii–iv**: blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 241.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 33 :

*Ang. lat. 553*

**Gaetano da Thiene, *Expositio on Aristotle's On the Soul***

(*Papal States, ca. 1470*)

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: Two fascicules with two different papers used, A watermark *mont* (similar to Briquet 11709, Pisa 1466; it seems to be the same watermark as in Ang. lat. 556 and Corsin. 127 C), B two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* interchanging (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 345x224mm. Fols. iii+118+ii. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–116 (adding the numbers also to the table of contents on fol. 117r); modern hand in pen numbering fol. 117; fol. 118 not numbered. Damaged caused by humidity towards the inner margin, covering the top of the inner columns.

*Quire structure*: two fascicules: A i–viii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–80); B ix–xi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 81–110), xii<sup>10</sup>–2 (fols. 111–118). Framed and extensively ornamented horizontal catchwords at the very bottom of the inner margin used for fascicule A; underlined horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin used for fascicule B. Leaf signatures in the lower right corner, occasionally cropped and restarting with fascicule B.

*Written space*: Two scribes using two different layouts: A 205x140mm, 48 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); B 203x150mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); both fascicules are lead ruled with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: two scribes: A (gothic book hand), in brown ink writing first two books of item 1, fols. 1r–80v, using two-line-long gothic letters for the incipit of the work and its chapters; B (gothic book hand, scribe B of Ang. lat. 549, 550 and of Ang. lat. 560) in dark brown ink writing the third book of item 1 and the table of contents in the end, using two-line-long gothic letters for the incipits of the chapters. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a ten-line-long inhabited pink initial O framed within the golden background and with the figure of the author within the initial looking upwards; across all four margins extend interlacing pink, blue and green flower stalks with additional pen-flourished motifs and golden stubs; on the upper margin they center on the putto with a trumpet, and on the lower on the gold framed wreath of leaves bearing the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš within. Six-line-long alternating red and blue (and occasionally red-blue) initials mark the beginning of chapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Contemporary reader flagging the text in brown ink until fol. 22v.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding covered with leather, and no title indicated on the covers. Flyleaves i–ii and iv–v, along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date, while flyleaf iii is paper of earlier date; on top of the front pastedown is pasted a part of the older spine bearing the handwritten title in brown ink. The traces of the title of the volume written in roman capitals are visible on all the edges of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio:* ea de quibus.

### **Contents**

i–iii: blank

1) **fol. 1r–117r: Gaetano di Thiene, *Explanation of Aristotle's 'On the Soul'***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Optasti sepe numero ut in librum de anima Aristotelis.

*Explicit:* Et in hoc sit finis et complementum expositionis libri de anima aristotelis.

**fol. 117r:** table of contents for item 1

**fol. 117v–118v:** blank

**iv–v:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 242.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 34 :

*Ang. lat. 555*

*Alexander of Hales, The Sum of Theology Book 4 pt 1*

*(Papal States, ca. 1470)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* paper, quires i–xi and xxvii–xxxix have watermark *flèche* (no Briquet number but the same as in Ang. lat. 556), while xii–xxvi have *chapeau* (no Briquet number); 350x245mm. Fols. iii+380+i. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–377, with an error, numbering fol. 366 after fol. 364, thus adding one folios to the final count; modern hand in pencil numbering fols. 378–381. Fols. 11–175 and 281–377 have traces of ink corrosion at places heavily damaging the text, while fols. 106–177 have a large wormhole at the inner margin.

*Quire structure:* i–xxxvi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–360), xxxvii–xxxviii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 361–377), xxxix<sup>4</sup> (fols. 378–381). Vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border. Leaf signatures occasionally appear cropped at the bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 222x145mm, 52 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the text was written by a single scribe (semi-gothic cursive characterized by the use of st ligature, uncial r, upright d, refraining from extensive abbreviation, and extending strokes of the final letter in a line) in black ink, writing out a significant portion of the skipped text on the margin (fol. 246r); table of contents on fols. 378r–381r written by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink.

Titles of the chapters, paragraph marks along with the running header accompanying the text added by Nicholas of Modruš in red ink.

*Illumination and decoration:* Space left for the decoration of fol. 1r. Space left for the initials in the entire text.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Reader A, Nicholas of Modruš in red ink, flagging the entire text with verbal and nonverbal marginalia. Reader B, near-contemporary hand, adding the title at the top of the page on fol. 1r.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with marbled paper over boards and a parchment-covered spine with the title 'Prima Pars Partis IV. Summae usque ad Sacramentum penitentiae esclusiva' written by an 18th-century hand. Four flyleaves are, along with the pastedowns, are papers of modern date added when the manuscript was rebound. The manuscript has the title written in roman capitals on all the edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* Idcirco supra.

### **Contents**

**i–iii:** blank with an 18th-century note in Italian on the *recto* of flyleaf ii

**1) fols. 1r–377r: Alexander of Hales, *The Sum of Theology Book 4, Part 1***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* [D]ictum est supra de redemptore qui est per gratiam.

*Explicit:* Vbi secretum fidei latet que supegreditur(!) Ingenium humanum et omnem inquisitionem.

*Rubric:* Explicit feliciter prima pars quarti Summe Fratris alexandri de ales.

**fol. 377v:** blank

**fols. 378r–381r:** subject index of item 1.

**fol. 381v:** blank

**iv:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 242.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

**: 35 :**

**Ang. lat. 556**

***Alexander of Hales, The Sum of Theology Book 4 pt 2***

***(Papal States, ca. 1470)***

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* paper, watermark *mont* (similar to Briquet 11709, Pisa 1466; seems to be the same watermark as in Ang. lat. 553 and Corsin. 127 C), except quires i–iii and xxxii that have *flèche* (no Briquet number but the same as in Ang. lat. 555); 350x246mm. Fols. ii+376+ii. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in red ink in the upper right corner, 1–373; modern hand in pencil numbering fols. 374–375, and occasionally writing over the earlier foliation; fol. 376 left not numbered. Fols. 265–373 have traces of ink corrosion at places heavily damaging the text.

*Quire structure:* i–xxxvii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–370), xxxviii<sup>6</sup> (fols. 371–376). Horizontal catchwords at the center bottom of the lower margin used by scribe A, while vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border used by scribe B. Quire signatures appear occasionally at the bottom of the lower margin, severely cropped.

*Written space:* 222x145mm, scribe A using 54 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border), scribe B 52 lines in two columns (first line below the top border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the text was written by two scribes<sup>1156</sup>; scribe A (semi-humanistic book hand, characterized by rare use of abbreviations, ct and st ligature, uncial r, upright d, capital S slightly inclining towards left, and the occasional use of long upright terminal s) in brown ink, writing fols. 1r–57v; scribe B (gothic book hand, characterized by the use of bridge abbreviation stroke, gothic d, capital V with the extending left stroke) writing fols. 57v–373r; item 2 written by Nicholas of Modruš in light brown ink. Titles of the chapters, paragraph marks along with the running header accompanying item 1 added by Nicholas of Modruš in red ink.

*Illumination and decoration:* Space left for the initials in the entire text.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Reader A, Nicholas of Modruš in red ink, flagging the entire text with verbal and nonverbal marginalia. Reader B, near-contemporary hand, adding the titles at the top of the page on fol. 1r.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern cardboard binding covered with leather; part of the parchment spine bearing the title of the manuscript (*Secunda Pars Partis IV Summae Alexandri de Ales de poenitentiae Sacramento*) was pasted onto the front pastedown. Four flyleaves along with the pastedowns are of modern date. The manuscript has the title in roman capitals written on all the edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* est habitus mouens.

### **Contents**

i–ii: blank

**1) fols. 1r–373r: Alexander of Hales, *The Sum of Theology Book 4, Part 2***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* [D]eterminato de sacramento eucharistie.

*Explicit:* Et que iudicabitur deus etc..

*Rubric:* Explicit. Deo laus.

**fols. 373v–375v:** subject index of item 1.

**fol. 376rv:** blank

ii–iv: blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 242–243.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 36 :

*Ang. lat. 559*

*Duns Scotus, Quodlibetal Questions*

*(Papal States, ca. 1470)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Paper, with two types used, quires i–x bearing the watermark *lettre R* (no Briquet number), while quire xi *huchet* (Briquet 7834: Rome 1470). 345x246mm. Fols. i+104. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–102; modern hands in pencil and pen numbering fols. 103 and 104 respectively.

*Quire structure:* i–vi<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–60), vii<sup>8</sup> (fols. 61–68), viii–x<sup>10</sup> (fols. 69–98), xi<sup>6</sup> (fols. 99–104). Distinctive horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin preceded by a ‘C:’ and followed by

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<sup>1156</sup>Narducci identifies the scribe with that of Ang. lat. 555, with the difference in the realization of the text (eadem manu qua superior sed paulo accuratius). However, it seems to me not only that two scribes copied Ang. lat. 556, but none of them copied Ang. lat. 555.

‘:~’ (e.g. ‘C: potentiale esset conceptum:~’ at fol. 20v). Leaf signatures occasionally appear, at places cropped, at the bottom of the outer margin.

*Written space:* 208x145mm, 49 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the text was written by a single scribe (gothic book hand) in brown ink. No rubrication used. Nicholas of Modruš wrote in brown ink the table of contents on fol. 103r.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a eleven-line-long purple initial C black-framed with a golden and green-blue background; across the lower, outer, and half of the upper margin, but also in between the columns, extend pink, green and blue flower stalks, with attached blue and green birds, and blue and pink flowers, with protruding simple pen drawn flowers bearing golden stubs; at the center of the outer margin they are cut by a medallion with the figure of the author pointing left at the text, while at the bottom they are cut by a golden framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Four-to-six-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginnings of chapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with marbled paper over boards and a parchment spine bearing the title of the manuscript (*Quodlibet Ioan. Scoti*). Four flyleaves along with the pastedowns are of modern date. The title of the volume written in capitals (*QVOLIBET SCOTI*, corresponding to the spelling in the inventory entry) on all the edges of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio:* accipitur comuniter.

### **Contents**

i: blank

1) **fol. 1r–102v: Duns Scotus, *Quodlibetal Disputations (Questiones Quodlibetales)***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Cuncte res difficiles ait salomon.

*Explicit:* per quod solute sunt rationes.

*Rubric:* Explicit quodlibet Magistri Iohannis Scoti de ordine Fratrum minorum deo Gratias. Da michi te rogitto premia pro merito.

**fol. 103r:** table of contents for item 1

**fol. 103v–104v:** blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 243.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 37 :

**Ang. lat. 560**

**Scholastic Miscellany**

*(Papal States, ca. 1470)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material:* Paper, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* interchanging (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 350x252mm. Fols. iii+109+ii. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–119 (adding the numbers also to the table of contents on fol. 100v), with errors numbering fol. 100 after fol. 89, and numbering fol. 117 after fol. 115 thus adding eleven folios to the final count; modern hand in

pencil correcting the earlier numbering from fol. 90 (unlike the Narducci's catalog, the CONTENTS section here follows the modern foliation).

*Quire structure:* i-x<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–100), vii<sup>10</sup>–1 (fols. 101–109). Underlined horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. Quire signatures at the bottom of the outer margin.

*Written space:* 208x150mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* all items was written by a single scribe (gothic book hand, scribe B of Ang. lat. 549, of 550, and of 553) in dark brown ink. Two-line-long gothic letters are used for the incipits of items 1, 2 and 4 and chapters of items 1 and 2. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a sixteen-line-long pink inhabited initial C framed with a golden background, while within the initial appears a figure of the author looking and pointing at the firmament; across the upper and inner margin, but also in between the columns, extend pink, green and blue flower stalks, with protruding simple pen drawn flowers bearing golden stubs; across the outer and lower margin the flower stalks appear in the same color arrangement but framed and with a golden background; at the center of the lower margin appears a red-and-gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš. Fol. 51r has a ten-line-long blue inhabited initial C marking the beginning of book 2; it is framed with a golden background, while within it appears the figure of the author facing right. Four-to-six-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginnings of chapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Contemporary reader A commenting on the text and drawing diagrams (fols. 32–40 *passim*).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with leather over boards, and no title indicated on the covers. Flyleaves i–ii and iv–v along with the pastedowns are papers of modern date, while flyleaf iii is paper of earlier date; on top of the front pastedown are pasted part of the older spine bearing the handwritten title in brown ink, and a typed note from 1948 informing that the text of item 1 was disturbed. The traces of the title of the volume written in capitals are visible on all the edges of the manuscript.

*Secundo folio:* entibus mobilibus.

## Contents

**i–iii:** blank with only a description of the volume by an 18th-century hand appearing on the recto of flyleaf iii

### 1) fols. 1r–100v: Marsilius of Inghen, *Questions on Aristotle's On Generation and Corruption*

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Circa primum librum de generatione e corruptione etc. primo queritur.

*Explicit:* Ratio post oppositum est pro ultima conclusione.

*Rubric:* Et est finis. Expliciunt questiones super de generatione et corruptione Aristotelis date a Reuerendo magistro marsilio de iguen de Almaniam etc.

*Note on the text:* Fols. 105r–106v do not contain the text of Marsilius of Inghen, which from fol. 104v continues at 107r, since on fol. 105r appears a rubric 'Explicit questiones super quatuor metheorum portate a magistro boetio de dacia.' It is certain that the text was disturbed before Nicholas of Modruš foliated the manuscript. The item is followed by a table of contents (fol. 100v), to which Nicholas of Modruš supplied folio numbers.

*Text:*

### 2) fols. 101r–103v: Questions on the Longevity of Life

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Vtrum calidum et humidum sunt cause longe uite.

*Explicit:* que dicta sunt de questionibus huiusmodi de morte et uita.

*Rubric:* Et est finis huius libri.

*Text:*

### 3) fols. 104r–105v: John Peckham, *Summa de esse et essentia*

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Sensus in penuria ipsis angustia.

*Explicit:* quod diligenti studio iuuenili ingenio scolastico exticio dedisti in gignasio magistrali etc. Deo gratias.

*Rubric:* Explicit summa de esse et essentia secundum fratrem Iohannem de pexano alias de piziano.

*Text:*

4) **fols. 106r–109r: Pseudo-Aristotle, *On the Properties of Elements***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* Postquam premissus est sermo a nobis in celo et mundo.

*Explicit:* illud cuius uolumus declarationem etc. Deo gratias .

*Rubric:* Explicit liber aristotelis de proprietatibus elementorum et de declaratione locorum ac aquarum et mundi cum noticione(!) orbium.

**fol. 109v:** blank

***Bibliography***

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 243–244.

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 38 :

*Ang. lat. 561*

***Albert of Saxony, *Quaestiones on Aristotle's On the Heavens****

*(Papal States, 1470)*

***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Paper, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* interchanging (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 345x235mm. Fols. iii+83+ii. Contemporary foliation in brown ink by Nicholas of Modruš in the upper right corner, 1–84, with an error numbering fol. 17 after 15 (the ***Contents*** section follows this foliation); correct modern foliation in pencil in the lower left corner, 1–83. Traces of the damages caused by humidity.

*Quire structure:* i–viii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–81), ix<sup>4</sup>–1 (fols. 82–84). Horizontal, and occasionally ornamentally framed, catchwords at the center bottom of the lower margin. Leaf signatures at the center bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 208x150mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* the text was written by a single scribe, George of Dachau, (gothic script) in brown ink, adding diagrams on the margins and writing incipits of the chapters in two-lines-long gothic letters. No rubrication used.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a twenty-line-long inhabited pink initial A framed with golden background, while within it appears the forward facing figure of Aristotle(?) unfolding a parchment; at the center of the lower margin appears the golden framed wreath of leaves within which appears the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš with the letters N and E at its sides; the coat of arms is surrounded from the sides with pen-flourish decoration in combination with pink, green and blue flowers and golden stubs. Five-to-seven-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginning of chapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* 1) Scripta per me Georgium de Dachaw Anno etc. 1470 (*colophon at fol. 84v*).

*Marginalia:* None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern cardboard binding covered with leather, and with the title of the old spine (*ALBERTUS DE SAXONIA SUPER LIBRO DEL CELO ET MUNDO 1420*) pasted onto the front pastedown. Flyleaves i–ii and iv–v are, along with the pastedowns, papers of modern date, while flyleaf iii is paper from 18th century. The manuscript has the title written on all the edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* propositam et cum.

***Contents***



i–iii: blank with a 19th-century handwritten note on the recto of flyleaf iii ‘Typis impressum uide in indice Bibliothecae.’

1) **fols. 1r–84v: Albert of Saxony, *Quaestiones on Aristotle’s On the Heavens***

*Titulus:* Quaestiones Circa librum de celo et mundo Aristotilis deo duce hic tractabuntur.

*Incipit:* Aristoteles in libro de celi et mundo qui est secundus liber.

*Explicit:* motus ab illius uel eius origine etc.

*Rubric:* Expliciunt quaestiones supra librum de celo et mundo A uenerabili philosofo magistro Alberto de saxonia. Deo gratias.

iv–v: blank

### ***Bibliography***

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 244. Francesca di Cesare, *Catalogo dei manoscritti in scrittura latina datati*, vol. 2: *Biblioteca Angelica in Roma* (Torino: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1982), p. 79. *Colophons* vol. 2, p. 175, n. 5003, Evasio Leone 84 n. 2, 88 n. 2

*Analyzed in October 2011.*

: 39 :

*Ang. lat. 575*

***Giovanni Capreolo, Commentary on the First Book of Peter Lombard’s Sentences***  
*(Papal States, 1460s)*

### ***Codicological Description***

*Material:* Paper, watermark *chapeau* (similar to Briquet 3387, Florence 1465, with *var. simil.* Venice 1464–73, Siena 1465–69, Augsburg 1469, Florence 1469–75, Pistoia 1474, Rattenberg 1476 : Venice 1471, Venice 1472, Venice 1474); 428x287mm. Fols. i+298+i. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–296, with errors numbering fols. 72 and 219 twice, fol. 145 after 143, and fol. 289 after 287; later hand numbering fol. 297.

*Quire structure:* i–xxix<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–290), xxx<sup>10</sup>–3 (fols. 291–297). Scribe A writing vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner margin; scribe B horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. At places appear leaf signatures, occasionally cropped, at the bottom of the lower right corner.

*Written space:* Two scribes using two similar layouts A 265x175mm, 59 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); B 265x180mm, 60 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Both use lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Two scribes: A (gothic script) writing in black ink fols. 1r–50v, 151r–259v, 280r–296v, occasionally using roman capitals for the incipits of *quaestiones*; B (gothic script) (fols. 51r–150r, 260r–279v). Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink copying the table of *quaestiones* on fol. 297r.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a thirteen-line-long golden initial with interlacing white vines extending to cover half of the left margin, with ends decorated with golden stubs; at the bottom of the lower margin white vines encompass a gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the family coat of arms (lion standing and grabbing a lily). Five-to-eight-line-long golden initials framed within various combinations of red, green and blue background filled with penflourish decoration mark the beginning of each of the *quaestiones*, except from those between fols. 99v until 150r, and 260r–279v, where three-to-four-line-long gothic capitals appear alternating in red and blue and decorated with penflourish. Presence of paragraph marks throughout the volume

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* 15th-century hand in dark brown ink emending the text until fol. 9v. Near-contemporary reader in brown ink flagging the text (see e.g. fols. 78r–90v, 140r, 188r, 189r, 200r–201v).

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Modern cardboard binding with marbled paper over boards, and a parchment-covered spine bearing the stamped title of the volume (*IOANNES CAPREOLUS IN I. LIB.*)

*SENTENT*). Both flyleaves are, along with the pastedowns, papers of modern date, added during rebinding. The manuscript has the title written on all of the folio edges in roman capitals in brown ink which are also gauffered.

*Secundo folio*: -sibiles sciencie.

### **Contents**

i: blank

1) **fols. 1r–296v: Giovanni Capreolo, *Commentary on the First Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences***

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: CIRCA Prologum primi sententiarum queritur utrum theologia sit scientia.

*Explicit*: sicut ad suum uolitum. Amen

*Rubric*: Christo laudetur quia libri finis habetur.

*Note on the text*: Fol. 150v is blank. The item is followed by a table of questiones with corresponding folio numbers (fol. 297r)

**fol. 297v**: blank

ii: blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 248.

*Analyzed in November 2011.*

: 40 :

*Ang. lat. 577*

*Alfonso de Vargas y Toledo, Lectura on the Second Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences*

*(Viterbo, 1464x1468)*

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: Paper, watermark *chapeau* (similar to Briquet 3387, Florence 1465, with *var. simil.* Venice 1464–73, Siena 1465–69, Augsburg 1469, Florence 1469–75, Pistoia 1474, Rattenberg 1476 : Venice 1471, Venice 1472, Venice 1474) for quires i–xvii, and *colonne* for quires xviii–xxi (similar to Briquet 4412, Siena 1465, with *var. simil.* Siena 1467–76, Venice 1476–77 : Venice 1470, Venice 1471; the same watermark appears in Ang. lat. 538). 417x295mm. Fols. ii+207+ii. Contemporary foliation in brown ink (possibly by Nicholas of Modruš but it is not sure since the number 5 is written differently) in the upper right corner, 1–206; later hand numbering fol. 207; modern foliation in pencil in the lower left corner, 1–207; at the bottom of the lower margin in the first half of the quire appears the original foliation in brown ink, at places cropped, with letters marking the quire and numbers indicating the folio in a quire.

*Quire structure*: i–xx<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–200), xxi<sup>8</sup>–1 (fols. 201–207). Scribe A writing horizontal, ornamentally framed, catchwords laying on the bottom of the lower margin; scribe B writing vertical descending catchwords laying on the inner border.

*Written space*: two scribes using two different layouts A 270x160mm, 60 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border); B 243x160mm, 60 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Both use lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication*: the text was written by two scribes, scribe A (gothic script), in brown ink writing fols. 1r–151v, using two-line-long gothic letters for the incipits of chapters; scribe B, Giovanni da Itri as identified by Cherubini (gothic script), in brown ink writing fols. 152–207r, using two-line-long gothic letters for the incipits of chapters. Both scribes use red ink for chapter headings.

*Illumination and decoration*: Fol. 1r has a twelve-line-long blue initial *C* on a gold background and with the facing figure of the author within it pointing right towards the text; a black-delineated frame with golden background stretches across the outer margin, and a flower covering it in length and

surfacing from a pot small pot held by two putti appearing within a medallion in the bottom; across the upper, lower and inner margins, and in between the columns, extend blue, green, yellow, red and pink colored flower vines with golden stubs; at the center of the bottom margin they center on the golden-colored wreath of leaves, within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on top of an elaborate decoration of intertwining circles. Four-line-long alternating red and blue initials mark the beginnings of *quaestiones*. Chapter incipits are preceded by larger and elaborate paragraph marks on the margin, alternating in red and blue. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons*: None.

*Marginalia*: None.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns*: Modern cardboard binding covered with leather, and with the title of the old spine (*ALPHONSUS DE TOLETO SUP. I. LIB. SENTENT.*) pasted onto the front pastedown. All four flyleaves are, along with the pastedowns, papers of modern date, added during restauration. The manuscript has traces of the title written on the bottom folio edges.

*Secundo folio*: -dente sed.

### **Contents**

i–ii: blank

1) **fols. 1r–207r**: Alfonso de Vargas y Toledo, *Lectura on the Second Book of Peter Lombard's Sentences*

*Titulus*: None.

*Incipit*: Circa prologum istius operis. Queritur primum utrum aliqua notitia.

*Explicit*: qui est alpha et omega principium et finis in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Rubric*: Explicit lectura super primo sententiarum edita a subtilissimo theologorum monarcha fratre alphonso de toleto ordinis hermitarum beatissimi augusti sacro pagine luculentissimo professore necnon archiepiscopo yspalensi qui legit parisiis anno domini nostri Ihesu christi 1345.

*Note on the text*: The item is followed by a table of contents (fol. 207r) with a contemporary hand supplanting the folio numbers

**fol. 207v**: blank

**iii–iv**: blank

### **Bibliography**

Narducci, *Catalogus*, 248. Cherubini, 'Giovanni da Itri,' 56–57.

*Analyzed in November 2011.*

*Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*

: 41 :

*Neap. VII.G.100*

*Hugh of Newcastle, Quaestiones on the Second Book of the Sentences*

(*Ascoli, 1469*)

### **Codicological Description**

*Material*: Paper, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (both similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail. 336x231mm. Fols. ii+186+ii. Contemporary foliation by Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–181, with errors numbering fol. 3 twice and numbering fol. 137 after 135; fols. 181–186 left not numbered. Manuscript has suffered substantial damage at the lower margins due to humidity.

*Quire structure:* i–xviii<sup>10</sup> (fols. 1–180), xviii<sup>8</sup>–2 (fols. 181–186). Horizontal catchwords at the center of the lower margin. Leaf signatures at the bottom of the lower margin.

*Written space:* 210x160mm, 50 lines in two columns (first line above the upper border). Lead ruling with single vertical borders covering the whole length. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Item 1 and the table of contents were written by one scribe, Hugo Dordraci (gothic hand with distinctive long bowls used for g in the last row) in brown ink, using roman capitals for the incipits of the chapters, rubricating the title of the chapters.

*Illumination and decoration:* Fol. 1r has a sixteen-line-long pink-blue-green inhabited initial M in the shape of a flower framed with a golden background, within which the author is presented as sitting in his study and looking through the window; the outer and upper margins have blue, green and pink flowers with representations of birds, forrest animals, and a veduta of a city, combined with pen-flourish and golden stubs; the inner margin and the space between the two columns is filled with golden stubs with surrounding simple pen-flourish; at the center of the lower margin appears the gold-framed wreath of leaves within which stands the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš on a blue background, while below it unfolds a scene of a landscape in which one centaur is using a bow and arrow and another is running towards the right margin with the coat of arms of Nicholas of Modruš in his hands. Five-to-seven-line-long alternating red and blue (or occasionally in the combination thereof) gothic initials mark the beginning of the chapters and subchapters. Use of alternating red and blue paragraph marks.

*Colophons:* 1) Scriptum est in ciuitate asculi in domo Reuerendissimi domini episcopi Modrusiensis per me hugonem leck de hollandia traiectensis dyocesis anno domini m<sup>o</sup>.cccc<sup>o</sup>.lxi<sup>x</sup> xxviii<sup>a</sup> die mensis aprilis (*below the table of chapters on fol. 186v*).

*Marginalia:* Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink foliating the manuscript and supplying the folio numbers to the table of chapters, but also adding two items to the list on fols. 182r and 182v.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with parchment over boards and the spine bearing the title written in brown ink (*OPUS Theologicum UGONIS De Nouo Castro*) along with the shelf-mark *E*; paper stub with the letter *E* appears is pasted at the center of both boards with *13.6* written above the front one. Four flyleaves along with the pastedowns were added when the manuscript was rebound. The manuscript has the title in roman capitals (*2<sup>US</sup> UGO<sup>IS</sup> MI<sup>RUM</sup>*) written on each of the side edges of the folios.

*Secundo folio:* ut sit deductio.

### **Contents**

i–ii: blank

**1) fols. 1r–181v: Hugh of Newcastle, *Quaestiones on the Second Book of ‘Sentences’***

*Titulus:* None given.

*Incipit:* MIRABILIA OPERA TVA et anima mea cognoscet.

*Explicit:* Et in hoc finiuntur questiones istius secundi sententiarum.

*Rubric:* Et sic est finis huius secundi libri Hugonis de nouo castro ordinis minorum.

**fols. 182r–186v:** *table of chapters of item 1*

iii–iv: blank

### **Bibliography**

Overgaauw, ‘Les copistes vus par eux-mêmes,’ 328–329. Cesare Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), vol. 2, 626–627.

*Analyzed in November 2011.*

: 42 :

Neap. VII.G.100

Composite manuscript preserving the works of Nicholas of Modruš  
(Papal States, 1470x1473)

### Codicological Description

*Material:* Paper; three separate fascicules bearing various watermarks: A: *chapeau* (no Briquet number); B: quire vi, *huchet* (Briquet 7834: Rome 1470), and quire vii, two slightly different variants of the watermark *griffon* (similar to Briquet 7464: Udine, 1461; with *var. ident.* Venice 1461, Rome 1464), with differences in the gryphon's ears and the relation between the wings and the tail; C: interchanging two watermarks, *mont* (similar to Briquet 11709, Pisa 1466; it seems to be the same watermark as in Angg. latt. 553 and 556), and *croix grecque* (Briquet 5575: Rome 1456; with *var. ident.* Rome 1463–65; *cet. ex.* Fabriano 1465, Naples 1458 and 1464, Venice 1477, Venice 1470). 230x166mm. Fols. v+96. Later foliation in brown ink in the upper right corner, 1–96. Slight damage caused by humidity at the upper and outer margins of the folios.

*Quire structure:* Three separate fascicules. A: i–v<sup>12</sup> (fols. 1–60); B: vi–vii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 61–84); C: viii<sup>12</sup> (fols. 85–96). Fascicules A and B have vertical descending catchwords in between the inner double borders, while C has no catchwords.

*Written space:* Three separate fascicules with different layouts. A: 155x100mm, 25 long lines (first line above the upper border), dry ruling with double vertical and horizontal borders covering the full length and width; B: 150x100mm, 24–25 long lines (fols. 61r–69v have the first line above the upper border, fols. 70r–84v below), dry ruling with double vertical and horizontal borders covering the full length and width; C: 166x107mm, 29 long lines (first line above the upper border), led ruling with single vertical and horizontal borders covering the full length and width. Pricking not visible.

*Script, ink, rubrication:* Two scribes. Nicholas of Modruš in brown ink, using capitals for the incipits of the books of both item 1 and 2, rubricating the titles of the books 1, 2 and 4 of item 1, and emending the text of items 3, 4 and 5; Scribe B (humanistic book hand) in black ink writing items 3, 4 and 5.

*Illumination and decoration:* All items have spaces left for the initials (fols. 1r, 64v, 85r, 86r, 91v).

*Colophons:* None.

*Marginalia:* Later hand in light brown ink flagging items 2, and 5 with nonverbal marginal notes (*maniculae* and vertical nota lines). Later hand (18th c.?) in dark brown ink flagging item 1 with verbal and nonverbal (underlining passages) marginal notes.

*Binding, flyleaves, pastedowns:* Cardboard binding with parchment over boards and title written on the spine 127 *Nic. Segundini de bello Gothorum*. Flyleaves i–iii are, along with the pastedowns, modern papers which seem to have been added with the binding, while flyleaves iv–v are papers that seem to be of a slightly earlier date.

*Secundo folio:* aduersus Vsunhasanum.

### Contents

i–iii: blank

iv: contents of the codex written by Arrigo Arrigoni

v: note on the life of Niccolò Sagundino (*Adnotatio*) in the same hand

#### Fasc. A

1) fols. 1r–60v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On the Wars of the Goths*

*Titulus:* N. EPISCOPI MODRUSIENSIS DE bellis gothorum liber primus incipit.

*Incipit:* [B]ELLA GOTHORUM scripturus.

*Explicit:* rescindere et ad mi(-torem redere formam...).

*Note on the Text:* fol. 59v blank, while fol. 60r contains a cancelled text.

#### Fasc. B

2) fols. 61r–84v: Nicholas of Modruš, *On Humility*

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* (...) non illi nouit inuidere dignitatem

*Explicit:* humiliamini sub manu potentis (Dei ut uos exaltet...).

**Fasc. C**

**3) fols. 85r–86r: Nicholas of Modruš, *Preface to the translation of Isocrates' Speech to Nicocles***

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* [C]um superioribus diebus.

*Explicit:* ex sententia nostra digne illo uti.

**4) fols. 85r–91r: Isocrates, *Oration to Nicocles* (trans. Nicholas of Modruš)**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* [Q]ui uobis regibus offerre.

*Explicit:* plurisque digna usu redetis. Finis Deo gratias.

**5) fols. 91v–95v: Isocrates, *Oration to Demonikos* (trans. Nicholas of Modruš)**

*Titulus:* None.

*Incipit:* [M]ultis in rebus, Demonice.

*Explicit:* peccata naturae euincere ualebimus.

**fols. 96r–96v:** blank

***Bibliography***

*Analyzed in February 2010 and February 2011.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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|              |  |
|--------------|--|
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| <b>BA</b>    | Angg. latt 308, 524–603, 1509, 1172  |
| <b>BANLC</b> | Corsin. 127 (43.E.3), 583 (45.C.18)  |
| <b>BC</b>    | MS 276 (B.IV.13)   |
| <b>BAV</b>   | Vatt. grr. 13, 249, 257; Vatt. latt. 221, 353, 376, 432, 507, 513, 995, 1527, 1532, 1539, 1544, 1579, 1729, 1748, 1752, 1756, 1759, 1762, 1956, 1957, 2059, 2372, 5139, 5890 6029, 8092, 8750, 8764; Barb. lat. 791; Ottob. lat. 2011; Urb. lat. 586 |
| <b>BL</b>    | Burney 313; Additional 6794  |
| <b>BNCF</b>  | Fondo Principale MS II.V.13  |
| <b>BNN</b>   | Neap. VII.G.100  |
| <b>Bodl.</b> | Canon. Class. lat. 218, 224, 254; Canon. Misc. 106   |
| <b>MTAK</b>  | MS K.397   |
| <b>Ricc.</b> | MS 365   |

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