STUDIES IN THE LIFE, SCHOLARSHIP, AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF GUARINO DA VERONA (1374-1460) (VOL. I)

Ian Thomson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St. Andrews

1969

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STUDIES IN THE LIFE, SCHOLARSHIP, AND
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF GUARINO
DA VERONA (1374-1460)

by

Ian Thomson

Submitted June 1968 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St. Andrews
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I gratefully acknowledge the assistance given to me in the preparation of this study by Professor J. W. L. Adams of the Department of Education. More than once his wide knowledge of Renaissance education and his excellent scholarship in Latin and Greek saved me from serious error. For any inelegances and errors in this final version I am alone responsible. But above all, I thank him for his unfailing kindness, tact, and patience. Slightly to adapt the words of the Elder Pliny, "gratum est fateri per quem profecerim".

I must also thank my colleague at Indiana University, Professor Aubrey Diller, with whom I have spent many delightful and instructive hours in discussing the history of MSS., particularly those of Strabo.
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

I declare that this thesis is of my own composition and that the work of which it is a record was done by myself; further, that this thesis has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I further state that I was admitted as a research student for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy as from October, 1960, under Ordinances 16 and 61 of Ordinance General 12 of the University of St. Andrews.

Ian Thomson

STATEMENT BY SUPERVISOR

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations have been fulfilled by the candidate.
This study of Guarino da Verona was undertaken for two main reasons.

First, there exists in English no full-length study of his life and achievement in education and scholarship. The primary sources of evidence are in Latin, Greek, or Italian of the fifteenth century, while the vast bulk of secondary materials, in the way of biography and critical comment on Guarino's works, is in Italian. Since these languages are unknown, or imperfectly known, to many students of history or education, the entire contents of Guarino's epistolary have been rendered into English either in summary or, in the case of certain letters, in translation. Thus Guarino's most significant body of written work and one of the most interesting documents of the early Renaissance is now available for use by those who are not linguists.

The summaries are broken into numbered sections for convenience of reference and to indicate a change of subject. An effort has been made to include all the main ideas, shorn of mere rhetoric and obviously unimportant details, without wholly losing the flavour of the original letters. Thus where the latter suffer from prolixity, repetitiveness, or obscurity of allusion, an attempt has been made to reflect these stylistic characteristics in the summaries. Some explanatory comment has been appended to certain letters to aid those who might wish to use the summaries and translations independently of the rest of this study. Certain letters have been
translated where their importance or intrinsic interest seemed to warrant it, or because their contents lent themselves almost as concisely to translation as to summarization.

The summaries and translations were included also because they contain much of the evidence for simple statements of fact made in the Life of Guarino and other essays which constitute this study. In such cases a reference is made in parenthesis to some particular letter or letters. Where the conclusions drawn are based on evidence which admits of a different interpretation, the evidence is marshalled in full.

Appendices A and B also contain English translations, with explanatory comments at the end of each, of two documents frequently cited in works on Guarino: the speech of the so-called Anonymous Panegyrist or Anonymous Veronese, and Lodovico Carbone’s funeral speech on Guarino. Neither work has until now appeared in English translation.

The second main reason for this study was the need to re-consider Guarino in the light of modern research.

Interest in Guarino really began in the eighteenth century, when historians first set themselves to considering the Italian Renaissance as a phenomenon in cultural history, and Guarino’s letters began to be collected in small batches for publication. This is more fully discussed in Transmission and Text of the Letters of Guarino. From the latter half of the nineteenth century, which saw the appearance of John Addington Symonds’ seven-volume study, The Renaissance in Italy, Georg Voigt’s Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums, and Jacob Burckhardt’s Die Kultur der Renaissance
in Italian no major encyclopaedia or work of any pretensions on European education and culture has failed to mention Guarino. Carlo de' Rosmini's three-volume *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de' suoi discepoli* (1805-1806) was the pioneer study, but much of it, particularly in matters of chronology, is now obsolete. Of solid, but more limited importance, was Luigi Napoleone Cittadella's *I Guarini* (1870), a short work on the family of that name. Much of Cittadella's evidence is drawn directly from the archives of Verona, Modena, and Ferrara. But by far the most thorough and important work on Guarino was done by the great Remigio Sabbadini in a long series of books and articles (See Bibliography). Pre-eminent among these were his *Vita di Guarino* (1891), *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino* (1896) and the monumental three-volume annotated edition of Guarino's letters (1915-1919) which formed the nucleus of this present study.

Sabbadini's work represented the consummation of all previous efforts and was so thorough that it became the great mine quarried by all subsequent writers, among them Giulio Bertoni in *Guarino fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara* (1921). Notable among English writers was W.H. Woodward, who devotes considerable space to Guarino in his two books *Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators* (1896) and *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* (1906). But as Woodward's titles imply, his discussions of Guarino are incidental and limited in scope. Moreover, Woodward was writing before the publication of the letters and from a nineteenth century standpoint. Two other major works should be mentioned which have appeared since Sabbadini and deal to some extent with Guarino: E. Garin's *L'Educazione in Europa*
1400-1600 (especially p. 137-147) and Bolgar's Classical heritage and its beneficiaries. But the information on Guarino contained in these works and a host of other books and articles within the last half century which deal incidentally with Guarino is more or less tralatitiously adapted from Sabbadini or Woodward. At the same time, however, a certain amount of new material, in the shape of letters unknown to Sabbadini, has come to light. This new material and its provenience is discussed in Transmission and Text of the letters.

The time is therefore ripe for a review of traditional notions on Guarino, an amassing of all the new evidence, and an attempt to assess their composite effect. This study, then, does not dwell on any single aspect or follow any one line of argumentation through to a generalized conclusion, but is rather what the French call a mise au point, which takes into account prevailing attitudes of scholarship and the numerous books and articles on Guarino up to the present time, and subordinates the whole to the needs of a general, modern survey.

I have felt it necessary to begin with a biography of Guarino primarily because no full-length work of this nature exists in English. Sabbadini's Vita di Guarino, a model of clarity, rapidity, and well-proportioned elements, has been of immense assistance, but I deliberately did not use it until I had sketched out the main lines of my own. Mine is somewhat fuller than Sabbadini's and incorporates some of the more specialized information which Sabbadini dealt with in La scuola e gli studi di Guarino. In particular, I have touched rather more fully on Guarino's contributions to scholarship.
than Sabbadini does in his *Vita*. Like Sabbadini, I have not dealt in any
detail with Guarino's orations with the exception of those of biographical
significance. Here and there I have introduced ideas of my own and
ventured to disagree with Sabbadini's handling of evidence. Throughout,
I have attempted to incorporate the results of modern research where they
seemed apposite. Finally, I have quoted the evidence for most statements
made in the *Life of Guarino*. For reasons of literary elegance Sabbadini
did not do this in his *Vita*.

The biography is followed by a series of essays on topics which appeared
to demand separate attention. In the essay *Guarino and humanistic education*
I have been particularly concerned to suggest that Guarino's greatness as
an educator has sometimes, in the English-speaking world at least, been
undervalued in favour of Vittorino da Feltre, and to redress the balance.

The contents of Appendices A and B have already been mentioned.
Appendix C is simply a list, by years, of the authors and passages quoted
by Guarino in his letters.
The year 1374, in which Petrarch died, also saw the birth in Verona of Guarino dei Guarini, a coincidence of which one imagines Lodovico Carbone would have made capital in the speech he delivered at Guarino's funeral in 1460 (Appendix A), had he enjoyed the benefit of our historical hindsight. It would have been hard to resist the conceit that as one star of the NeW Learning sank to rest another was born.

Since the year of Guarino's birth is occasionally quoted as 1370 in works in general use (e.g., James Hutton The Greek Anthology in Italy (1935), p. 91, and the 1963 edition of Collier's Encyclopedia), the evidence in support of 1374 should be reviewed.

It is certain that Guarino died in 1460. This is attested by notices in contemporary writers such as Pius II (Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pope Pius II trans. P.A. Cragg and L.C. Gabel (1959), p. 115). The exact date, 4th December, is given in a record published in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores XVIII, p. 1096: "Anno Christi 1460 die Iovis IIIIdecembris vir clarissimus aetatis nostrae princeps oratorum dominus Guarinus Veronensis diem suum clausit extremum, cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen."

Carlo Rosmini, in La vita e disciplina di Guarino I (1805), p. 1, linked this evidence with two other statements. The first is Carbone's, in the funeral speech, that Guarino died
"ad nonagesimum usque annum perductus" ("having reached his ninetieth year"). The second is an epitaph written by Guarino's son, Battista, for his father, which Rosmini later quotes (II, p. 198, n. 348):

Quam superis tua casta fides morosque placerent
Lustra tibi vitae nona bis acta probant,
("Twice nine lustra of life show how your pure faith and character pleased the gods"). Since lustrum can bear the sense of a period of five years, twice nine lustra would be 90 years, which would square with Carbone's figure. Hence Rosmini concluded that Guarino was born in 1370.

Against this is the precise statement by Manuel, another of Guarino's sons, that his father died aged 87. The statement is quoted by Rosmini himself (II, p. 190): "Septimum ac octuagesimum (sic) agens annum indigna ac invida pleuresis corrupit infirmitate, cum profusa omnia lacrymis et moerore publico caelestem immaculatus ad patriam emigrasti." This would point to 1374. Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di Guarino p. 2 argues that the precision of Manuel's notice is more trustworthy than the poetical "twice nine lustra" of Battista and the rhetorically more pleasing "nonagesimum annum" of Carbone. Although he rejects Battista's "nona bis lustra" on the tenuous grounds that the figure 87 would have been metrically inconvenient, his general argument seems sound, for exaggeration and inaccuracy sanctioned by pietas would not have troubled a Renaissance writer. Further, the fact that Battista and
Carboni agree may simply mean that the one was following the other.

Further evidence in support of 1374 can be drawn from John of Pamonia, Sylva panegyrica ad Guarinum, 864:

"Ut iam bis decimi tangens confinia lustri"

("As already touching the bounds of his eightieth year"). This line refers to Guarino in the year 1454, when the poem was written (Sabbadini, G. Epistolario III, p. 440). If we take lustrum here as equivalent to 5 years, it would mean Guarino was 94 in 1454 and therefore 100 years old when he died. At first this interpretation commends itself because of the exaggeration involved; but of course John could not have known in 1454 that Guarino would live (on this interpretation of lustrum as five years) to the rhetorically pleasing age of 100. It is much more likely that lustrum here means four years, a sense it can bear (cf. Ovid, Fasti III, 163 and lustrum in Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary). By this reckoning, Guarino was 80 in 1454 and therefore 86 when he died.

I can supply one final piece of evidence. In Letter 904 Guarino refers as follows to his earliest years: "I had been left an orphan ... my father being already dead. I can only dimly and with difficulty remember what he looked like. After that battle which was fought between the rulers of Padua and Verona, while fighting for his country he was taken prisoner. Later, as I subsequently learned, he died in enemy hands."
The reference seems clearly to be to the Battle of Brentella on 25th June 1386, when Francesco da Carrara, lord of Padua, defeated Antonio della Scala of Verona. Accepting 1370, we are forced to say that Guarino was 15 or 16 when his father went to war, surely old enough to recall what he looked like. The case would be rather different with a boy of 11 or 12.

Two final pieces of evidence which militate against the year 1374 may be dismissed briefly. Marcantonio Guarini in his Compendio storico delle chiese di Ferrara p. 177 and Ferrante Borsetti in Historia alni Ferrariae gymnasii Pt. 1, p. 32 say that Guarino died aged 76, a manifest impossibility, since he would not in that case have been old enough in 1403 to have been the teacher of Guglielmo della Pigna (cf. my Life of Guarino sec. 24) or to have been appointed notary to Paolo Zane (Life sec. 18). The year 1374 should therefore be accepted.

2. What of Guarino's actual birth date? He himself never refers to it. When he uses "dies natalis" or "natalia" he always refers to Christmas (e.g., in Letter 126). Rosmini (I, note 1 at the end of the volume) is the only authority who attempts precision: "The year and month of Guarino's birth is revealed by the year and month of his death." This is a strange remark, since it is hard to see how the fact that Guarino died in December fixes the month in which he was born, unless Rosmini meant us to torture this interpretation out of Carbone's "ad nonagesimum usque annum perductus." Unfortunately, he does not
expatiate on the point. Since Rosmini attempted precision on such flimsy grounds, one is emboldened to suggest another approach.

Carbone in the funeral speech says that Guarino was born "when Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus, the kindliest planets, were in possession (possidebant) of the heavens". Since in astrology, each of these planets imparts an enviable quality to its subjects, and their collocation is regarded as distinctly superior, Carbone may simply have invented a picturesque detail for rhetorical effect. But the fact that elsewhere in the same speech he refers to astrological lore suggests that he was interested enough in the subject to have known Guarino's ruling planets. Again, in a court such as that of Borso d'Este, the horoscope of an important man like Guarino had probably been cast, and certain astrological information

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*Macrobius, an author with whom Carbone would be familiar, says in his Commentary on the Dream of Scipio XII, 14, that Jupiter imparts praktikon (the power to act), Venus epithymetikon (spiritedness), and Mercury hermeneutikon (the ability to speak and interpret).

**J. Lilly in his Introduction to Astrology (London, 1835) p. 48 says that Mercury was traditionally regarded as "good with the good planets and ill with the evil planets", and that Jupiter and Venus are good planets and "beneficial to human life". Thus their combination with Mercury would be beneficent.
about him had probably become known. Carbone's information, then, should be taken at its face value.

A major problem is to decide what Carbone meant by "possessing" the heavens. If "possideon" means "were ruling" we are immersed in difficulties. Nicholas de Vore says in his Encyclopedia of Astrology (1947), p. 340, of "rulership": "This over-worked and at times loosely applied term is primarily concerned with a schematic arrangement of the Signs whereby certain planets are deemed to have special potency or congeniality in a certain sign or signs. The entire subject of rulership is involved in much controversy." So far as I can discern, this means we must assume that at Guarino's birth each of Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus occupied a potent sign of the Zodiac, namely its "ruling sign." This may be disposed of by considering the case of Jupiter, whose ruling sign is Sagittarius (240°-270°). Consultation of W.D. Stahlman and O. Gingerich, Solar and Planetary Longitudes for Years -2500 to +2000 (1963) reveals that at no time during the period 1370-75 did Jupiter occupy this position.

*Petrarch and most of the earlier generation of humanists, including Guarino, had little or no faith in astrology, but interest in it was always keen among non-humanists, and even among humanists it enjoyed, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, a growing vogue, a manifestation of which was Marsilio Ficino's Theologia Platonica (cf. D.C. Allen, The star-crossed Renaissance (1941) p. 3 f.).
A better approach would therefore seem to lie in finding dates when Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus were all visible together. This is rendered easier because such a collocation of planets is unusual and because Mercury is frequently hard to discern because of its proximity to the sun. Cases which fit Carbono's data are as follows, the figures given being tropical longitudes:

**Year 1370**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saturn</th>
<th>Jupiter</th>
<th>Mars</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Noon</th>
<th>Venus</th>
<th>Mercury</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>323</td>
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<td>264</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>189</td>
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<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Year 1374**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saturn</th>
<th>Jupiter</th>
<th>Mars</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Noon</th>
<th>Venus</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>125.5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>230</td>
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<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus we have 7, and only 7, possible dates upon which Guarino could have been born.

It may be argued that, since Carbono thought Guarino was 90 when he died, only the year 1370 should be considered. But 1370 has already been ruled out for other reasons. I submit
that Carbone was wrong in saying that Guarino was 90, but correct with his information about the planets. We should therefore concentrate on the tables for 1374. Here we note a striking phenomenon recorded for 18th June, when Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus were in the tropical longitudinal positions 121°, 121°, 122° respectively.* Moreover, they were in conjunction in Cancer, the "ruling sign". Mercury is dim, but still visible. I would therefore offer 18th June 1374 as Guarino's birth date.

3. Carbone tells us that Guarino "had most honourable parents." Their names appear in his mother's will (published in extract by Sabbadini, Guarino, Epistolario III p. 195-6) as Bartolomeo de Guarinis, a "faber", and Libera di Zanino: "honesta domina domina Libera filia condam ser zanini et uxor condam magistri Bartholomaei fabri de Guarinis de S. Eufonia Verone." Zanino was the Christian name of Libera's father. Sabbadini thinks that another entry in the archives of Verona (1418 f. 48 Antico Archivio Veronese) gives a clue to her maiden name: "domina Libera a filatoria uxor q. Bartolomei de Guarino." But to extract the surname "dalla Filadora" from this entry, as Sabbadini does, seems at least open to question.

4. According to Guarino himself (Letter 702) his family originated in Modena; for he tells Scipione Mainenti, "maiores mei et

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*I must thank Dr. Sydney Corrigan of the Dept. of Physics in London University for checking the accuracy of my information. Prof. H. R. Johnson of the Dept. of Astronomy at Indiana Univ. subsequently re-checked all my figures, pointing out Ogly that Tuckerman's more accurate tables give the readings 121°, 121.5°, 120° for 18th June, 1374.
sanguinis auctores ea ex civitate originem duxero." Certainly, he still had relatives there in 1429, as we know from a postscript to Letter 558: "Saluta nostros illos agnatos." A branch of the family, however, appears to have been long resident in Verona; for Cittadella in I Guarini p. 8 cites a notice of 4th August 1332, which mentions a Pietro dei Guarini, and another of 3rd November 1356, which mentions a Michele Guarino dei Guarini and his sons Ottonello and Giovanni. The notices are in Antonio Torresani, Historia Elogiorum historicorurum Nobilium Veronae Propaginum, which I have not seen. Cittadella goes on to say: "disse che (that the dei Guarini) non fu fra le più illustri ... nè più potenti di Verona; ma non è men vero ch' era fra le più antiche." Pontico Virunio, in his life of Chrysolemos, prefixed to the first edition of Chrysolemos' Erotemata claims that Guarino was of "noble" stock, and this should not be lightly dismissed as a pious fiction; although "distinguished" would probably be an apter term. The following considerations prompt one to believe this. Napoleone Cittadella's meticulous researches into the Veronese archives show that the dei Guarini had much intercourse with the dei Zendrati, who were eventually to provide Guarino with a bride and a good dowry, and with the dei Sarego (see I Guarini p. 14-15). Both of the latter families were prominent in city affairs, so it is a fair supposition that the dei Guarini also belonged to the upper stratum of local society. Further, as Lauro Martines points out in The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963) p. 308, the addition of "dei" to a surname was a mark of social standing: "It must be clear to the
student familiar with fourteenth century Italian names that the name 'dei Halpaghini' was unlikely to belong to a family 'di bassa condizione'". Guarino's father was a "faber" and the word is usually translated as a "smith." Woodward calls him a "worker in metals, probably artisan rather than artist." But the word could mean practically anything connected with industry or trade -- perhaps even what we should now call a manufacturer, with employees. Then there is the title "magister" attached to his name in his wife's will, which may indicate some level of scholarly attainment. There is also the honorific title "domina" attached to his wife's name in the same document. Finally, there is the fact that the Paduans bothered to imprison him after the Battle of Brentella. It was not usual to lay out expenses on keeping prisoners unless they were politically important or financially able to provide a worthwhile ransom. Hazlitt, in his Venetian Republic I, p. 756 specifically states that the 8,000 conquered survivors at Brentella "according to usage were merely stripped of their arms, equipments and horses and were sent back without ransom." If Hazlitt is right, an exception was clearly

\[\text{W. R. Thayer, A Short History of Venice p. 177 refers to the}\]
\[\text{"absurd rule of mercenary warfare" by which Carmagnola set free}\]
\[\text{Carlo Malatesta and 8000 prisoners after the Battle of Maclodio}\]
\[\text{in 1427. Since 8000 is the number released after Brentella,}\]
\[\text{according to Hazlitt, this suggests that it was a standard figure}\]
\[\text{agreed on by the condottieri, to whose advantage it was to pro-}\]
\[\text{long wars. H. F. Brown, Venice - An Historical Sketch of the}\]
\[\text{Republic (Percival and Co., London, 1893) p. 286 says it was}\]
\[\text{the code of condottieri to release all prisoners. But in any}\]
\[\text{event, I do not think my general argument is invalidated. Even}\]
\[\text{if 8000 men were released after Brentella, and some kept as}\]
\[\text{prisoners, their captors would make sure of keeping more signifi-}\]
\[\text{cant personages for purposes of ransom.}\]
made in the case of Bartolomeo dei Guarini, who must therefore have been a not insignificant prisoner. His death in prison may have come quickly from wounds; at any rate before an expected ransom could be collected.

4. The name "Guarino," according to Sabbadini, was originally "Varino," but changed in accordance with the linguistic laws that govern the changes of "vagina" to "guaina" and "vadum" to "guado." Cittadella, on p. 15, cites the parallel forms "golpe" and "volpe" in early Italian, and points out that in records of the Gualengo family, for instance, they are referred to often as "de Valengis" or "de Valengo." The vulgar form of "Guarino" was "Guerino." The Latin style "Veronensis" was adopted by Guarino himself, and added to his latinized Christian name "Guarinus" so that he nearly always called himself "Guarinus Veronensis," or the hellenized Πονερίνως Ουερωνεσίως. Consequently, he is now familiarly known as "Guarino da Verona" or "Guarino Veronese." He signed himself simply as "Guarinus" in the autograph letter 275, which we possess; and in the Index locupletissimus munerum et officiorum of Verona, he is cited once as "Guarinus de Guarino" and twice as "Guarinus de Guarinis." The Italian surname used by all his children was "Guarino." We should, therefore, properly call him either "Guarino Guarino" or "Guarino dei Guarini." Certainly, it was a name of which he was proud, as we see from Letter 904. The orthography of Italian names, however, is still a vexed question, as Cosenza points out in his Dictionary of the Italian Humanists Vol. I. Preface, p. VIII-IX.
5. We know almost nothing of Guarino's childhood. Libera di Zanino mentions a brother called Lorenzo in her will, but Guarino never refers to him. He must have disappeared early from the scene. Perhaps he even ran away from home. Libera, however, saw fit to provide in her will that if her other legitimate son, Lorenzo, of whom she knew neither whether he were alive, or dead, were ever to return, he would share her estate with Guarino.

6. The political situation of Verona could not have interested Guarino much in his pre-adolescent years; but it was not uneventful. Cansignorio della Scala, in many ways a good ruler of Verona, had died in October 1375, leaving his bastard sons, Bartolomeo and Antonio, as joint lords of the city. Bartolomeo was brutally murdered on July 12th, 1381, and Antonio was widely suspected of having arranged his removal (cf. Alethea Wiell, *The Story of Verona* (J. M. Dent, London, 1902) pp. 30-31, 98 and 101). Probably for political reasons, his enemy, Francesco da Carrara, gave out that he was outraged by this dark deed; and finally, the two men went to war. The Venetian government was hostile to Padua, and supported Antonio della Scala in 1385 with a subsidy of 25,000 ducats a month. The Veronese army was decisively beaten on 25th June, 1386, at Brentella, with the loss of 800 killed and 8,000 prisoners (Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic* Vol I. 1915, p. 756). This was almost certainly the engagement at which Guarino's father, Bartolomeo, was taken prisoner because it was a better known battle than another engagement at Castagnaro the next year, in which the Paduans under Sir John Hawkwood won
again. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe what Guarino says in Letter 904: "The strategy of the Veronesi was poorly conducted because of the ignorance and incompetence of a general who had no knowledge of battles, except what he had read in books or seen in pictures." Presumably, he meant Costesia da Sarego.*

7. At any rate, Guarino's mother was left with a twelve-year old son to bring up. In Letter 904, Guarino indicates, with obvious pride, that she faced her responsibilities with vigour and competence; but he gives no details of this early education, save that she instilled in him a love of honour and a respect for the good name of his family. We must therefore resort in large measure to conjecture in re-constructing the pattern of Guarino's adolescent years.

The only career then open to promising young scholars without private means was the Church. If Libera had been destitute she could almost certainly have secured her son a place in the

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* Antonio della Scala, who was in Vicenza at the time of the Battle of Brentella, had actually appointed Ostasio da Polenta and Giovanni degli Ordalaffi as joint commanders with Cortesia, but the latter seems to have been the field commander. For a good account of Cortesia's strategy, based on contemporary archives, see A. M. Allen, History of Verona (London, 1910) p. 314-317. On p. 317 Allen says: "It is not easy to account for the complete collapse of the Veronese .... Perhaps the right explanation is that suggested by Giuseppe de' Stefani (Bartolomeo e Antonio della Scala p. 130) who notes that Antonio always collected troops in great haste and with regard to quantity rather than quality, and so often got second-rate leaders and ill-trained men..."
Church and the education that went with it; for the Church authorities were usually quick to detect ability and eager to develop it. But Guarino, despite his religious piety and later interest in patristic writings, never had an ecclesiastical training. Unlike Petrarch, he never took holy orders, even of the mildest nature. Carbone is surely right when he says that Guarino's education was private. But lessons were not usually cheap in the private schools, and the best teachers commanded substantial fees, as we may judge from the sums charged in later life by Guarino himself. In Verona at the end of the Fourteenth Century there is no record of the existence of philanthropists, such as Vittorino da Feltre, who is said to have financed promising youngsters out of his own pocket.

It is, of course, possible that Libera, like the father of the poet Horace, educated her son by means of grave personal sacrifice. If so, some of the brunt would have fallen on Guarino's brother, Lorenzo; which might account for his leaving home and disappearing without trace. I suspect, however, that Libera was comfortably provided with money; for, as I have argued, her husband seems to have been a man of some standing locally, and her family connections were good. There is, unfortunately, no record of her financial position in the 1380's, and the terms of her will, dated 12th January 1426, are no real indication of her standing twenty or more years earlier. But there is also

* Published by Sabbadini, G. Epistolario III p. 195-6. The bequests are modest (e.g. one gold ducat to a priest for the repose of her soul, a load of grapes from her holdings at Val Policella to a woman friend, 30 gold ducats to Guarino, etc.).
no indication in Guarino's letters that he ever had to support her; and it is certain that he could not have done so from 1403-1408, when he was in Constantinople. On the whole, it seems likely that she could afford to engage the excellent teachers that Carbone alludes to, and that Guarino accepted this bounty as a matter of course. He confines his mentions of his mother to expressions of affection and honour (Letter 120, "suavissima genetrix" and Letter 904, "femina primaria"): but there is no mention of any sacrifice or hardship.

8. We must now consider who these early teachers were. Sabbadini and Cosenza name Paolo dei Paolini as his teacher of moral philosophy; yet the evidence suggests that there is only a grain of truth in this. Paolo's life is insufficiently documented, and Sabbadini does not specify the source of his information that Paolo was once Guarino's teacher. It must surely, however, rest on Letters 117, 119 and 128. The first of these was written in 1418, and in it Guarino invites Paolo, now apparently fallen on hard times, to come and live with him in the "contubernium" at Venice: "Nihil autem magis cupio ... quam ex te Ἀριστοτελικαὶ ΤΙΝΑ perdisce, quae cum semper cuperem, fecisti me longe ardentiorum cum te duce illa degustavi." Letter 119 has the following words to Paolo: "conversatio tua vitaeque societas, quam ab incunabulis incohatae, dehinc semper auctam." Letter 128 refers to Paolo in this way: "meam in hunc hominem affectionem

* He does not specify his sources anywhere in his Vita di Guarino, since his aim was to produce a free-running biography.
caritatem amorem immo vero pietatem." It would seem to be straining at a gnat to see in the word "pietatem" evidence for a pupil-teacher relationship between the two men; and what remains of the quotation from this letter simply indicates that Guarino liked Paolo as a person. This is re-inforced by the quotation from Letter 119, with the additional information that they had known each other from Guarino's boyhood. Sabbadini, indeed, has a laconic note to "ab incunabulis" in the Epistolario Vol. III, p. 86: "Probabilmente furono condiscepoli." What, then, of the Aristotelian philosophy which Guarino says, in Letter 117, that he would like to learn from Paolo, a mere taste of which he had had previously, under Paolo's guidance? To answer this, we must consider what we know, or can surmise of their respective positions in 1418. Paolo dei Paolini may have been the same "magister Paulus Jacobi de Verona" who was hired in 1413 or 1414 by the University of Florence "ad lecturam logicae et philosophiae" (Documenti di storia italiana VII. Florence, 1881, p. 389) but at any rate, by 1418 he was trying to get Guarino to recommend him for a post under Gabriele Racanelli, co-governor of Chios (Letters 121, 123). He wanted to practise medicine in the island and seems to have been prepared to undertake some preliminary training. But the general tone of Guarino's letters to him does not prompt one to believe that he was meeting with much success; and there is no evidence that he ever came to Venice, for we lose trace of him after Letter 128. Indeed there is some question in my mind about the sincerity of Guarino's invitation. He seems
anxious to support the plan that Paolo go to Chios (Letters 121, 128) and he does not hide the fact that it would involve a certain inconvenience to squeeze Paolo into the house in Venice. This may have been a very delicate way of asking his old friend not to come. Guarino perhaps felt Paolo would be more of a burden than an asset, but he was too fond of him to say so. Could Guarino, as good a Greek scholar as any in Italy, have been serious in wanting to learn \( ^{'A\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varepsilon\lambda\iota\kappa' \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varepsilon} \) from a man who could not even read Aristotle in the original? (Letter 118: "quod graecas sitias litteras et laudo et exhortor"). My own impression is that he was simply being gracious to an old friend, who was too proud in the end to accept charity. The truth seems to be that the two men were roughly contemporaries, and that Guarino had at some time caught some enthusiasm for Aristotle from his friend Paolo. This could easily have happened when they were school boys together.

94 There is more certainty about listing Marzagaia as one of Guarino's early mentors. This famous master was active in Verona from at least 1372 until 1425, except for the years 1390-1393, when he lived at Cividale (C. Cipolla in N. Arch. Veneto XX, 1900, p. 290-2). The verse epistle 133, written about 1420, is a glowing tribute by Guarino "to Marzagaia, an excellent gentleman." The final couplet calls him "father," a title constantly reserved by scholars for their educational mentors:

\[
\text{Me vocitat gnatum per tempora quaeque Guarinum} \\
\text{Quam voco corde meo natus et ore patren.}
\]
("May he, whom, as his child, I call father in my heart and with my tongue, call me, Guarino, his son for all time.")

Again, we know that Harzagaia favoured a Latin style popular amongst conscious litterateurs of the Fourteenth Century, and exemplified in the juvenilia of Giovanni Boccaccio. Its marks were obscurity for its own sake, tortuousness of construction and syntax, and a passion for bizarre words (Cf. Letters 143 and 590 and notes; Bolgar, Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries p. 210-15). W. P. Ker, in The Dark Ages (Mentor Books, 1950) p. 30-32 discusses obscurity in Latin style during the Middle Ages, and quotes from the Hisperica Famina (ed. Stowasser, Vienna, 1887), which he calls "perhaps the most extreme thing in mediaeval Latin."

The Latinity of the Hisperica Famina is very similar to that of Harzagaia's De Modernis Gesticis, a work arranged in the same manner as Valerius Maximus' Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri of whom Harzagaia was a notable exponent. Sabbadini gives some examples of the style of the De Modernis Gesticis. They include words like "absentibile" and "excarminantia," and metrical clausulae such as "consecrare futuris." It emerges from Letter 862 that Guarino was tarred with the same brush in his early years; for he was much ashamed of a sample of his "Apuleian" Latin, that had been unearthed by his son Niccolò from some family papers. He quotes what seems to have been a particularly offensive sample: "Vobis rogatior, quia de concernentibus capitaniatui

is coo tam honorificabiliter per unam Vustram litteram vestra me advisavit sapientitudo." His disgust is understandable, for only the conjunction "quia," the prepositions, and the pronoun "me" could be termed classical Latin. Such style derived its impulse from rhetoricians like Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and from the dictamen, a body of epistolary rules and formulae for use in writing to ecclesiastical and other dignitaries. Guarino would certainly have been familiar with the dictamen and the copious works of the Mediaeval writers on rhetoric; and it seems quite likely that the contorted style he practised as a young student was formed under the eye of Marzagaia, its most renowned exponent in Verona. Sabbadini goes so far as to say that Marzagaia's influence is discernible in four major characteristics of Guarino's later style: superfluity, the use of poetizations and rare words, a frequent use of abstractions and a lack of connecting particles between sentences. This criticism, however, is over-harsh, although there is a grain of truth in it.

Marzagaia was entirely Mediaeval in his thinking, so far as we can judge. The massive De Modernis Gestis treats history as a series of moral anecdotes. Guarino never quite rid himself of the tendency to do this. From Marzagaia, too, he may also have learned the allegorical approach to the Classics which he occasionally displays and certainly seems to have taught. In Letter 25, for example, he refers to a passage in the Aeneid with the observation: "neptunus, idest ratio, adest" ("Neptuno, that
Letters 236 and 823 betray the same tendency. The latter is a controversial letter against Giovanni da Prato, who had condemned the reading of pagan authors (See Guarino as a figure in controversy). John of Pannonia's Sylva Panegyrica, lines 535-58 also show that Guarino interpreted the Aenaid and Homer allegorically. Guarino succeeded in sloughing off practically all traces of the Latin that was popular in his early youth, and some of the more obvious characteristics of Mediaeval thinking; but he appears to have done so without resenting what he had learned from his early masters. Letter 133, indeed, is proof of a high regard for Marzagaia.

Fellow-pupils of Guarino under that worthy old preceptor were probably Gian Nicola Salerno, a friend from childhood (Letter 79, "nisi cognitam at ab adulescentia usque perspectam humanitatem tuam ... haberem"), Hazo dei Mazi, his future lawyer and confidant (Letter 213, "me ... usque a puero complectaris") and Paolo dei Paolini.

Guarino's movements between 1386 and 1403 cannot be documented in detail. For one thing, we have no letters dating from that

\[ \text{x} \text{ It was, of course, not surprising that the supreme Latin poet should be treated allegorically in the Dark and Middle Ages; for Vergil slowly acquired the status of a magician (See J. W. Spargo: Vergil the Necromancer, Harvard U.P., 1934). The first full treatment was by Fulgentius, Expositio Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis, not later than the C6. For allegorical interpretation among humanists, See Sabbadini: Storia del ciceronianismo, p. 103-11. Petrarch's interpretation was entirely allegorical. The habit has been extraordinarily tenacious, and appears in thin disguise even in our time. E. V. Rieu, for example, in the preface to his translation of the Odyssey, says that Homer may have presented Ares in a consistently bad light to emphasize the tragic futility of war.} \]
period. But we have indications from other sources that he did not remain in Verona. Battista Bevilacqua, in a letter to Guarino (Letter 501) says: "ab ineunte adulescentia ... quot orbis partes circuisti" ("What parts of the globe you went round ... from the beginning of early manhood"); and the Anonymous Panegyrist* tells us that Guarino "heard from the excellent and wise men, whose company he often kept, that knowledge is the one thing that makes a great man immortal ... and so ... he left this city of Verona in search of some outstanding man ... To this end, he visited many parts of Italy." Sabbadini thinks that "many parts of Italy" is a hyperbole *(La Scuola e gli Studi p. 5). If so, we must also charge Bevilacqua with exaggerating. But in fact, there is no reason to deny that Guarino travelled fairly extensively in Italy after his schooling under Marzagaia was over. He was a perfectionist by nature, a trait that eventually took him to far-away Constantinople in the pursuit of a complete education. In his youth, too, he was extremely restless, as many of his early letters show. One imagines that when he felt that the educational possibilities of Verona were exhausted for him, he was compelled by a tumult in the soul -- what Goethe called an "Erschütterung," produced by his reading of Propertius -- to move farther afield. But what kind of knowledge was he seeking, that could not have been acquired in Verona? Obviously, it was not the typical Mediaeval variety, but something new and comparatively rare, which had kindled his imagination.

* See Appendix B, sec. 2.
12. Although Petrarch does not appear to have influenced him directly, the spirit of Petrarch was alive in Northern Italy; for there was hardly anyone of the older school in Verona, Padua and elsewhere, who had not known and admired "the first modern man," even if they could not, in every case, comprehend his aims and ideals. The savants of the age, of whom Marzagaia was one, seem quite definitely to have taken some interest in a more literary approach to the classics, although they were in most cases too firmly rooted in the old ways to commit themselves to Petrarch's more dramatic conceptions. This view is certainly taken in F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Rashdall's *Medieval Universities* Vol. I, p. 73. Undoubtedly, they would discuss Petrarch's writings amongst themselves, and argue for and against his attitude to the classics, particularly the idea that the ancients should be studied for their own sake, as superior writers and the sovereign repository of all excellence. By listening to such debates, or by taking part in them, Guarino must have found himself increasingly on the side of what we conveniently term "humanism," even if it was still in an early stage of its development. Had he not reached this position, by some process or another, he would almost certainly have drifted into becoming a lawyer, a theologian, a physician, or a teacher of the old stamp. We cannot doubt that his abilities were equal to becoming any one of these. But he was inspired by the love of personal glory, so characteristic of Petrarch, and perhaps spurred on by the excellent men "whose company he often kept" to undertake a
long and unremitting search for the perfection he desired, but perhaps only dimly understood how to achieve.

13. It now remains to ask when he began this minor odyssey. Sabbadini seems somewhat rash on this point. He infers from Bevilacqua's "from the beginning of early manhood" ("ab ineunte adolescentia") that Guarino left Verona at the age when Roman youths donned the toga virilis. He places this ceremony at age 14, and concludes that Guarino left his native city at the end of 1387 or the beginning of 1388. He also suggests that Guarino went directly to Venice.

But it is quite arbitrary to place the ceremony of the toga virilis at 14, for the age varied amongst the Romans: and in any case "ab ineunte adolescentia" is an extremely vague phrase, quite innocent of any mention of ancient ceremony. Further, it is hard to believe that a fourteen year old boy would be permitted to leave his mother, especially in winter, when the weather is very inclement in that region of Italy. And would any conscientious parent, such as Libera di Zenino, expose an adolescent boy to the stews of Venice or Padua? There is some evidence that the cities of Northern Italy, especially the University cities, were sinks of debauchery. Even if Guarino had mastered his passions at an early age, as the Panegyrist sententiously claims (and wrongly, as we shall see), no woman like Libera di Zanino would lightly cast her lamb to the wolves. Finally, one must seriously question whether a lad of barely fourteen could yet have formed so mature a conception of where his destiny lay, that he needs must uproot
himself from family and friends and betake himself to Venice or Padua.

I am, therefore, inclined to think that Guarino left Verona around 1390 at the earliest, when he would be sixteen, and able to support himself, if need be. This supposition may conceivably draw support from the fact that Marzagaia left Verona for Cividale in that year. It may be that his departure provided the final stimulus for Guarino to leave Verona. Be that as it may, some time before 1403, Guarino found his way to Venice, or more probably to Padua, which is only nineteen kilometres from Venice. In these days, it was a great centre of culture and the "Latin quarter" of Venice, as Jacob\'s has aptly termed it in *Italian Renaissance Studies* (1958). Writing in October 1439 (Letter 755) Leonardo Giustinian lays claim to Guarino as a Venetian in spirit and by training: "Te enim non tam Veronensem nostri homines quam Venetum iudicant qui prima vita morum et eruditionis fundamenta apus nos ieceris" ("Our people think of you not so much as a native of Verona as of Venice, seeing that you laid the first foundations of your life, character and culture amongst us"). By "apud nos" Giustinian could easily have meant Padua: but it hardly matters, for Guarino would certainly have visited Venice frequently, had he been based in Padua, or Padua often, had he been based in Venice. At any rate, he cemented many friendships in Venice, which were to stand him in good stead in years to come.

14. It is very probably that he enrolled in the school of the celebrated Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, familiarly known as
John of Ravenna. Clarification is called for of the identity of this teacher. A statement made by Flavio Biondo in Italia Illustrata (Ven., 1503) f. g. III has given rise to much confusion. Biondo quotes Leonardo Bruni as claiming that if "John of Ravenna could not teach what he plainly did not know, at any rate, by the light of his own genius and by some divine dispensation, he inspired a love for literature and the imitation of Cicero in him (i.e. Bruni), Pier Paolo Vergerio, Ognibene Scola of Padua, the Florentines Roberto dei Rossi, Jacopo di Agnolo and Poggio, Guarino of Verna and Vittorino of Feltre, and in others of his students who made less headway." One wonders if Bruni ever voiced such a garbled statement. In the first place, who is this "John of Ravenna"? Voigt thought there was only one scholar of this name, and Sandys in his History of Classical Scholarship Vol. II, p. 22, distinguished two, Giovanni di Conversino and Giovanni dei Malpaghini. The latter, says Sandys, was the teacher at Ravenna described in the passage from Biondo, quoted above, and the former a teacher at Florence. With that, he declares the matter closed. But recent studies, notably by Wilkins (Life of Petrarch, Chicago, 1961, pp. 196, 205-6, 208-11, 215, 217, 243) have established that Giovanni dei Malpaghini (1346-1417) was the son of a "magister Jacobus de Malpaghinis de Ravenna" and probably belonged to a good family. In 1364, he was introduced to Petrarch, who employed him as an amanuensis.

* Cf. also L. Martines, Social World of the Florentine Humanists p. 308.
until he could stand it no longer and walked out in 1368. Thereafter, he worked for a time in the Papal Curia, but finally settled in Florence in 1391. There he taught Bruni, Poggio, Marsuppini, the Corbinelli, Jacopo di Agnolo da Scarperia, and probably also Roberto dei Rossi and Ambrogio Traversari. He lectured in the University from 1394-1403, and again from 1412-1417, on rhetoric, poetry and moral philosophy. It seems that Bruni had this John of Ravenna in mind, when he communicated with Biondo. Biondo, however, appears to have been confused, for he also lists Guarino, Vittorino, Vergerio and Scola as pupils. But these men were almost certainly pupils of the other John of Ravenna, actually a more famous figure than Giovanni dei Malpaghini. This John was born at Buda in 1343, where his father was physician to Louis of Hungary. He is said to have run away, and been sheltered by the nuns of San Paolo in Ravenna, in gratitude for which he always called himself John of Ravenna. Cosenza suggests that he should be called John of Buda for clarity; and this I shall do from this point on, if only to avoid the eternal footnotes that perforce appear whenever either of the two Johns is mentioned. In addition to Guarino, Vittorino, Vergerio and Scola, John of Buda appears to have instructed Palla Strozzi, Lodovico Cattaneo, Girolamo Donato and Sicco Polentone, all of whom were close friends of Guarino, probably from the period of their common studies. John of Buda was no humanist, in the sense that he consistently advocated a study of the classical authors, or taught the Latin of Cicero; so that Bruni, if he ever said such a
thing to Flavio Biondo, was surely thinking of Giovanni dei Malpaghini, when he said that he inspired his pupils to imitate Cicero. After all, dei Malpaghini had felt the influence of Petrarch, although he may have lacked the detailed knowledge of Cicero that Petrarch possessed.

16. If John of Buda, however, was not a humanist in the strict sense, he was certainly no barbarian. There lingers, however, a faint suggestion that he was some sort of hide-bound reactionary. Geanokoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* p. 26-7 says that John is said to have advised someone not to address him in Greek. Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista* (Como, 1924) p. 103 and 220, quotes John's actual words: "Athice autem si peroraveris, barbarus michi eris" and "Quod si codices haves grecos, interpretare." Neither of these remarks, however, prove that John considered Greek barbaric or useless. The first only proves that he knew no Greek; and the second evinces a willingness to know the contents of manuscripts he could not read. Does this not rather argue an admirable humility in the man?

17. Bo that as it may, there is more convincing proof that Biondo's quotation that Guarino studied under John of Buda. In the *Libri Commemoriali della Reppublica di Venezia* Vol. III, Bk. X,

* A. Campana, in an article, "The Origin of the word 'humanist'" (*Journ of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1948) pointed out that "umanista" meant a teacher of the humanities to scholars in the Renaissance. P. O. Kristeller, in private correspondence, has sensibly suggested that a distinction should be drawn between professional and amateur humanists (e.g., between Guarino and Niccoli) although they both had a respect amounting to veneration for the classical authors and busied themselves with the analytical study of the ancient tongues.
n. 6, under the date 22nd May 1406, Guarino is described as "notary and chancellor (i.e. secretary) of Paolo Zane." This plainly indicates some legal training, and confirmation may be found in the knowledge of the judicial corpus which citations in Guarino's letters indicate. Further, the Anonymous Panegyrist tells us that Guarino had enough knowledge of the law to instruct friends of his in the best methods of defence. Perhaps he even acted in court as an attorney, although this is far from certain, since the words "patrocinium" (sec 1) and "se patronum eis praebere" (sec 11) of the Panegyrist's speech may well be metaphorical (See Appendix B). Hence it emerges that, although we do not know the exact nature of Guarino's legal qualification, or even if he had one, we do know that he had some claim to legal training. This training was almost certainly acquired under John of Buda sometime during the early 1390's.

18. John of Buda had settled in Padua and was employed in the chancery of Francesco da Carrara. He also ran a preparatory school for those intending to study law at the University. The precise nature of the instruction is not known: but one may be sure that it catered mainly for the needs of those who intended to practise law, either as advocates or notaries. There were set forms of expression conventionally used in legal language in the Fifteenth Century, just as there are today. He probably also
tightened up the knowledge of grammar and syntax of some of the weaker students. No doubt such a preparatory course was invaluable to those who proposed to go on to University and study law in detail. Others, however, would be content to acquire only enough law and legalistic style to become notaries. Guarino is certainly referred to as a "notary" of Paolo Zane in the _Libri Commemoriali_ of Venice; and we may assume that he acquired whatever right he had to this qualification under John of Buda.

19. It is well to ask what the precise nature of this qualification was. B. L. Ullman, in _The Origin and Development of Humanistic script_ p. 22, says that Poggio abandoned his course in civil law at Bologna and went to the University of Florence in the late 1390's to study to be a notary. The course in civil law took eight years, whereas the notarial course took only two, Ullman also refers to an official document (in Walser, _Poggius Florentinus_ p. 327) of the University, which accredits Poggio as a notary in the year 1402. On p. 23, Ullman also states that the title "ser," used of Poggio by Coluccio Salutati in a letter of October 18, 1402, indicates that Poggio was an official notary. It appears, therefore, that one could obtain an official qualification as a notary by attending University for two years, and that it carried with it the right to use the title "ser."

* E. Emerton: _Humanism and Tyranny_ (Harvard U.P., 1925) p. 37 says: "During the twelfth century, the Law School of Bologna had evolved a two years' course of special instruction for the notarial career." Poggio did not, therefore, leave Bologna simply because there was no notarial training to be had there.
On the other hand, according to the Enciclopedia Italiana Vol 3, under "notaio," attendance at a University was not necessary to become a notary: "Sorsero allora scuole notarili numerose, che però si mantennero distinte dalle Università." The notaries seem to have been well organized: "Durante il Medioevo e sino alla fine del secolo XVIII i notaio avevano le loro corporazioni come ogni altra arte e i capi esercitavano la giurisdizione sui loro consociati." Notaries were obliged to record their transactions in public records: "Alcuni comuni, primi quelli di Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, istituissero nel sec. XIV appositi registri comunali (memoriai) nei quali i notaio erano obbligati a trascrivere lo loro imbreviature per evitare alterazioni e smarrimenti." It is therefore conceivable that John of Buda's school conferred the status of notary on those who completed the course; although the qualification may have been regarded with some condescension by the Universities, which also conferred notarial rank. Clearly, it would depend on the attitude of individual employers* whether they demanded the cachet of a University qualification or were content to employ one who had merely attended a notarial school. Since Paolo Zane engaged the services of Guarino as a notary, he seems to have belonged to the latter school of thought.

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* Emerton, op. cit. p. 40, in discussing Salutati, says: "As regards his strictly notarial qualifications, we have no reason to suppose that they were greater than those of scores of other graduates of schools or offices where the professional art was acquired ... Personal integrity ... was an asset of the greatest value."
20. Unfortunately, there is no record that I can find of Guarino's having transacted any business in Italy in the official capacity of a notary. He appears at first sight to have done so in Constantinople; for there is a record of an agreement between Paolo Zane and the Emperor on 22nd May, 1406 (Sabbadini, Guarino, Epistolario III, p. 8). But this agreement had originally been drawn up in Greek by the notary Theophilos Vasilikos, and all Guarino really did was to prepare a copy in Latin. Perhaps this was as far as Guarino's "notarial" qualifications went. They must have been good enough to suit Paolo Zane's purposes; but Guarino was certainly shy of claiming notarial status after he got back to Italy, where requirements seem to have been pretty stringent. He never refers to any qualification of this nature in any of his letters; nor have I been able to find any contemporary writer who claims it for him. He never used the title "ser," that Ullman says was the mark of an official notary, and his name does not, so far as I know, appear anywhere in any document as a notary. It is true that the Anonymous Panegyrist talks of him as extending his "patrocinium" to friends in legal difficulties; but there is no indication that he did anything but give them some good advice on how to plead their case, and the word is, in my opinion, metaphorical.

21. It seems altogether more likely that Guarino was attracted to John of Buda about 1392 for another reason, to which the acquisition of legal knowledge was merely incidental: for it appears that John, like many other teachers of his generation,
took an "unofficial" interest in humane studies, or at least in a more literary approach to the classics. Guarino may have seen in him an adumbration of the "outstanding man" whose influence would instil the culture he so fervently desired. It is known that Vittorino da Feltre also studied under John of Buda; and since Vittorino did not become a notary, one is tempted to conclude that he was attracted to Padua for the same reason as Guarino, to draw inspiration from a teacher whose mind was not closed to the new trends in study, and to enjoy the society of kindred spirits. John of Buda himself, however, either did not, or could not afford to apply himself to a serious study of the Ancients. His affinities remained with Matthew of Vendôme rather than with Cicero, as we can see from some examples of his Latin style published by Sabbadini in La Scuola e gli Studi. They betray a fondness for neologisms (e.g. "paparitium," "nuspiam" and "dehiante"), uncommon usages (e.g. "multifariae aede" = aedibus operis = opera), poeticisms (e.g. "nato" for "filio"), rhetorical confections ("sincera tui charitas genitoris"), syntactical errors (e.g. "sibi" = "ei": "se annuente" = "eo annuento"), and a forced symmetry with asyndeton and assonance (e.g. "ratiocinando opatiando commassendo quiescendo"; "innumeræ vigilias, famularia obsequia, lectiones itinera, legationes discrimina "quales ... invenerunt, tales ... tenuerunt"). Humanism proper did not come to Padua until Barzizza opened his school there in 1498.

Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice, p. 26 refers to Guarino as a student at Padua under Gasparino Barzizza. He could not have been thinking of the 1390's. As we shall see, it is possible that Guarino studied with Barzizza after his return from Greece.
22. John of Buda came to Padua in 1392. If we assume that Guarino left Verona in 1390, we must also say that he was there until he enrolled under John. Alternatively, he could have gone directly from Verona to Padua in 1392. In either event, he probably took the two year notarial course and ended his formal education in 1394. Unlike Vittorino, he never seems to have attended university. The title "magister" sometimes found in association with Guarino's name suggests a formal qualification in the subjects of the traditional trivium, but the normal meaning of "magister" is "schoolmaster", and the fact that Guarino is sometimes described as "magister" does not imply a university degree.

23. One fact seems at first sight to be very odd. John of Buda is nowhere mentioned in Guarino's correspondence. But then, Marzagaia is mentioned only once; and in general, Guarino adopts a condescending attitude to the older generation of scholars, of
whose contribution to the revival of learning he remained unaware or willfully ignorant. When he refers to them, it is only to pour scorn on their darkness. For example, in Letter 85, there is a wholly underserved slur on Coluccio Salutati's famous tutor, Pietro da Muglio: "adeo enim inepte obscure et inusitate dicit, ut non tam loqui quam mugire videatur". The pun, of course, is on the surname "Muglio" and Latin "mugire" = "to low." Pietro had been a professor in Bologna and Padua, and the trusted friend of Petrarch (Cf. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* Chicago, 1962, pp. 188, 193, 250). Surely he was entitled at least to an honourable mention by Guarino, who, we presume, had taken the trouble to read the man's works. Even Petrarch himself is ignored by Guarino, save for a passing mention in Letter 826. It is regrettable that Guarino, in many ways the most gracious humanist of them all, should have failed to appreciate what his own generation owed to such men as Petrarch, Boccaccio and Pietro da Muglio. To him they were "moo-ers" in the dark. The personality of Chrysoloras, as we shall see, dazzled all eyes in the early Fifteenth Century, and blinded them to the merits of earlier scholars.

24. What Guarino did between 1394 and 1403 is again shrouded in mystery, and tempts one to speculation. Could he have stayed on as an assistant to John of Buda? Or travelled more extensively in Italy? Or set up somewhere as a schoolmaster? The latter seems the most likely move, even if he was still only twenty. My own guess is that he went home to Verona to be with his mother and friends.
There is indeed solid evidence for his having taught the Veronese Guglielmo della Pigna sometime before 1403. Sabbadini, in 'Documenti Guariniani,' Atti e Memorie, Accademia d'agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona (1916-17) p. 211-86, published a group of letters from Guglielmo, all concerned with his efforts to secure a magistracy in Florence for 1413-1414. In 1413, he wrote to Martino di Luca di Martino, chancellor of Florence, to say that he was a Doctor of Law and to solicit suitable employment (D. G., p. 219). Letter 16 of the Epistolario is from Guglielmo to Guarino, now established in honour at Florence, reminding him of their past association as pupil and teacher, announcing that he has become a Doctor, and asking for Guarino's support in his quest for office. It seems that he was laureated in 1412, probably at the same time as Lodovico Cattaneo (D. G. p. 217): which in turn means that he had first enrolled in the University in the academic year 1405-1406, for the doctoral degree took seven years at a minimum. He must, therefore have been Guarino's pupil before 1403, for Guarino was in the East from 1403-1408. Incidentally, Guarino either showed no interest or failed to impress the chancellor with a reference, for della Pigna received no appointment.

25. We do not know how long he stayed in Verona. In dealing with this period, Sabbadini embarks on a discussion of the cultural life of the city, which does, indeed, appear to have been quite vigorous. He mentions Marzagaia, Angela and Giovanni Nogarola and their famous blue-stockings nieces, Ginevra and Isotta (who were not, however, active at the time). Petrarch influenced the
Italian verse of Giovanni Nogarola; and Sabbadini seems to be hinting that Guarino came into intimate contact with Petrarchism.

There is a tendency, especially in earlier writers of this century who deal with the Renaissance, to see the ghost of Petrarch at work everywhere. But there is not a scrap of evidence, as Sabbadini admits, that Guarino did fall under the spell of Petrarch. We cannot even find indications that he had studied Petrarch's Latin works, far less his poems in the vernacular. If the Petrarchism of Verona was as strong as Sabbadini claims, then it is strange that it did not leave some discernible traces in Guarino, who was an impressionable man, highly sensitive to atmosphere. This leads one to suspect that Guarino did not remain in Verona for any appreciable time. If he did not, then he probably moved on to Venice. Letter 261 lends some support to this view, since he refers in it to Venice as "patria mihi altera" ("a second homeland to me") and we have already cited the remark of Giustinian: "For our people think of you more as a Venetian than as a native of Verona, seeing that you laid the foundations of your life and character amongst us." We know for sure that he was teaching at Venice in August 1403, for E. Bertanza and G. della Santa quote, from a list of witnesses to an act of 21st August of that year, a "magister Guarinus de Guarinis de Verona" (Maestri scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500 p. 245 in Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia I. 1907). It seems somewhat unlikely that a new-comer to the city would have been asked to witness an act. Guarino must also have been in
Venice long enough to make the personal contacts with noblemen such as Francesco Barbaro and Leonardo Giustinian that were to have such a profound effect on his life.

26. Paolo Zane was "Savio del Consiglio" in 1403. (Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de Grèce au moyen âge II, p. 106, 110). It was to this merchant prince that Guarino owed his chance to visit Constantinople. The debt is gratefully acknowledged in Letter 758 of 1st February 1440, to Giustinian: "To say nothing of other Venetians who have done me favours, Paolo Zane will never be wiped from my memory .... By his encouragement and generosity and under his guidance, I went to Byzantium and began the study of Greek." Again, in Letter 873, he tells Marco Zane: "My patron and benefactor, Paolo Zane, 'lives, and shall live, while the spirit rules these limbs.' Under his guidance and star, I went to Constantinople, and there, honourably supported by his wealth, I quenched my thirst for Greek." Guarino must have impressed Zane as a valuable young man either to promote as a scholar or to employ as a secretary. Probably Zane had both purposes in view. No doubt Guarino's acquaintance with the law and legalistic writings, no less than his affable manner and eagerness to undertake a voyage before which many quailed, would commend him as a good man to take along to Greece. It should here be mentioned that in after years someone wrote a verse epistle to Guarino (Letter 616), in which the city of Verona is represented as saying "Misi te ad Graios" ("I sent you to the Greeks"), but that is vague rhetoric. There is no evidence that anyone but Paolo Zane financed Guarino's trip.
27. Up to 1403, Guarino had made only local fame as a promising young scholar; but his mind was alert and had become particularly impressed by the potential of Greek, without which he deemed an education in Latin incomplete. Undoubtedly, he had heard of the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras to lecture on Greek at Florence in 1397, and news of the tremendous influence of this new study on the lives and attainments of Florentine scholars must have filtered through to him. He may even have seen and spoken to Chrysoloras when the latter first landed in Italy and spent a short time in Venice (cf. Lazzarinij Paolo di Bernardo e i primordi dell' Umanesimo in Venezia, Geneva 1930, p. 119). Here at long last was the "outstanding man" for whom he had so long been searching; and Greek was to be his royal road to glory. The personality and influence of Manuel Chrysoloras were so striking that they merit some examination.

28. The best treatment of Chrysoloras is, of course, that by Cammelli in I Dotti Bizantini e le origini dell' umanesimo (Florence, 1941) Vol. I; and I am much indebted to this work. The emphasis, however, I give to Chrysoloras' visit to Italy is the political one, because I have come to believe that it was, for Chrysoloras himself at least, the most important one.

His first mission to Italy was in 1394, as a diplomat. In 1395, he received an invitation to come and teach Greek in Florence. The driving force behind this invitation seems to have been that of Coluccio Salutati, who sent Jacopo di Agnolo da Scarperia to Constantinople with the formal offer (Roberto Weiss, "Jacopo
Angeli da Scarperia c. 1360-1410", Medioevo e Rinascimento, studi in onore di Bruno Nardi II, Florence 1955 p. 803-827). The Byzantine did not leap at the opportunity, for he did not come until almost two years had passed. It is generally, if not always, stated that he came purely to teach Greek; but one suspects that his prime motives were political, that he was a diplomat first, and a teacher only as a means of promoting interest in the cultural value of Greece to the West.Since the West had proved laggard in responding to a series of straight appeals for help against the Turks, the Emperor now resorted to a more subtle method of winning the interest of influential men in the West. He hoped to dazzle their eyes with the rich heritage of Greece and convince them it was worth saving. If this was his aim, then Chrysoloras was his ideal emissary, for he united in himself the best of Greek scholarship with the sharpest of Byzantine diplomacy.

29. The situation at Constantinople was grave. In 1301, Osman had defeated the Byzantines at Baphaion and shorn away huge portions of the Empire in Asia. His successor, Orhan (1326-62) made even larger gains, until by 1340 all that remained of the Empire in Asia was a few fortresses facing and adjacent to Constantinople. In 1345, John VI Cantacuzenus used Turkish mercenaries in a civil war with John Palaeologus; and the tales of the riches of the Empire in Europe brought home by those hired troops inflamed the greed for further conquest. Murad I (1362-89) drove a wedge into the Balkans and by 1361, Adrianople had fallen. Soon afterwards, the Turks won a victory at Kosovo Polje, and in
1389 annexed the whole of Serbia. By 1394, Bayezid ruled most of what had been the Eastern Empire, with the exception of its finest gem, Constantinople itself. In the same year, he had himself proclaimed "Sultan of Rum," thus claiming to be the heir of the Seljuk Sultans of Konya and of the Caesars themselves; for "Rum" is an Arabic echo of "Rome." In 1395 he began to blockade Constantinople, desisting only to defeat a Western Crusade at Nicopolis on September 25th, 1396. In such desperate straits, the Empire had to find armed support or perish. One vast stumbling-block was the schism that had existed between the Eastern Church and the Papacy since 1054. Rome, indeed, was willing to end it, but on her terms. Gregory XII, while still cardinal, had sworn an oath to end the squabble, and this oath was written out by Bruni and renewed by Gregory in December 1406: but it was the East that was feeling the real pinch, and the East that was driven to take the initiative. The campaign to conciliate the West, as I see it, was launched on both the political and cultural fronts. The task of unravelling all the threads in this campaign is beyond my present scope: but one strand surely, was the diplomatic tour eventually undertaken by the Emperor himself, and another, I think, was the visit of Chrysoloras to Italy. The Emperor must surely have encouraged his friend in the exploit.

30. Chrysoloras was of knightly rank (cf. Letter 25) and presumably affluent. We know from Guarino that he possessed a fine house with a hanging garden (κρεμαστὸν κήπον) in Constantinople; and Cammelli (p. 33) has shown that Salutati offered
him a loan, which he seems not to have required. He lingered two months in Venice en route to Florence; so he must have had the means to support himself. Finally, there are indications that he lived fashionably in Florence, which would have been difficult on his initial salary of 150 florins. He does not, therefore, seem to have needed the salary the Florentines paid him. Surely there was something more to his leaving his comfortable home and the society of cultured Greek friends than a mere altruistic desire to take Florentine bankers through the Greek alphabet. His record in Italy suggests that he never lost sight of his original role as a diplomat. For example, as Cammelli (p. 128) points out, he remained in constant touch with the Emperor during the latter's sojourn in Europe. We have two letters from Palaeologus to Chrysoloras, one written shortly after his arrival in Paris on 3rd June 1400, the other after his voyage to England in December 1400 describing his interviews with Henry IV (Legrand, *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue* Paris, 1893, Letter L/L p. 50; also Berger de Xivrey, "Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur M.P." in *Mem. de l'acad. des inscriptions et belles lettres* XIX, 1851, II p. 102-103). Chrysoloras also journeyed to and from Constantinople. He left Italy in March or April 1403 and returned to Venice in December 1404. Most of 1405 he spent in the East, returned to Italy in January 1406 and was back in Constantinople by the end of the year. Only after 1407 did he return to Italy for good; and even then we find him from 1409-1410 on a diplomatic visit to
London, as he tells us in his Ζυγκρισὶς Τῆς Παλαιᾶς Καὶ νέας Ρωμῆς. Later still, in 1414 and 1415, he was intriguing for the East at the Council of Constance, where he died. These are not the actions of a man whose sole mission in life is to teach. Andrea Zulian, in the funeral speech he wrote for Chrysoloras, tells us that Chrysoloras invariably refused the offers of European princes to live with them, but visited almost all the courts of Europe on diplomatic business, and then went back to Greece, preferring to fulfill his true task, which was to save his country from danger rather than to give delight to Italy (pass. cited by Rosmini I, p. 6-7). It seems that his true intentions in Italy were an open secret to the discerning.

But not only was Chrysoloras a patriot: he was also a pragmatist, willing to go to any lengths to help his country. Hans Baron, in Political and Humanistic Literature in Florence and Venice p. 111 cites a letter from Vorgorio of 1406 in which Chrysoloras is mentioned as "wanting to become a Latin" ("cum cupiat esse Latinus"). It seems better to interpret this phrase not as a desire to become a permanent resident of Italy (although he may also have had this in mind), but as a willingness to pay allegiance to the Latin rite. Dr. Baron has shown that at the end of 1405 Chrysoloras applied from Constantinople -- his location is perhaps significant -- for the Pope's permission to take holy orders in the Western Church. I see this as another conciliatory move to win the favour of the Western powers, and in particular the Papacy, which still had a remarkable control
over them. If it was, it was well-timed, for Gregory XII took his famous oath in 1406. Chrysoloras was an important servant of the Eastern Crown and highly respected in the East and West; so that his action — assuredly a sacrifice for one of the Eastern persuasion — might be expected to exert a favourable influence in relations with the West. One would, of course, have to know far more about the Eastern and Western Churches to give a balanced view; and perhaps it is not a judicious choice of words to call Chrysoloras' action political expediency. In my view, however, it savours somewhat of that.*

32. There are other circumstances that prompt one to believe that the activities of Chrysoloras as a teacher of Greek were only part of the larger schema of serving his country's interests. The salary initially offered him of 100 gold florins** a year — roughly 1200 lire (doc. publ. by Cammelli, p. 34) was hardly enough to tempt a successful scholar of high rank to come to Italy, however glowing a picture was painted by Salutati (Cammelli, *Bernard Lewis, Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1963) p. 22, points out an example of political expediency in the alliance of the Emperor with Sultan Mehmed against Musa, and his aid in Mehmed's victory near Sofia in 1413. F. Heer, The Mediaeval World p. 128-130 lists a number of political "conversions" to Rome, and discusses a long record of political expediency on the part of the East. The higher echelons of Byzantine society knew that submission to Rome was their only salvation; and as late as 12th December 1453 Cardinal Isidor proclaimed in Constantinople the Union of the Churches and the acceptance by the Emperor and many nobles of the supremacy of Rome. The scene is vividly described in Waltari, The Dark Angel (Putnam, May 1953) p. 1.

** It is difficult to assess the buying power of this sum. But compare it with the 312 gold ducats Guarino later received in Ferrara (Life sec. 198).
p. 34-35). Again, Vespasiano Bisticci tells us that Chrysoloras arrived in Italy without books of any kind (Cammelli, p. 57) and that Palla Strozzi had to send to Greece for some necessary volumes. Further, it is known that Manuel had applied himself to the study of Latin before he was invited to come to Florence (Cammelli, p. 36, 37): which shows that he expected to have some direct dealings in the West. Finally, it is interesting to note that he did not accept the appointment until the Florentines had agreed to terms different from those originally proposed in the Act of February 1496, and laid out in a letter of Salutati's of 28th March (Cammelli, p. 40-41). Under the new terms, approved 11th December 1396, his salary was increased to 150 gold florins, his term of appointment was reduced from ten to five years, and he was given the right to teach in his own house rather than in the Studio. The first item was certainly a "prestige" increase, and the second suggests that he had no wish to commit himself for as long as ten years to what might prove an abortive political move. The tendency with prospective employees is to secure a long-term contract, if possible. The third item suggests that he wanted to foster a more intimate contact with the leading citizens, a thing more readily achieved in private than from a public rostrum.

33. It now remains to ask why Chrysoloras chose Florence. The obvious answer, of course, is because he was specifically invited

* Cf. Geanokoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice p. 27, footnote 48: "We know that Planudes was sent to Venice because he knew Latin."
to come. But we may also surmise that he saw advantages in going to a city where there appeared to be a strong and rising current of sympathy for things Greek. Besides, Florence was an immensely rich and influential city in European affairs, for her banking activities alone. This at least would be the picture in the minds of the Greeks in remote Constantinople, who were not close enough to Italy to understand fully the territorial ambitions and most intricate ramifications of inter-state rivalries in Italy. The scholars in Florence, however, responded to Chrysoloras only as a teacher, a fact gratifying for him on the one hand, but frustrating on the other. It is, indeed, my belief that he left Florence when he finally realized that he had failed to stimulate the kind of support his countrymen really needed. It is a sad thought that Western scholars were eager to accept the heritage of Greece, while remaining indifferent to the impending destruction of the Eastern Empire.

34. Unquestionably, the young Guarino had felt the excitement of Manuel's presence in Italy, but there is no indication that he visited Florence to hear him lecture during the years 1397-1400. If he had, Bruni would surely have mentioned it when he recommended Guarino to Niccoli in 1410; or Guarino would have alluded to it somewhere in his letters. All he tells us is that Chrysoloras accepted an invitation from Giangaleazzo Visconti to come and teach at Pavia "because the duke himself was unbelievably desirous of glory" (Letter 862). This event took place on 10th March 1400, before Chrysoloras' five year contract with
Florence had been completed. The traditional reasons for Chrysoloras' departure can no longer be accepted. One was that Niccoli's ill-tempered jealousy made his life intolerable; but Zippel, *M. Niccoli* p. 75-91 maintains that Niccoli's hatred was in fact aimed at Manuel's nephew, John Chrysoloras: but in any case it does not sound like a sufficient reason. Vergerio's explanation was "fear of the onrushing wars" (*L. Smith, Ep. Verg.* 96, p. 243: "ablato tempeste per metum ingrumentium bellorum, nescio an dicam amissu, praeceptor nostro Manuale Chrysolora") but Cammelli, p. 101-2, dismisses this. Nor could plague in Florence have been the cause, because Chrysoloras went on to Pavia, which was also struck with pestilence (Cammelli, p. 101). Cammelli (p. 101) is surely right when he says that the real reason for Chrysoloras' departure was the arrival of the Emperor in Italy. Clearly, his services were required.

35. I suggest that the Emperor encouraged him to remain in Pavia rather than go on with the Imperial train to Paris, so that he might win the favour of Giangaleazzo Visconti and prepare the way for the Emperor's return to Lombardy in 1402. Chrysoloras must have been a great patriot to remain in plague-striken Pavia with a tyrant, when he could, for instance, have enjoyed the

company of the University professors at Piacenza.* But Giangaleazzo was the rising power in Italy in 1400, and bidding fair to wrest not only territory but prestige from Florence, with which he was locked in deadly combat. Chrysoloras, or the Emperor, or both, perhaps thought that where they had failed in Florence, they might succeed in Lombardy. Chrysoloras therefore disregarded the two increments of salary he had been granted in hopes of keeping him, abandoned his final salary of 250 gold florins, and virtually defected to the court of the bitterest enemy of Florence.

36. It seems that he did not remain constantly in Pavia, but moved around in Lombardy in an attempt to raise money and armed support. The evidence is documented by Cammelli, p. 117-122 in particular. On p. 117 he says: "possiamo d'altra parte stabilire per mezzo di prove sicure (see p. 120, footnote) che ... l'imperatore lo aveva chiamato con un scopo ben diverso, quello cioè di trovare in lui un efficace cooperatore alla missione per cui egli stesso si era deciso ad intraprendere il viaggio, e venuto in Italia, sul punto di partire per la Francia gli aveva affidato il preciso incarico di raccogliere denaro e procurare aiuti di ogni genere alla patria per la lotta contro il Turco." Sabbadini, whose treatment of Chrysoloras in his Life of Guarino is purely

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* The Studio had moved there in 1398 for fear of plague and did not return to Pavia until 1403 (Cf. Magenta, I Visconti e gli Sforza nel castello di Pavia (Milan 1883) I, p. 252, and II, pp. 85, 87; also Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico nell' Università di Pavia (1905) I, pp. 392, 408). For Chrysoloras' private teaching in Pavia, cf. Sabbadini, Giornale Linguistico (1890) p. 324-28, and an extract from P. C. Decambrio's version of Plato's Republic publ. by Cammelli, p. 16.
that of a teacher, seems to have had after-thoughts about Chrysoloras’ real purpose in Italy; for in the Epistolario III, p. 462, he remarks briefly that Chrysoloras went to Lombardy to win sympathy for the Greeks against the Turks.

37. Because of the war-like condition of Lombardy, Guarino could have had little opportunity of visiting Chrysoloras, far less of studying under him during this period of busy diplomacy: but he probably kept abreast of what he was doing in the scholastic line. For example, he probably saw the literal translation made by Chrysoloras in his leisure time of Plato's Republic, which the Lombard Uberto Decembrio used as a basis for his own more elegant version, further polished by Uberto's son, Pier Candido from 1437-1440 (Cf. Cammelli, p. 123 footnote). It is worth noting in passing that Chrysoloras never attained high competence in Latin. Zulian tells us in the funeral oration that Chrysoloras taught himself the language (pass. cited by Cammelli p. 36, footnote 4) and the single Latin letter by Chrysoloras that we possess, to Uberto Decembrio in 1413 (publ. by Sabbadini in L'Ultimo Ventennio di M.C. p. 330) is an inferior product.

38. When Giangaleazzo Visconti died unexpectedly, and much to the relief of the Florentines, in September 1402, Chrysoloras seems to have lost interest in remaining in Lombardy or in returning to Florence. Manuel Palaeologus left Genoa on the 10th February 1403 and arrived in Venice about the 21st March, where

\[ \text{Uberto was Chrysoloras' pupil for Greek (Cf. Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici 1914, p. 122).} \]
he was joined by his trusted friend Chrysoloras. Together they set sail for Greece at the beginning of April, for the galleys carrying them were at Ragusa on the 13th or 14th of that month (Cammelli, p. 129). It has usually been stated that Guarino went with them, on the evidence of his own statement in Letter 862: "Eo (i.e. Visconti) dehinc mortuo, redeunte in patriam Chrysoloram subsecutus sum." Sabbadini's authority has given rise to this mistaken belief, for in his Vita di Guarino he says: "si accompagnò dunque al Crisolora e con esso salpò da Venezia per Constantinopoli," an opinion repeated in the Epistolario III, p. 5. In La Scuola e gli Studi p. 10-11 it is stated that Guarino already had a place in the official convoy. Cammelli (p. 133) was the first in print to doubt the traditional belief.* But various objections to it had formed themselves in my mind before I saw his book. The verb "subsecutus sum," compounded with the proposition "sub" is in itself suspicious; but in any case we know that Guarino was still in Venice as late as 21st August 1403 (Life, sec. 25) and if we maintain that he actually accompanied Chrysoloras we must also say that the latter lingered for several months in Venice. It is therefore better to place Guarino's departure later in 1403, with the flotilla of Paolo Zane. Exactly when Zane left we do not know.

39. It is a pity that we do not know more about his stay in Constantinople. Sabbadini (Epistolario III, p. 8) says that he

* Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice p. 26 mentions Cammelli's dissension from the traditional view, but does not support or deny it.
studied under Chrysoloras during the years 1404-1405, and thereafter took employment with Paolo Zane; for Chrysoloras' presence at Venice in January 1406 is recorded in the Libri Commemoriali della Reppublica di Venezia Vol. III, Bk. X, n. 14, and in the same Libri Commemoriali Vol. III, Bk. X, n. 16 there is a note, already referred to, of an agreement between Zane and the Emperor in which Guarino is called the "notary and secretary" of the former. Sabbadini concludes: "Guarino had therefore finished his scholarly training and taken service with Zane." In his Vita di Guarino p. 11-12, Sabbadini also says that Guarino was a servant in the house of Manuel Chrysoloras, "having certainly no money to pay his board." The story that Guarino worked as a servant to pay for his education comes from John of Pannonia Sylva Panegyrica lines 145-149:

Hunc petis, et miris tot pulchra ornatibus unum quaeris in urbe virum; nee tantum verba docentia advena captares, sed proximus intima vitae arbiter inspiceres, famulus colis atria docti hospitis et mixto geris auditore ministrum....

and lines 175-182:

Sic Chrysoloraei cupida tu pectoris omnes carpis divitias et corde recondis in imo sedulus, ac nullam consumis inaniter horam, obsequisque vacans domini monitisse magistri. Si quid ab his reliqui superest tibi temporis umquam vel scribis vel scripta legis vel lecta reponis,
multa fere, multa et faciens, sudoris et algī
numquam expers, vini ac Veneris sed iugiter expers.

(11. 145-149: "In a city beautified with so many wonderful
adornments, you seek out this one man (i.e. Chrysoloras); and
leást you should, as a stranger, lay hold on the teacher's works
and nothing else, rather than assess his private life at close
quarters, you live as a 'famulus' ('servant'? ) in the halls of
your scholarly guest and, in the midst of his audience, act as
an attendant..."; and 11. 175-181: "Thus do you eagerly cull all
the riches of Chrysoloras' mind, and carefully hide them in your
innermost heart, and you pass no hour in idleness, being free
only to comply with the master's orders or the teacher's promptings.
If you ever have any time for yourself after these duties, you
write or read books or store away what you have read, bearing
many burdens and performing many tasks never free from sweat and
cold, but strictly abstaining from wine and love"). Such is the
evidence.

In La Scuola e gli Studi p. 11, Sabbadini concedes that
John of Pannonia was given to fantasy; but, assuming that the
evidence of the passages above is reliable, we must allow that
much depends on how "famulus" is interpreted. At first sight,
it appears to mean "servant" or "menial" and that is the normal
Latin meaning of the word. But one wonders how a menial could
have had free enough access to Chrysoloras and the Emperor him-
self to win their friendship. Again, Guarino never even hints
that he worked in such a low capacity at Constantinople. His
reminiscences are wholly of the "hanging garden" with its cool cypresses, and the pleasant gatherings there of fellow intellectuals. Most convincing of all, however, is his own statement in Letter 873 that he was "honourably supported" by Zane's wealth and allowed to "quench his thirst for Greek." What seems to me a more likely reconstruction of events is as follows.

40. Paolo Zane, probably a hard-headed business man, like most wealthy Venetians, hired Guarino with the intention of using his talents in Greece. It may even by that he was hired on the understanding, suitable to both parties, that he learn enough Greek to help Zane in his business dealings. Part of his duties, certainly, was to translate Greek documents, as we know from the fact that he rendered into Latin the document drawn up in Greek by Theophilos Vasilikos, referred to in sec. 20. A bi-lingual secretary, with some legal knowledge, must have been a valuable asset to Zane in a city where practically no one spoke Latin or Italian. There is therefore every reason to suppose that Guarino's attendance at the school of Chrysoloras was regarded by Zane as a necessary investment. Moreover, if he wanted to keep Guarino's

In much the same way, slave owners in Ancient Greece and Rome took pains to have clever slaves trained in some definite skill. The motive was not philanthropy, but a desire to increase the value and usefulness of their property.
services, he would have been a fool not to finance his
education there. Guarino’s phrase "honourably supported"
may therefore be a tactful expression for a decent salary.
We must remember that Letter 873, in which it occurs, was
addressed to Marco Zane, and the mention of payment would
have been indelicate.

41. Let us now ponder the matter of Guarino’s exact
status in the house of the Chrysolorae. It would have been
consistent with Zane’s purpose to let him stay there for a
fixed period of a year or eighteen months and work full-time
at Greek. The comparative shortness of time would account
for Guarino’s feverish activity to learn all he could of the
language and at the same time luxuriate in the pleasure and
transmitted culture that comes from intimate contact with a
great scholar. One therefore imagines that Guarino made
himself as useful as possible about the household or in the
classroom, since by this means he would inevitably win the
attention and respect of the owners. He would not shrink from
menial tasks, but this does not mean he had the status of
a flunkey. He was certainly a "member of the household"--
perhaps not an honoured one, but not a servant in the strict
sense. If, therefore, John of Pannonia was using "famulus"
in its strict sense, we must put it down to poetical colouring.

* One cannot imagine that the Chrysolorae gave instruction
in Greek for nothing, but the exact nature of the "school" they
ran is not clear. F. Fuchs, Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopol
(1926) p. 69 is of no help. (This book was reprinted in 1964
by A. M. Hakkert of Amsterdam. Valuable in many ways, it contains
some obvious errors, e.g., that Niccoli studied at Constantinople).
It may have been a society of learned men rather than a school, as
such. For the spirit of the teaching at Constantinople cf.
Cambridge Mediaeval History IV, p. 764.
42. Whatever the conditions were under which Guarino studied, he certainly learned quickly. The Panegyrist tells us, and the numerous quotations from classical authors in the letters confirm it, that he had a most retentive memory. He would also develop his ear for the language, since Chrysoloras stressed this, and Guarino insisted on it in his later teaching methods. No doubt coming into contact with every class of society, he soon learned not only the spoken demotic but also the artificial neo-attic then popular among scholars. We have some fruits of his early labours in Letter 1, an exercise in elegant composition dating from about 1405, a translation of Isocrates' Ad Demonicum (cf. Letter 2) and a version of Plutarch's Life of Alexander. At this time, also, he seems to have translated Lucian's περὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμπιστεύεσθαι διαβολὴ, described as "mearum lucubrationum primitias" ("the first-fruit of my scholarly labours") in Letter 3. We also know that at some time during his stay in the East, he translated Lucian's Ἐπιστῆμη, which he sent many years later to Mainente and Leon Battista Alberti (Letter 771). But more important was his absorption of the educational

* A quality, which, according to John of Pannonia, Sylva Panegyrice, 40-51, he had shown from an early age:

Vix tua reddebat graciles infantia voces
Cum tibi non vano paribus contendere lusu
Tantus amor quantus tabula chartave notatos
Balbutive apices, et laetae ostendere matri
Discreta inter se variis elementa figuris.
Iam tum gaudebas digitis in pulvere ductas
Pugere litterulas et passim forte iacentes
Noctum intellectos tamen attrectare libellae
Foeminæo quondam caelatum syrmate Achillem
Callidus Aeolides lituo deprehendit et armis,
Te si virgineo genitrix velasset amicatu
Oblato actutum potuisses codice nosci.
theory in which the Chrysolorae were so interested, the culmination of centuries of Byzantine experience (cf. Bolgar, *Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* pp. 84-85 and 87-88). Out of this theory came the techniques that Guarino was to employ in their fullest form at Ferrara, and pass on to generations of other Renaissance teachers. Bolgar rightly remarks (p. 268) that the difference between the generation of Petrarch and the generation of Guarino "was in the last analysis the appearance and widespread adoption of a pedagogic technique."

I have attempted to describe this technique and some of the important scholars upon whom Guarino applied it in *Guarino and humanistic education.*

43. It is not known whether Guarino stayed in Constantinople constantly; but he probably did, for there was little left of the Empire but the capital and it was unsafe to venture outside its limits because of the ubiquitous Turks. His presence in the city on 1st March 1406 is attested by an inscription in a Vatican manuscript (cod. Vat. Palat. 116) containing the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras and three comedies of Aristophanes, bearing the note: "Aristophaneos liber mei Guarini emptus Const. anno ab incarnatione domini MCCCCVI die p. martis". The precision of the date, and the fact that book-owners usually like to inscribe evidence of possession for themselves, prompt one to translate this "A book of Aristophanes belonging to me, Guarino, bought at Constantinople on the 1st of March in the year 1406 from the incarnation of our Lord", but
of course, "mei Guarini" could also mean "of my friend Guarino."

44. Letter 4, of 12th June 1408, provides a terminus post quem for his departure from Constantinople. It is addressed to Francesco Barbaro and declares Guarino's intention of coming home, but does not say when. It also sounds out the possibilities of employment or assistance on his return. Guarino also says that he is looking forward to seeing Zaccaria Barbaro when the next convoy puts in to Constantinople. Perhaps he hoped to travel back with Zaccaria and was tactfully pushing for an invitation to do so. Unfortunately, we do not have Barbaro's reply, if any, and we do not know just when Guarino left. Sabbadini has suggested that he left with Pietro Zeno, who was coming to Venice with an imperial embassy on 8th August 1408; but this is mere conjecture. The only real evidence we have is in John of Pannonia, *Sylva Panegyrica* 442-447:

> Altera perfecto celebrabat Olympia lustro
> Elis et Alphaeus terrae per operta volutus
> Visa recensebat Siculus solimnia nymphis
> Cum to iam graio plenum praecordia Phoebo
> Admonuit patriae leviter deus aure prehendens...

("A lustrum had been completed, and Elis was celebrating another Olympiad...when God took you gently by the ear and reminded you, with your mind already full of Greek learning, of your native land"). A "lustrum" could be any period of four years, whereas an Olympiad year is invariably divisible by 4. If Guarino left Venice in 1403, the completion of a "lustrum" would take him into 1407; or, if "lustrum" be interpreted as
any period of five years, into 1408. Since 1408 was the second Olympiad year Guarino spent in Greece, the first being 1404, it seems clear enough that Guarino left in 1408.

45. We must now ask why he wanted to leave at all. The Panegyrist tells us that he resisted offers of wealth and position. This is not likely to be a rhetorical confection, because a Latinist of his calibre would be invaluable to any number of people, not least the Emperor, who is said to have offered him a post in the Administration. By his own account in Letter 4, his purse was full of holes. Perhaps he had found it difficult to support himself, for Paolo Zane had left in December 1406; but in view of his earning potential that is not likely. Homesickness and a desire to give his own country the benefit of his erudition may have been factors. Perhaps he surmised that he could earn even more in Italy, with his new and almost unique knowledge of Greek. A combination of all three reasons is probably the answer; but no doubt he was helped to his final decision by another and more sinister consideration, the dark tide of Islam on the horizon.

46. Sabbadini thinks that Guarino travelled in the East after Zane left, but one wonders where he would care to go in an area almost completely dominated by the Turks. Life in Constantinople itself must have been nervous, despite a breathing space of a few years after July 28th 1402, when Bayezid was defeated at Ankara by Tamarlane, lord of the Mongols, and his Anatolian possessions reverted to the control of a number
of rival emirs. The lessening of tension may have induced the Emperor to stay in Europe, to press home the advantage caused by this crisis in Ottoman affairs. Certainly it made access to Constantinople easier for Guarino and other visitors. But while Guarino was living in the city, Bayezid's son, Prince Musa, was rallying the peasants of the Balkans, both Christian and Muslim, against his rival Mehemmed in Anatolia. He re-opened the Holy War against the Cross and swiftly reconquered the provinces of Thrace, Serbia and Thessaly. Meanwhile, Mehemmed was conciliating the Balkan nobility, and had regained absolute control over Anatolia. All of this took some time, but a conflict was brewing, as anyone with half an eye could see; and the miserable remnants of the Byzantine Empire could not be expected to escape its consequences. Guarino may therefore have deemed prudence the better part of valour and left in plenty of time. If he had fears, they were well-founded, for Musa laid siege to Constantinople in 1410.

47. Letter 930A, written in 1410 by Isodorus to Guarino, lists a number of places that Guarino was reported to have visited in the past two years, amongst them Chios, Rhodes and Aquileia. Unquestionably, if the reports were true, he visited them on his homeward voyage. The mention of Chios is particularly interesting, because the Anonymous Panegyrist refers to a magistracy that Guarino "held with conspicuous success in Chios, a famous island in the Aegean." Sabbadini gives credence to the story, citing Letter 121, in which Guarino tells Paolo dei Paolini about the governor's house in
Chios, and adds the clause "quam scio" ("which I know"). He must, therefore, have been either a guest or an employee there. The Panegyrist surely heard the information from Guarino's own lips, and in any case the speech was delivered before men who were familiar with Guarino's record, so we may assume that the speaker was careful with his facts. The question now arises, when could Guarino have worked on Chios, and for how long? The years 1403-1408 seem ruled out, for a term in Chios would have involved a dangerous voyage there and back, nor could Guarino have gone there by Imperial warrant, for Chios was a Genoese possession under the Racanelli, nor is it likely that he went on business for Paolo Zane, for a magistracy is specified. I incline to believe that the story is true, and that Guarino took a respite on his way home. His term with the Racanelli would be simply a means of supporting himself and gathering some much needed funds for his return to Venice. It is quite conceivable that he travelled home with a merchant flotilla, perhaps that of Zaccaria Barbaro, and that Guarino stopped off at Chios while the vessels traded round the Greek islands. The ships may then have returned, or other ones come, and taken him on to Rhodes. We have confirmation of his presence there in an inscription in his copy of Suidas which shows that he purchased it there (Sabbadini, Scoperte dei codici latini e greci, 1905, p. 45, n. 4). As for the length of time spent in Chios, one can but hazard a guess. Six months was a usual term. It must have been long enough, anyway,
for him to prove a "conspicuous success." One possible merit this suggestion has is that a six months' term in Chios, plus the time taken on the rest of the voyage, may in part at least account for the fact that the first time we hear of him being in Italy is 10th October 1409, when he spoke the valedictory oration for the out-going podesta and welcomed his successor (The fact is recorded in the Acta Consiliaria in the archives of Verona, and the speech is published by Remigio Sabbadini in La Scuola e gli Studi p. 170-172). This means, of course, that although he left Constantinople in 1408, he did not actually return to Italy until 1409.

48. It remains to deal with another place that Isodorus heard Guarino had visited—Roma. (Aquileia is easily disposed of a seaport on the way home) Sabbadini accounts for the reading Ρώμη in the manuscript by saying "ex cathedra" that it was a copyist's error for the less familiar Ουέρώνη ("Verona"). He flatly states that Guarino never went to Rome and would not have wanted to go there in 1409, for the Curia was absent from August 1407 to April 1411. It seems better to me, however, to keep the reading of the manuscript and say that Isodorus had received an erroneous report. I am not convinced that a scribe who knew enough Greek to change Ουέρώνη to Ρώμη would have made the error. It should, however, be admitted that in Letter 705 Guarino talks of the disappointment that greets any visitor to Rome, and so vividly that it sounds like the recollection of a
personal experience. But that does not mean he went there in 1409. In any case, the squalor of Rome was common knowledge and it was not beyond Guarino to write convincingly about a place he had never seen.*

49. In his edition of the Erotemata of Chrysoloras (1501), Pontico Virunio includes a very jejune biography of Chrysoloras, which tells in one part how Guarino was bringing home two chests of Greek manuscripts, but lost one at sea. As a result, his hair is said to have gone gray overnight. This figment is obviously a borrowing from Suetonius' Life of Terence (a copy of which is publ. by C. C. Ishmore, after his introduction to the Comedies of Terence, V. 1888). Virunio, however, thoughtfully allowed only one chest to be lost. As for Guarino's hair going gray overnight, that cannot be true, because in Letter 46 he tells us that he was just beginning to go gray round the temples. But if Pontico Virunio's elaboration must be rejected, it is nevertheless likely that Guarino did bring some manuscripts home. John of Pannonia says he did; and we know from Letter 930 A that Isodorus sent him Xenophon's Anabasis, Oeconomicus and Tyrannicus and promised to send works of Lucian and Athenaeus the following spring. There are also the Suidas he bought at Rhodes and the comedies of Aristophanes he acquired in Constantinople. One cannot imagine that was all he took back with him.

* The old writer Scipione Maffei, in Scrittori Veronesi p. 72 asserts that G. had a school in Rome. This obvious fiction is found again in a work of 1778, Specimen historicum Typographiae Romanae XV Saeculi p. 168, where G. is said to have gone finally to teach in Rome and died there in 1460.
50. Since manuscripts represented a source of wealth, Guarino was not utterly destitute on his arrival. But he would not be willing to sell his manuscripts, and he was probably short of ready cash. Sabbadini interprets a remark in Letter 4 to indicate that Guarino was counting on the Barbari to find him a post in Venice: "tuo igitur tuorumque suffragio opus est, quo effetos resarciam loculos, unde mihi ac meis vitae fiat adiumentum" ("There will be a need for your vote (?), so that I may mend my empty pockets and help be provided from them for me and mine") If "suffragium" is here used strictly to mean "vote," then it indicates that Guarino hoped for a post important enough to attract competitors. But I doubt if he had any particular post in mind. It reads to me like a tactfully vague appeal for financial assistance, if no job were forthcoming. There is no record of Guarino's having taken any employment in Venice at this time, and it is conceivable that the Barbari subsidized him, at least until he could organize his financial affairs and find a post to his liking. This patrician family liked to do good by stealth and were adamant about refusing any overt expressions of gratitude, as is shown by Letter 62, in which Guarino explains to Aleardo Gaforino that he must not press a gift of olives on the Barbari, who found such displays of gratitude distasteful and superfluous. If this really was a characteristic of the Barbari, it explains why Guarino made no written acknowledgement of their bounty, if any, at this time. Of course, the letters extant from this period are scanty, and such an acknowledgement may have been made in a letter that has
not survived. It is unfortunate that the period is so sparsely documented. Almost anything could have happened between his arrival in Italy in 1438 (or 1409, as I have suggested) and 10th October 1409. For instance, he could have gone to Barzizza's humanistic school, which had opened in Padua in 1408. At first sight this is attractive, since Barzizza was the leading exponent of Cicero, and a "refresher" course under this master would have been invaluable to one who had been reading and speaking a lot of Greek for five years. The Panegyrist tells us that one of Guarino's objects in coming home was to prevent his Latin style from tarnishing. Again, as Sabbadini points out, it was about this time that Guarino became acquainted with Cicero's letters. The last letter from Constantinople was mediaeval in its flavour, with its over-elaborated style and rather heavy use of symbol and metaphor, but the letters written a few years later show a marked Ciceronian influence. If, however, he did attend Barzizza's school as a pupil, it could not have been for very long; for private schools modelled their practice on that of the Universities, especially Bologna, the prototype of all Italian seats of learning. Bologna's year began October 16th and ended around May (cf. Friedrich Haer, The Mediaeval World [Mentor Books 1963] p. 244). Barzizza's school would have gone into recession during the heat of summer. This does not mean, however, that the two men did not meet, or exchange ideas by correspondence.
51. Sabbadini suggests that Guarino lingered in Venice for several months before going home to Verona. It is hard to believe, however, that a man who had been absent for so long from his relatives and friends would not have gone directly to rejoin them. Probably he spent his time enjoying a vacation in Verona, refurbishing his knowledge of Latin, and casting round for suitable employment.

52. It is most unlikely that he opened a school in Verona. If he had wanted to teach, Venice would have offered him better opportunities. But he does not seem to have wanted to pursue the humble calling of a schoolmaster.

53. In Letter 6 of about 1411 he refers to a "recent" spell of leisure—probably 1409 and early 1410 at Verona—during which he produced translations of various Greek works, among them Plutarch's life of "Flamininus".* Another translation he made at this time, with its letter of dedication (4A in Summaries), were unknown to Sabbadini. It was the Ἐγκώμιον Ἐλένης ("Praise of Helen") of Isocrates, dedicated about 1409 or 1410 to Pietro Emiliani, a patrician of Venice and a famous collector of books. Clearly, Guarino was trying to win the attention of a wealthy patron or employer.

54. His attempt, however, did not succeed, because the next we hear of him is at Bologna in February 1410. The Curia was there, with some of the best scholars in Italy, men such as Zabarella, Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, Antonio Losco, Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni, the last being regarded by most people as the finest Greek scholar in Italy. Guarino, however, had the unique distinction of having studied in Constantinople, and of being a fluent Greek speaker, qualities which he perhaps thought would secure him an appointment from the Pope. He soon found favour with Bruni, who wrote two letters (Epist. ed. Mehus, III, 4 and 15) about him to Niccolò Niccoli. In the first he records: "The Greek knight John (i.e. John Chrysoloras) arrived in Bologna on the 19th February. In his company he has Demetrius, not Poliorcetes but Poliorcomenu

*It should be "Flamininus", but wherever Guarino refers to this life he writes "Flaminius".
GUARINUS VERONENSIS
Ex Museo Trivulziano
(sic), and a Guarino from Verona. My first impression of the latter is that he is an exceptionally clever young man and the sort who could deservedly win your favour." The second letter shows that Bruni had persuaded Guarino to seek his fortune in Florence and that Niccoli was prepared to take him under his wing: "Guarino will be right with you, and you will be able to see him for yourself. Do you want my opinion? I have written to you before about this, and now confirm what I said, that he seems very learned to me and the sort of man of whom you could rightly approve." An association with Niccoli, rumoured to be the Maecenas of Florence, and with his influential circle, must have appealed to Guarino as the first step to professional success. One imagines that Bruni was much taken by the personable, alert young scholar. The portrait opposite shows Guarino as he looked about this time. The expression is open and intelligent, with just a hint of intellectual arrogance. The Greek cap looks like an affectation. All his life, Guarino was keenly aware of the value of self-advertisement.

55. Sabbadini believed that Niccoli employed Guarino from 1410-1412. The evidence must rest on Guarino's famous invective against Niccoli (Letter 17, which I have translated and annotated in Summaries), of which there are two versions, both probably written in 1413. In the first, Guarino refers to a contract between him and Niccoli, which the latter has violated, but he does not specify the exact nature of the contract. He also

* Cf. Life secs. 256-259
complains that Niccoli was despoiling him of his "stipulated reward." These references do not imply that Niccoli was Guarino's regular employer. All they show is that the two men were closely associated and that they had drawn up some agreement between them. It seems that Niccoli had coveted certain manuscripts belonging to Guarino and demanded that they be handed over to him, "seeking by right of patronage to return my tiny property to his treasury." Another source of bitterness was Niccoli's habit in company of calling Guarino his "slave" (mancipium). In the second version, Guarino says, rather cuttingly, that it is no wonder that Niccoli does not know he is a free man when he is himself the slave of monstrous vices. My own reading of this is that Niccoli had extended some gratuitous patronage, and also employed Guarino to do some definite work for him, such as copying, which would call for a contract; and that he later used this as a lever to extract some valuable and exciting manuscripts out of him. He obviously had no legal right to them, because when Guarino refused his demand, all he could do was resort to reproaches and insults. We may conclude than Niccoli did employ Guarino, but not necessarily on a permanent basis. There is some further evidence to support this. Zulian remarks, in his funeral speech for Chrysoloras, that it was Poggio, Niccoli and Antonio Corbinelli who invited Guarino to Florence; that is to say, he came on a general invitation, rather than at the specific request of a single man. Further, Vespasiano Bisticci, in his admittedly
sketchy biography of Guarino, says that Corbinelli "wanted above all to learn Latin and Greek and for this purpose took Guarino into his household, with favourable terms." No man can serve two masters, full-time at any rate. Again, the only Florentine who is mentioned by name in Guarino's correspondence from 1410-1412 is Antonio Corbinelli, with the exceptions of Niccolo Avanzati (Letter 8) and Antonio's brother, Angelo, to whom Letter 5 is addressed. It is odd that we hear nothing of Niccoli from 1410-1412, if he was, indeed, Guarino's regular employer or consistent patron. Why, for instance, in Letter 12 does Guarino send Corbinelli's regards to Ognibene Scola, and why does Scola in his reply (Letter 13) say, "Regards to Corbinelli," unless the latter was the most natural man to link with Guarino? It could, of course, be objected that Sola perhaps disliked Niccoli, and was free to send his regards to anyone he wanted. All I should claim is that this piece of evidence is circumstantial, and amounts to something only when taken in with the others. Again, Letter 5 is actually a dedicatory epistle for Guarino's translation of Plutarch's Περί Παιδῶν Ζωής. Antonio had no young family; but Angelo, to whom the translation is dedicated, did have children, whom he was educating at home, like a true son of the Roman republican tradition. What then more natural than to dedicate a work on the education of children to the brother of the man most closely allied to one? If Niccoli had been Guarino's employer, far less his recognized patron, it would have been
extremely ill-advised for Guarino to dedicate a translation of 
this importance to anyone but Niccoli. Finally, Letter 327 
tells us that Antonio Corbinelli and Guarino shared their 
studies, thoughts, food, sleeping accommodation and conversation. 
56. It appears, therefore, that Guarino had no regular employment 
in Florence from 1410-1413, but had periodic associations with 
two Florentines at least--Niccoli and Antonio Corbinelli, and 
that he was much closer to the latter. He had probably gone to 
Florence with vague promises of advancement, but no written 
contract. In after years, he was careful to advise others to 
obtain a contract in writing before setting out for a new locality 
(cf. Letter 12) and this caution may well have stemmed from 
his precarious first three years in Florence. His work must 
have been unsteady, to judge from the variety of dedications he 
made at this period--the "Perl periòdóv ágywys" to Angelo Corbinelli, 
a version of Plutarch's Life of "Flaminius" to Roberto del Rossi 
(Letter 6) and his offer of a "few lives" of Plutarch to "D.," 
an unidentified correspondent. Obviously, he had no regular 
patron or employer, and was looking for one. The dedication 
of a work to someone was a common means of inviting patronage 
or employment; and one cannot believe that Guarino could afford 
to indulge in gratuitous dedications. But his luck was still 
poor, for Letter 12 of 1412 is in very despondent vein; 
everything he does goes wrong; he changes his location but 
ever his luck ("locum, non sortem muto").
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57. The Studium Generale at Florence had been closed since 1404, but it re-opened in 1412, by which time Guarino had established a fair reputation. His scholarship and good nature had won the respect of many leading citizens; which is one reason why Guglielmo della Pigna wrote to him in 1413 (Letter 16) to solicit support in an application for the post of "officialis mercantiae." Among the friendships he made or renewed at Florence were those with Palla Strozzi, Ambrogio Traversari, Biagio Guasconi, Antonio Aretino, Girolamo Barbadora, Roberto dei Rossi, the Buoninsegni, the Corbinelli, and the chancellor, Paolo di Lando di Fortino. Luigi Cattaneo from Verona was "officialis mercantiae" in 1411, and his secretary, Giuliari, was also a fellow countryman of Guarino's. When Pope John XXIII brought the Curia to Florence in the latter half of 1413, Guarino saw all the friends he had made in Bologna, including Bruni, Poggio and Manuel Chrysoloras. The latter had actually been in Florence about April 1411 (Letter 11). During the period 1411-1413, Guarino wrote to scholars in the Curia at Rome, including Chrysoloras, who had accompanied the Pope there in June 1411.** Being a friend of such men, he was the natural

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* Later deposed. His name does not appear on the official list of Popes recognised by the R. C. Church, which is why Giuseppe Roncalli was able to assume the title of John XXIII in 1963

** It was then that Manuel wrote his "Comparison of the Ancient and Modern Rome" (ζώγκρισις τῆς παλατίας καὶ νέις Ρώμης), an essay no doubt intended to increase interest in Constantinople. In Letter 9, he thanks Guarino for his part in spreading the culture of Greece in Italy.
choice for the chair of Greek when the University wanted one. He was appointed about October 1413 "ad legendum graecum" (Documenti di storia italiana VII, Florence, 1881, p. 339). One imagines he was glad to slough off the odious patronage of Niccoli, if such it was. Yet he was to remain in his new position for only one academic year before leaving Florence forever.

58. He had never been happy there. In 1423 (Letter 245) he was to tell his friend, Girolamo Gualdo: "I call God, and his holy angels to witness that hardly a day dawned, while I was in Florence, when I was not harassed by some slanging match or squabble or exchange of words." Doubtless Niccoli's difficult temperament, which we shall shortly discuss, had something to do with it, but the whole city was bedevilled by contentiousness and personalities. These things were almost a way of life to the Florentines, and they actually thrived on it; but Guarino's easy-going nature did not find the atmosphere congenial. Aurispa, later on, felt equally discomfited at Florence, and even said that he would prefer the company of beasts (Letter 346). Guarino may have felt ill at ease in a democracy, whose citizens were given to self-aggrandisement and an eternal posturing as the champions of Italian liberty. As Trineknaus says in the Journal of the History of Ideas, June 1956, p. 431, "Northern Italian humanists remained true to the despotic outlook of their own political environment." Petrarch, one recalls, was censured by his Florentine friends, notably Boccaccio, for his cultivation of "tyrants," but defended himself by claiming that he could find peace to work only under a despot.
Guarino's experience seems to have been similar. His early years had been spent under two despots, Antonia della Scala and Giangaleazzo Visconti. Verona did not become a Venetian protectorate until 1406, and from 1403-1408 Guarino had lived in Imperial Constantinople. At the age of 36, therefore, to be plunged into democracy of the Florentine stamp must have been difficult. There is some little indication that he tried to enter into the spirit of things, but in the end he found Florence alien and suffocating. In after-life, he rejected every attempt to lure him back (See, for example, Letters 121 and 131) and his subsequent career suggests a strong preference for despots, or rather, benevolent despots. Carbone states in the funeral oration what may be a reflection of Guarino's own words: "For Guarino had often read in the poets, orators and all other writers, that the best rule is that of a single man, which the Greeks call a monarchy." Certainly, he seems to have been happiest under Niccolò d'Este and his two successors, Leonello and Borso.

59. Guarino's stay in Florence is, however, very important and it left its mark upon him. One could, indeed, say of Renaissance

* Denys Hay, The Italian Renaissance in its historical background (Camb. U. P. 1961) p. 154, refers to a passage in John of Buda's Dramalologia de eligibili vitae generale which argues that "security, prosperity and efficient government" can be found only under the rule of a single man and not in a commune, and that letters cannot flourish except under a prince. It may be that Guarino imbibed this doctrine from John of Buda, but he would probably have inclined to it, whether he had ever been John's pupil or not.
Florence what Rutilius Namatianus had once said of Rome: "Hospes nemo potest immemor esse tui". It was in Florence that Guarino first came into direct contact with an Italian city whose political thinking and culture were deeply rooted in a veneration for Antiquity. As Dr. Hans Baron has attempted to prove in a series of interesting studies, particularly Political and Humanistic Literature in Florence and Venice and Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance interest in the antique derived its vigour at Florence from the war with Giangaleazzo Visconti. At the turn of the century, Florence had stood alone against his territorial ambitions; and now the Florentines saw themselves as the defenders of liberty, by which they really meant their own independence as a republic. It was the humanists who promoted in their writings the novel idea that Florence was the true heir of the Roman Republican Ideal, and their propaganda set the fashion and provided a genuine inspiration. Giangaleazzo is said to have feared an oration by Coluccio Salutati as much as thirty troops of Florentine cavalry. By 1412 the dangers had abated, but the "civic humanism" which had been engendered so rapidly remained the sovereign inspiration of the day. That Guarino was not unaffected by the current ideas is clearly

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*cf. Novati, Salutati Epist. IV, 2, 514 n,2. The number of horsemen varies in different accounts.*
shown by his praise of Angelo Corbinelli (Letter 5) as a man devoted to civic duty and instinct with a respect for ancient learning and customs. In this Guarino was echoing the idea becoming prevalent in Florence that the ideal citizen should not only study the traditions of the past and so develop his talents to the full, but also put these talents into the service of the state. There could be no justification for pursuing a purely contemplative life divorced from civic responsibility; even one's leisure time should be merely a preparation, a recruitment of one's energies, for the active life of a citizen. Among the ancients, Cicero had been the most eloquent spokesman for this doctrine in such passages as De republica II. 25, 46; Tusc. IV. 23, 51; De officiis I. 6, 19 and I. 21, 70-71.

When Salutati discovered Cicero's letters Ad Familiares in 1392 he became an admirer of Cicero's civic virtues. Then came the war with Milan and with it an upsurge of admiration for the kind of civic responsibility shown by such men as Cicero and Scipio.

60. Guarino had not been in Florence during the vital years 1398-1403 and had spent 1403-1408 in the East. His development as a venerator of Antiquity with all it implied about putting one's talents into public service may therefore have been slower than that of the Florentine humanists. The
change is subtle, but sensible. Whereas in Letter 4 of 1408 he
had called the study of literature "sacri dogmatis... immortale
poculum" ("the immortal chalice of sacred learning") and talked
of the nature of Virtue and Vice, picturing rivers of sweat
pouring round the face of Virtue, all this heavy Mediaeval
symbolism is gone by the time he was writing letters from
Florence. He now looks to the past not merely as a thing to
venerate, for he had always done that, but as a model for the
present and an inspiration for the future. In Letter 10 he
inveighs against the ignorance and self-seeking of modern times,
but is delighted to see in Carlo Malatesta (see notes to this
letter in Summaries) a prince who not only equals the ancients
but may even surpass them. Malatesta is delineated as a hero,
fair of form and vigorous in mind, like one of ancient times, when
ignorance amongst princes was "rarer than the phoenix." In
Letter 6, he praises Roberto dei Rossi for spreading a new
understanding of Aristotle in Italy, and insists on the unique
contribution of Manuel Chrysoloras, who has restored Greek to
the Latins and heralded a new age. He enters with humour and
urbanity into commenting on the political life of Florence
(Letters 8, 19) and shows by his production of a vitriolic
invective against Niccoli that the emotionally charged atmosphere
of Florence made a mark on his impressionable nature.
One cannot leave this matter without some discussion of the character of Niccolo Niccoli, which has always been an enigma. Was he a generous patron of literature, a dedicated scholar and bibliophile, or a selfish sham who was so eager to be thought learned, that he amassed a huge library which was no use to him? Vespasiano Bisticci, a contemporary biographer, and the older writers in general, tend to be benevolent. Sandys' account in his *History of Classical Scholarship* follows the tradition set up by Bisticci. Sabbacini (*Vita di Guarino* sec 43) defends him on the grounds that he advocated a comparison between Latin forms and their Greek equivalents, and the use of epigraphical evidence in establishing orthography and antique grammar and syntax. These ideas may have come from Poggio, of course, but Niccoli seems certainly to have given voice to them. Guarino's invective charges him with asinine stupidity, ignorance of Greek and Latin, bad manners and lust, but we cannot place too much reliance on an attack that grows out of strong resentment. At the age of 40, Guarino could ill brook the sneers of an inferior scholar. Niccoli must have had at least some knowledge; but the charges of bad personal behaviour remain. He seems indeed to have been plagued by petty jealousy, acquisitiveness and personal vices; but he was also capable of generosity and magnanimity. The conflict between the two sides of his nature produced a series of invectives against him (See Letter 17, notes, in *Summaries*). A man who could excite such antipathy could not have been a consistently
pleasant character. On the other hand, Niccoli's relations with Poggio, Traversari and others were always cordial. Poggio's funeral oration on Niccoli answers, point for point, the charges levelled against him in Bruni's *In nebulosam malicecum* of 1424 (Cf. Carl Wotke, "Beiträge zu Leonardo Bruni aus Arezzo", *Wiener Studien* II, 1889, p. 291-308). Apart from Bruni's two invectives, the 29 letters he wrote to Niccoli are affectionate. It was Barbaro who finally reconciled the two in 1426, after failures to do so by Poggio and Traversari (Cf. Sabbadini, "Notizie sulla vita e gli scritti di alcuni dotti umanistici del secolo XV" in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 5, 1885, 170 where he quotes from a letter of Panormita: "audivi ex Francisco Barbaro, cum istac transitum daret, Leonardi Arretinum et Nicolaum nostrum in antiquam amicitiam redisse atque id factum ipsius Barbari opera"). Guarino's resentment was not soothed until 1417 (Letter 75) when he confessed to a lack of grace in himself which had made reconciliation impossible. Even so, he appears to have had reservations about Niccoli's character. In Letter 375, he refers to him as a "man of glass," liable to shatter at any moment. The passage reads: "At enia illa hominis insania et inconstantia, qua perennis amicorum suorum inimicus vel factus est vel futurus est, me tum at compatiendum tum ad ridendum movet. Nunc exspectatur Ambrosius quo iuro quae iniuria me persecutus fuerit aliquando homo ille vitreus: ita enim impatiens et iniquus aliorum insidentes semper favens tangi sine discrimino non potest; omni vel leviusculo tactu
facile constringitur et uno momento pluriorum annorum at beneficiorum memoria calcatur aboleturque." Also in Letter 407, of 1427, he says that while one cannot be friends with such people as Niccoli, one can at least avoid being their enemies. In Letter 594 however he calls Niccoli a patron of the arts and seems to have come to realize that Niccoli contributed something to the Revival of Learning. One can only surmise that Niccoli must have had some loveable qualities, although his general manner was unfortunate.

62. It is perhaps significant that the only time Guarino ever appears to have dabbled in politics, even at a distance, was the year 1412. His natural inclination was to the quiet life, safely remote from the civil contentions and party politics that wrecked the careers of many of his humanistic brethren: but his emotions seem to have been somewhat quickened by the violence and extremism that inevitably exist in a community whose main talking point is politics, and especially when that community has been recently involved in a dramatic bid for liberty. Guarino did not risk partisanship in Florence, indeed it is doubtful if he felt any leanings to any faction. But he seems to have been at least cognisant of a plot that was brewing in Verona to unseat the Venetian overlords and restore Brunoro della Scala. The historical background is important.

63. In 1406, Verona had been absorbed by Venice. Most of the citizens welcomed the protection afforded by a strong maritime republic: but a faction of malcontents wanted to restore
Brunoro della Scala. The latter played his part by persuading King Sigismund of Hungary to invade Venetia in 1411 and 1412. In March 1412, he stirred up a cabal in Verona itself, implicating Ognibene Scola, Luigi Cattaneo and Giovanni Nogarola, all close friends of Guarino. The conspiracy appears to have relied on an emotional appeal for liberty, as we see from a letter of Luigi Cattaneo to Brunoro della Scala of 6th October 1413, in which he inveighs against the "saeva tyrannis" of Venice.

The conspiracy was not discovered until 1413, when Nogarola was beheaded. Letter 15, however, of 12th December 1412, from Scola to Guarino sympathizes with sentiments Guarino had expressed in a letter, now lost, where he deplored the flight and exiles from Verona and its desolation. Scola then goes on to list as the worst feature of the political scene at Verona its occupation "as viris sic cetero italo sanguine dispersus.

This must refer to the Venetians, because the adjective "cetero" rules out the Hungarians. It is strange that Scola should express himself so freely in a letter prior to the uncovering of the plot, unless he knew that Guarino was to be trusted and would not denounce him as a malcontent to the Venetians.

Guarino's close friendship with Scola, Nogarola and Cattaneo is in itself suspicious; but there is another shred of evidence that may indicate that Guarino was thought to have been sympathetic to the aims of the conspirators. In a marginal note by Pier Candido Decembrio on Guarino's oration of 1428 in praise of Carmagnola, then condottiere of Venice, appear these words against a passage praising Venice as a protector of her subjects:
"non eras huius animi, Guarine, quando cum d. Brunoro contra
Veronam militare voluisti." That there was a minimal doubt in
the minds of certain Venetians as to Guarino's loyalty emerges
from Letter 758 of as late as 1440 in which Guarino found it
necessary to protest his goodwill towards Venice. There may
therefore be some substance in the contention that Guarino was
at least sympathetic, if not actually involved in the plot of
Brunoro della Scala. If he was, we must regard it as springing
in part from the ideas of popular liberty that he heard in
Florence. In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that
there is not much to convict Guarino of complicity in the plot,
even from a temporary aberration of judgment and a misplaced
enthusiasm for popular liberty against the so-called "tyranny"
of Venice. Intimacy with conspirators does not prove complicity
in their plots; nor do we know exactly what Guarino said in
the lost letter to Ognibene Scala; and Decembrio's malicious
comment is not likely to have been founded on any good grounds.
He was eager to discredit Guarino in the eyes of the Venetian
government, which has often been called a suspicious and introverted
body, and he would certainly have set forth any real evidence

*Cf. Burekhardt. Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy
(Phaidon trans.) p. 40-43. For the historical background see
Baron, Political and Humanistic Literature in Florence and Venice,
for years 1425-28. In 1425, Venice and Florence had united
against Filippo Maria Visconti, whose pamphleteer was Decembrio.
Guarino's laudation of Carmagnola (1428) extols his conduct at
the Battle of Maclodio, and can be regarded as in essence a
political pamphlet for Venice.
in detail. Finally, if Guarino did support Brunoro della Scala in 1412, we should have to convict him of an appalling duplicity in his general dealings with Venice. Letter 56 is a laudation of Venice as the benevolent protector of her allies and of Christendom, and everywhere in Guarino's letters and orations, references to Venice are explicitly complimentary.

64. My own impression is that he knew something of the plot in Verona, but did not dream of betraying his friends or of becoming personally implicated. He may have expressed general sentiments in private against tyranny, in accordance with the prevalent fashion in Florence, but he did not want to become part of a political embroilment. The case, however, is not indisputably proven in his favour.

65. Guarino's year as lecturer in Greek does not seem to have been remarkable. It is possible that by 1413 the study of Greek was more honoured in the breach than the observance, and attendance at Guarino's lectures may have been disappointingly small. One wonders, for instance, why the University did not appoint a lecturer in Greek for the academic year 1412-1413. The answer may well be that the demand was limited or non-existent.*

Greek was still a "new" subject and the preserve of a handful of enthusiasts, most of whom had already learned Greek from Manuel Chrysoloras. Bruni, for one, probably knew, or thought he knew,

* For some brief but pointed remarks on the general lack of response to Greek in Italy, and some valuable footnotes, cf. D. Hay, Italian Renaissance in its historical background, p. 86-88.
as much as Guarino. The support of Manuel's old pupils could not be relied on when it came actually to sitting in a classroom. At the Universities, Law and Theology were still supreme, and remained so for many years at the expense of what we should now call the Humanities. As Campana has pointed out, the "umanista" on the Faculty of Arts tended to be tolerated as a quaint supernumerary, and his salary was comparatively low. To the average student of the early Renaissance, Greek was almost certainly looked upon as a harmless bagatelle for intellectuals. Whatever the cause, Guarino's year at the University did not produce the spectacular response accorded to Chrysoloras; although he did help one excellent scholar in Toscanella.

66. Towards the end of 1413, Francesco Barbaro came to Florence to visit the very centre of humanism and meet the great scholars of the day. The friendship he struck up with Ambrogio Traversari was particularly cordial; which is not surprising, since Barbaro had a strong religious bent and spent much of his later life in campaigning for the unification of the Greek and Roman Churches. He may also have heard from Guarino that he was dissatisfied with conditions at Florence, and have hoped to persuade him to come to Venice. The two cities were keen competitors for prestige, and when Guarino decided to accept Barbaro's invitation, there was jubilation in the maritime republic. The two men left Florence sometime after 26th February, the date of Letter 20, but probably not before the end of the academic year. They
went first to Bologna to visit the Chrysolorae, who were with the Curia there, and then on to Venice. Guarino describes the journey in one of his Commentarioli (publ. in La Scuola e gli Studi p. 173): "We sailed from Bologna to Venice on the 15th July with ... Manuel Chrysoloras ... After leaving the Po, we skirted the Adriatic coast ... and a few people were sea-sick."

The year must be 1414, because Chrysoloras died in April 1415. Presumably, Manuel was going with his nephew John as far as Venice. It was to be the last time Guarino ever saw him.

The journey from Bologna would have to be made by land as far as Ferrara, as Traversari tells us in a letter of 1433 (Epist. XI, 71): "we moved from Bologna on the 14th of the month, and arrived at Ferrara on the 15th; there we unloaded the pack horses and boarded a ship, since we thought we would take a whole day to arrive at Venice." Incidentally, the Po is no longer navigable at Ferrara, but it was in Guarino's time. At an estimate, Guarino's party would arrive in Venice on the evening of the 16th July.

*Cf. Ella Noyes, The Story of Ferrara (J. M. Dent and Co., London 1904) p. 5, where we are told that in the Twelfth Century a breach took place in the banks at Ficarolo and the water made a new channel called the Rotta di Ficarolo, which became the main stream as we know it today. But the Po di Ferrara continued to be navigable for several centuries.*
67. The Anonymous Panegyrist tells us that Guarino's welcome was tumultuous, "like the return of a general in triumph after the utter rout of a special foe." This is probably an exaggeration, but at least Guarino was assured of a friendly reception by his many friends and admirers in that most beautiful of cities. He lodged in the house of Francesco Barbaro, who boasts of the honour in the prologue to his translation of Plutarch’s Lives of Cato and Aristides, dedicated to his brother Zaccaria: "Guarino Veronensis commune preceptore nostro, quo hospite... prope non minus quam Lucullus Archia et Pompeius Theophras ace Cornelius Ennio gloriamur."

("Guarino of Verona, our common teacher, whose presence as a guest... we boast of just about as much as Lucullus did of Archia, Pompey of Theophanes and Cornelius of Ennius") The translations were produced in 1416, so presumably Guarino was still living as a tutor in Barbaro’s palace in that year. Barbaro, however, must have shared his services with other patricians, for Leonardo Giustinian, Niccolò Leonardo (Letter 52), and Zaccaria Barbaro (Letter 55) all studied Greek under him. The Panegyrist’s claim that he opened a school to which young and old flocked to hear him is perhaps an exaggeration. The fruits of his instruction appeared in 1417, when he sent copies of translations done by Barbaro and Giustinian to Gian Nicola Salerno (Letter 79). From Letter 64, we gather that these were versions of Plutarch’s Lives of Cato and Aristides. In 1416, Giustinian had translated Plutarch’s Cimon and dedicated it to Enrico Lucignano (Letter 58), also the Lucullus and later the Phocion. Francesco Barbaro at this time also wrote a famous Latin work on marriage, the De re uxoria, which Poggio praised in a letter of 31st December 1416 (Letter 61) and which Vergerio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano read at Constance. For all these works Guarino’s influence must be given high credit.
69. Gasparino Barzizza da Bergamo was the first humanist to found a boarding school entirely independent of the universities, although run on university lines and capable of providing advanced instruction. He himself was Chairman or principal teacher, sitting "at the helm", as he described it, and employing a number of assistants. The minor teachers came to be called "repetitores."

Barzizza kept the students in his own house and their fees included food, lodging, and tuition for the academic year. Such a venture, of course, would require considerable organization, and since Barzizza had been operating the system in Padua since 1498, he was no doubt able to help Guarino with practical advice on how to launch a similar enterprise of his own in Venice.

The two men were already intimate by 19th August 1415 (Letter 26) for Barzizza at that time suggests that he visit Guarino and asks him to reserve some manuscripts for him out of a collection recently brought back by Barbaro from Tuscany. In Letter 46, which Sabbadini tentatively dates 1415, we see the same spirit of co-operation and camaraderie. Barzizza sends Guarino a series of "exempla" composed by himself on the basis of Cicero's

This does not necessarily mean that they knew each other in 1408/9. There was plenty of time between G's arrival in Venice in July 1414 and 19th August 1415 for them to begin, or renew, an acquaintance.

Found in Cod. 2006 f. 79 in the Biblioteca Governativa in Lucca, entitled "Eloquentissimi viri Gasparini de Persano exordiorum eius liber in arte oratoria ", also in Codex Aratinus 226 f. 40. As yet they are unpublished.
forensic speeches, because "dum in transferenda historia greca occupatus es, interim adolescentibus qui apud te proficiunt mutuari aliquid ex me voluisti quod studiis eorum procédasset" ("While you were translating Greek history, you wanted to borrow something from me for the young men who are studying with you, that would benefit their work") The translation Guarino was making was certainly that of Herodotus, Book I, for he never translated any other Greek historian. The "young men" referred to as students under Guarino could hardly refer to Barbaro or Giustinian, but were possibly young patricians, whom Barbaro had permitted Guarino to tutor in the Barbari palace. They could, however, have been student-boarders in Guarino's own home: in which case Letter 46 should be dated later than 1415, for as we have seen, Guarino appears to have been still living with the Barbari at least in the early part of 1416. Probably 19th December 1416 is the true dating (cf. Summaries). But whatever the date should be, or whoever the students were, it is clear that Barzizza was prepared to help Guarino in a positive way.

69. Running a contubernium involved many business details, to which Guarino would have to attend himself—buying food, arranging for its cooking, hiring servants, cleaning, and furnishing a house and so on. All of this calls for a considerable capital

* A fragment survives, consisting of Book I, Chapters 1-71, publ. by R. Truffi, "Guarino traduttore di Errodoti" in Studi ital. filol. class. X. 1902, p. 73 sqq. The date of the translation is unknown, so it cannot be used to fix that of Letter 46. Probably G. knew only two books of Herodotus at this time, for Letter 391 suggests that he had not read the complete history.
outlay, especially when the pupils did not pay in advance or were delinquent with their payments. One wonders where Guarino got the money to start up. Perhaps he had saved carefully from the fees he received from the patricians to whom he had been teaching Greek. If so, it is an additional argument that he did not open his school in 1415; but we cannot say just how much money he had at his disposal about this time. There is, however, an interesting legal action, recorded in the Archives of Verona (Ufficio del registro in the Archivio Notarile f. 197, 38) for 1420, which shows what sums were involved in keeping a pupil. Sabbadini published extracts from the act in Epistolario III, p. 50-51; from which it emerges that Bartolomeo Brenzon had been a pupil of Guarino at Venice, to which he had been sent by his father Francesco and his grandfather Niccolò, "to learn the virtues in the house of the most learned gentleman and professor of grammar and rhetoric, Guarino, a citizen of Verona;" and that "the same Guarino gave and spent many golden ducats for his food and clothing and in lending monies to Bartolomeo for books, bought and acquired, that were essential to his studies." The actual sum for which Guarino was dunning the young man was 100 gold ducats. The round figure suggests a standard fee, although it does sound rather high. Perhaps Bartolomeo had run up an unusually high bill; for we note that he needed "extras" such as clothes and books. The richer or more provident students would come supplied with plenty of clothes at least. Probably Guarino's basic fee was 40 ducats, which was the price Barzizza charged. Confirmation of this is Letter 231,1. 37: "nec me aurei
XL movent" ("nor do the 40 gold pieces influence me"), where Guarino is discussing the possibilities of taking a pupil. It was reasonable to expect students to provide their own texts, since manuscripts were still rather expensive; but Guarino was in a better position than most to acquire copies of particular works, especially since he prescribed them, and no doubt he sold them to students. It is tempting to see opportunities for exploitation in such a situation: but there is nothing to indicate that Guarino over played Midas with his pupils. On the contrary, he seems to have been over-indulgent, as with Bartolomeo Brenzon. Letter 231 also shows that he sometimes had difficulty in collecting fees.

70. Generally speaking, the influence of Barzizza on Guarino and Vittorino has been either ignored or insufficiently stressed in histories of education; but the better writers, such as Woodward and Eugenio Garin, are careful to give him high credit for being the first to operate the system of "contubernium." Garin justly praises Guarino for being the first to take the idea over from Barzizza. Nor should we underestimate the enormous impulse Barzizza's studies in Cicero gave, not only to Guarino, but to all serious scholars in Italy. Woodward, in Vittorino da Feltre, p. 10 credits Barzizza with being the first scholar to approach Cicero's works in a thoroughly analytical and comparative way. As long ago as 1873, Henry Hallam observed, in his Introduction to the literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth

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* See in particular E. Garin, *L'educazione in Europa 1400-1600* p. 137-147 on Guarino.
that Barzizza is truly Ciceronian in his style, and that his sentences never end with a wrong arrangement of words, as is habitual with his contemporaries. This seems an over-statement of the case for Barzizza: but at least we can safely say that Barzizza's continual researches in Cicero inaugurated a conception of Ciceronianism in which the model was studied for spirit as well as form.

71. Similarly, the influence of Pier Paolo Vergerio on Guarino, Vittorino and Barzizza himself is sometimes glossed over. Yet there is no doubt that the essay De Ingenuis Moribus, written by Vergerio in 1404, was of fundamental importance. This work calls for a return to the balanced, liberal education of the Greeks, in effect to the \( \gamma k k l o s \pi o a d e i x \), in which mind and body were to be developed in harmony and balance to make a whole man. As far as developing the mind was concerned, a process known to the Greeks as \( \mu o u s i k i \), Vergerio made no real recommendations beyond listing the subjects of the revised curriculum: syntax, dialectic, rhetoric, poetry, music, mathematics, astronomy, natural history, drawing, medicine, law, ethics and theology—a formidable list, and a rather bewildering one. What place, for instance, has theology in a "Greek" system? Or law? The question is not made any easier for the fact that Vergerio does not specify exactly what he means by all of these terms, nor does he offer any suggestions on the order in which they were to be taught or by what methods. If it is a "rapturous" list, to echo Garin, and little more, at any rate Vergerio clearly saw the desirability of a balanced curriculum. Guarino, Barzizza and
Vittorino saw the direction that humanistic education must take, and they interpreted Vergerio's recommendations in their own way. Barzizza and Guarino taught only those subjects in which they were fully competent. Therefore they emphasized the study of ancient writings from a linguistic and literary standpoint. Vittorino, however, adhered more strictly to the list drawn up by Vergerio, although we know that he did not try to teach all the subjects himself. He laid great stress on physical fitness, however, at all times, and was the first humanistic educator to do so. Barzizza seems to have ignored it, and Guarino did not obtain the right conditions to pursue Vergerio's suggestion on this point until he went to Ferrara in 1429. There is every reason to suppose, however, that the importance of physical education and moral welfare had been long before his eyes. It is therefore only fair to give Vergerio almost as much credit for outlining the programme of mental and physical training (Μουσική and γυμναστική) that would lead to a sound moral character ("ingenui mores"), as we give to Guarino and Vittorino for implementing it.

The most notable event of 1415 was the death of Manuel Chrysoloras on the 15th April. Guarino expressed his sorrow in a long letter of consolation to John Chrysoloras (Letter 25, translated in Summaries). In after years, he was to make a cult of the great man's memory in letters, orations and conversation. Vergerio wrote to Niccolò Leonardi suggesting that the honour of writing a formal "commemoratio" of Chrysoloras should go to Guarino; but the latter declined (Letter 27) saying that he was unequal to the task and referring it to Vergerio himself. All
Vergerio produced, however, was a very fine epitaph: "Ante aram situs est dominus Manuel Chrissolora, miles Constantinopolitanus, ex vetusto genere Romanorum, qui cum Constantino imperatore migrarunt: vir doctissimus prudentissimus optimus, qui tempore generalis concilii Constantiensis diem obiit ea estimatatione ut ab omnibus summo sacerdotio dignus haberetur. XVI Kalendas maias conditus est anno Incarnati Verbi MCCCCXV" ("Before the altar is laid the lord Manuel Chrysoloras, a knight of Constantinople, sprung from an ancient family of Romans, who moved there with the Emperor Constantine. A man of surpassing scholarship, wisdom and goodness, he died at the time of the General Council of Constance, in such esteem that he was considered by all fit for the supreme office of priesthood."") He was buried on the 16th of April, in the fourteen hundred and fifteenth year of the Word Made Flesh.")

Guarino sent a copy of this epitaph to Giacomo de Fabris (Letter 54) and, whether by design or accident, substituted the better "Chrysoloras eques" for Vergerio's "Chrissolora miles."

73. Andrea Zulian wrote the funeral speech, which was passed round all Guarino's friends and much admired. Barzizzza praises it highly in a letter to Zulian (Opera ed. Furiettus I, p. 210) and Guarino sent copies of it to friends in Constance and Verona, and took another copy with him on a visit to Verona at the end of 1415. The oration is extant in many manuscripts and was published in the Raccolta di opuscoli of Calogera, XXV, p. 235 ff.

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X.

He means the Papacy. One cannot help speculating whether Chrysoloras had hoped one day to achieve this office, when he submitted to the Latin rite. Vergerio's epitaph suggests that some people thought of him as a possible candidate. If he had been elected, the results might have been far-reaching.
The lack of some really worthwhile memorial to Chrysoloras, however, weighed upon his pupils' consciences for many years. In June 1455 (Letter 893) Poggio wrote to Guarino: "As to your writing that you heard I had written a laudation of the late most brilliant and learned gentleman, Manuel Chrysoloras, I wish it were true." Guarino, however, did make some reparation in the form of a collection of works in praise of Chrysoloras, which he edited and disseminated under the title of Chrysolorina. This included the funeral oration by Zulian and Letters 7, 25, 27, 49, 54, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 892 and 893 of the Guarinian corpus. Two letters may be missing, that of his son, Niccolo, to which 862 was the reply, and one by Gregorio Guarino. In addition there were two short notes by Guarino recording minor events relating to Chrysoloras.* The entire collection was previously found in a series of manuscripts now lost (see Epistolario III, p. 460); but if even what we have left of the Chrysolorina were again to be published as a collection, with an introduction and notes, it would make an interesting study.

The period at Venice is marked by a vigorous correspondence with friends new and old. It was natural that Guarino should write to the scholars in Padua, with whom he had already been in touch from Florence. Prominent amongst these was Girolamo Gualdo of Vicenza, to whom Guarino sent his own work, such as the essay on the Venetian victory at Gallipoli (Letter 56), and also

* One was published by Sabbadini in La Scuola e gli studi p. 173,
samples of the work of friends, such as Poggio's funeral speech for Cardinal Zabarella. With Gualdo he also exchanged manuscripts and sent letters and translations by Francesco Barbaro for approval. Others were the lively Giannino Corradini, a pupil of Barzizza's, with whom Guarino corresponded in jocular vein (Letters 30, 31), Pietro Tommasi and Barzizza himself. The latter mentions a trip Guarino had proposed making to Padua (Letter 26). It is likely that the two men visited each other quite frequently, for the distance between Padua and Venice is about 19 miles, involving a short boat trip over the lagoon now spanned by a long causeway between Mestre and the Piazzale Roma, and then a land journey of a few miles. Guarino probably met all of Barzizza's pupils, notably Vittorino da Feltre, Francesco Filelfo, and George of Trebizond. Vittorino came to study under him at Venice in 1416 and 1417; and we know from Letter 707 that George of Trebizond studied under him for a spell in 1417.

76. Guarino did not forget his friends at Constance (Letter 33) and Verona; but most important were his contacts with Ugo Mazzolato and Giacomo Zilioli of Ferrara. The former was chancellor of Marquis Niccolo d'Este III, and Zilioli was "referendarius," the high official through whom had to pass all petitions and other important business before going to the Marquis. Probably he met these men during one of their many visits on official business to Venice. They would certainly be present at the celebrations of April 1415, in the honour of the new Doge, Tomasso Mocinego. Letters 39-42, 44 and 45, are to Mazzolato, and Letter 80 to Zilioli mentions him. The correspondence with Ferrara
seems to have flourished until October 1417 and then lapsed; but the good relations Guarino had established with two of the most powerful men at the Este court were to lead eventually to his settling there in 1429. There can be little doubt that Barzizza promoted Guarino's glory at Ferrara, for he had visited the city in 1411 and 1412 and was much respected there; but it was Guarino's own warm personality and assiduous correspondence that maintained the good impression he had made. In Letter 43, he thanks the Ferrarese lawyer, Niccolò Pirondolo, for spreading his praises, and encourages him to take up a serious study of Greek on the grounds that it is indispensable to a proper knowledge of Latin. Interestingly, he reports a saying of Chrysoloras that learned men began to die out in Italy when the study of Greek languished. Another Ferrarese esteemed by Guarino was Bartolomeo dei Mainenti, who is mentioned in Letter 34. This letter, incidentally, is interesting for an insight into Guarino's method of teaching Greek (See Guarino and humanistic education) and for a slur on the Latin style of Pietro da Muglio, a fine scholar of the previous century. Such barbs aimed at the pre-humanists would have their effect in Ferrara, which was still rather behind the times. G. Bertoni has shown that there were men of some intellectual stature in Ferrara before the arrival of Guarino; but they were not abreast of all the latest developments in humanistic scholarship. Guarino, according to Bertoni, acted as some kind of intellectual catalyst after he arrived there in 1429. It does seem, however, that the process had
begun some years earlier, by means of Guarino's own correspondence, and travellers like Francesco Bracco, who moved between Venice and Ferrara. Ugo Mazzolato, for instance, received from Guarino copies of Andrea Zulian's funeral oration, two letters in praise of Chrysoloras (25 and 27), and an offer to emend a Ferrarese manuscript of Valerius Maximus (Letter 34). In Letter 34, Guarino tries to explain the meaning of the Greek word ἀθήνηνηνωτα, which, he says, seems to mean "monuments," but doubts whether it is authentic Greek. Apparently he was unaware of its meaning "explanatory notes" (see L. S. J. under ἀθήνηνηνωτα, II. 5. c) which is probably the meaning that Mazzolato wanted. This does show, however, that Greek was beginning to be studied in Ferrara.

In 1416 one of the many plagues that infested Mediaeval and Renaissance Europe caused Guarino to retire to Verona, described by Carbone as a very healthy city on account of the nearness of the mountains. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores XXII c. 901, 910 records that a plague was rampant in August 1416 at Venice. Guarino's last letter (50) from the city is dated 15th May. It congratulates Gian Nicola Salerno on his appointment as podestà of Mantua, but says nothing of the plague, which must therefore have struck with characteristic suddenness.

between 15th May and 27th June, the date of Letter 52, written from Padua. We know that Guarino went first to Verona, because the letter opens with the words "Coming here recently from my native parts" ("Nuper ex patria mea huc veniens"). From part of a letter of Pietro del Monte to Traversari (publ. A. Zanolfi, "Pietro del Monte" in Archivio storico Lombard. XXXIV. 1907. p. 321)
we gather that some of Guarino's pupils went with him to Verona:

"When I was a young fellow, in fact almost a boy, and ... working in my native parts on Latin ... my father wanted me to have a knowledge of Greek also ... So I was handed over to Guarino of Verona, an excellent gentleman and as highly skilled in Greek as in Latin, who at that time was giving intensive instruction to well-born young men at Venice ... Then suddenly a pestilence began to vex our city; so while everyone was looking out for his own safety, it was necessary to interrupt studies. Our teacher moved to Verona and several students followed him." Sabbadini thinks these students were natives of Verona, but they are just as likely to have been Venetians. One surmises that little, if any, school teaching was done at Verona. Guarino refers in Letter 54 to a laudation of Chrysoloras he read before a large audience at Verona—probably Zulian's oration; and he probably took advantage of the leisure to compose the Turcomachia (Letter 56) which was despatched to Poggio on 4th July. The short visit to Verona saw a renewal of friendship with Aleardo Gaforino, a politician domiciled in the city (62), with Gian Nicola Salerno (51, 63) then podestà at Mantua, with Bartolomeo Recalco (68) and with Hazo dei Mazi (78, 79), who was to act as his lawyer in 1418.

78. The period at Padua, from about the beginning of July to the end of 1416 merits some discussion. It was a barren time scholastically for he had no pupils and few books. It emerges from Letter 56A,

* It was a response to Poggio's letter to Bruni on the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague publ. by Garin, Prosatori Latini del Quattrocento and Tonelli, Poggii Epist. I p. 11.
to Leonardo Giustinian *, that he had left his house in something
of a hurry and had left some of his books behind. This important
letter, incidentally, dated 1st August 1416, indicates that
Guarino had by this time leased a house of his own. Probably
he left the Barbari palace early in the year and opened his
own "contubernium."

79. Even more significant is Letter 59, written about December;
for it shows that Guarino was restless and depressed, although
not altogether devoid of humour and hope. It also gives some
clue as to his financial state and a unique glimpse into his
sexual life.

He complains that his wanderings have made his mind lazy, for
he has no facilities for study. ** He is turning gray and
has no savings: "iam circums tempora cani pullulant nec ullam
iacet in scrinio depositum, futurum adventanti senectuti praesidium"
("the gray hairs are already growing in profusion around my
temples, and there is nothing put by in the money-box as a
safeguard against my coming old age"). It must indeed have been
dispiriting at the age of forty-two to be still comparatively
unsettled, perpetually pressed for money and without even the

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* See notes to 56A in Summaries.

** One wonders, however, why he could not have made use of
Barzizza's house, a courtesy which we cannot doubt would have
been extended had it been seriously wanted. I suspect that Guarino's
complaint was what we should call a "rationalization" of his own
lack of interest in work at this time.
comfort of matrimony.

He seems, however, to have remained unwed by choice. In Letter 59 he says: "Some people came to me, and after beating about the bush for some time said they would like to ally me to them by the chain of matrimony. I answered that as yet I had no plans for marriage. They requested me, however, to take time and think it over -- as though there were any question about this matter. I abhor wives, except those whom other people feed -- I'll use them! One spouse have I, from whom I have long been seeking a divorce, but neither violence nor art can bring it about. Who is she? Poverty!" He goes on to describe the blandishments of the local whores in Padua: "Adest puellarum numerus, haud hercle malus; non indoctae sunt. Nam cum veneris certamen, ineundum est, quid tibi praeludia dicam. risus molliculos, lascivos ocellos, mellita oscula, suavia labella? salientem ex ore linguam ceu mutilatae cauda, colubrae? Cum vero serio tractandum est locus, nihil supra dulces emergunt genitus, internae signa. urgetur calcaribus, et ud ad summam rei explicom, nulla
He seems therefore to have been visiting the flesh pots of Padua. But even if the congress so described was purely imaginary, it shows how much he was absorbed at this time by thoughts of amorous dalliance. This was probably only a means of escape from the depression which was weighing him down, because he was not a man who normally delighted in mere salaciousness.

In Letter 108 to Cristoforo Scarpa, however, there is a curious passage, in which Guarino indulges in a series of puns:

"non cocti sed compti potius elluo sum, nec bonos pullos sed bonos—nolo palam efferre; tu me intelligis." There is a dash in the MSS. after the second "bonos", where "puellos" seems to be expected. There is, however, no need to impute pederasty to Guarino. The joke

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*The whole passage closely echoes an unpublished poem by Giacomo da Cremona in MS. 100,42, f. 233r in the Cathedral Library of Toledo. S. Prete in Studi e testi 230 (1964) p. 51-52, n. 113 attempts to identify the author of the poem with either Jacobus de Sancto Cassiano or Jacobus Putheus. The fact that Guarino knew the poem by 1416 provides a terminus ante quem for its composition and may help in the future identification of its author.*
may simply be that Guarino wanted more good little boys to teach, that is to say, their fees. It seems necessary to stress this more salubrious interpretation, for even in the Renaissance there were many eager lips ready to accuse schoolmasters, especially unmarried ones, of treading a strange path. For example, there is a passage from Ariosto's first version of his *Satires* VI. 25-27* where the poet asks Pietro Bembo to send him a man of learning and sound morals to teach his son, because:

"Pochi sono grammatici e humanisti
Senza il peccato per cui Sabaot
Fece Gomorra e i suoi vicini tristi"

There is no good ground, apart from the curious passage in Letter 108 and Guarino's misplaced praise of Panormita's *Hermaphroditus*, for connecting him with homosexuality. Indeed, his obvious taste for women and the fact that he sired thirteen children, point to his having been a very active heterosexual. 80. It is not surprising that he complains of "inopia"; for the initial expenses of launching a boarding school must have been considerable, and the departure of his pupils, with the onset of plague, would have been a severe financial blow. In Letter 55, he asks Zaccaria Barbaro to dun Vittorino da Feltre for some

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*PUBL. BY CAMPANA IN "ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'HUMANIST'", JOURN. WARBURG AND COURTALD INST. VOL 9. (1946) AND ALLUDED TO, IN ARIOSTO'S REVISED FORM, BY SABBADINI, IL METODO DEGLI UMANISTI P. 1.*
outstanding debt, almost certainly foes. "Explain the causes and my straitened circumstances to him," he says apologetically. "Were they not upon me, I should certainly not be troubling him."

So hard, indeed, did he find it to make ends meet, that he appears to have thought of abandoning the contubernium experiment. The evidence is in Letter 59, but it is very obscure. The addressee of the letter seems to have been planning some kind of literary enterprise to take effect as soon as the plague had abated.

Four men are involved, Guarino, the addressee of the letter, Leonardo Giustinian, and one "Bindo"--the "fourth wheel" of a metaphorical chariot. Giustinian was a patrician and politician, and "Bindo" apparently a pretentious, but well meaning amateur scholar. Guarino's hopes that what they had decided will be implemented ("ad peragenda quae decrevisimus") suggest some definite plan, which may or may not have been the setting up of an academy of sorts, or the nucleus of a university in Venice. These are simply guesses, unsupported by any other evidence. Perhaps all Guarino means is that he and the three others can be relied on to raise the cultural tone of the city.

81. Guarino returned to Venice towards the end of 1416 or the beginning of 1417, for Letter 63 is dated from Venice, 2nd February

If so, it gives the lie to often-repeated story that Guarino taught Greek to Vittorino in exchange for tuition in Latin. It first appears in Platina's Commentariolus de vita Victorini Feltrensis (ed. T. A. Vairani in Crémonensium Monumanta Romae extantia, Rome, 1778)

May be either Giovanni Quirino or Cristoforo Scarpa.
1417. The rest of 1417 was spent in the work-a-day routine of teaching, enlivened by visits to Padua (65) and a vigorous correspondence with Gualdo, Zilioli (80) and the Florentines who had been dispersed throughout Northern Italy because of plague in their native city—Traversari (77, 82), Poggio (83, 86), Niccoli (85, 93, 94), Angelo Corbinelli (91, 101, 109) and his brother Antonio (88, 89, 90), Domenico Leonardi (92, 100) and Gerardo Barbardoro (99). This correspondence had revived because of the presence in Florence of Guarino's friends Galesio, Salerno and Paolo dei Paolini. It flourished on into the next year. Notable amongst the letters of this period is 83, to Poggio, who had unearthed a second manuscript of Quintilian in the summer of 1417 (Cf. also Letter 77). Guarino had heard it was a superior manuscript and his anxiety to obtain a copy of it is understandable, for Quintilian was a fundamental book on educational method, and his own copy of the *De Institutione Oratoria* was corrupt and incomplete. Worth mention, too, are letters 99-103, all references for Filippo di Cipro who had applied for the post of "Judge of Merchandise" at Florence. Each is written to a different man and Guarino varies his approach accordingly. All are dated 13th January; and if they really were all composed on the same day, it is another indication of Guarino's tact, assiduousness, energy and versatility in Latin prose.

82. By 2nd January 1418 (Letter 94) there are again signs of despondency. It is true that he had been doing good work in Venice, and was making money; but there is a note of resignation
and disappointment in his words to Niccoli: "Ego itaque contractis velis in portu consideo, lego studeo, nec sine lucro." ("So I have pulled in my sails and am sitting in the harbour; I read and study, not without profit"). He complains that his hopes and expectations have not borne fruit: "De me quid deliberem non habeo, mi Nicolae; adeo in angustum redactae mihi sunt rationes et pristinae cogitationes." ("I do not know what decision I am to make about myself, Niccolò my friend; into such straits have all my calculations and original ideas come"). These are the words of a confused and disappointed man. On the 17th January (Letter 89) he wrote listlessly to Antonio Corbinelli: "Hic ego domum conduxi: doceo nonnullos et, ut aiunt, aetatem transeo," ("I have leased a house here: I teach a few students and, as they say, pass away my time."). The causes of this dispiritment will bear some examination.

83. For long he had been forced to lead a nomad existence; and in middle age had not yet achieved the full measure of "fama" for which he had striven so hard, far less the financial rewards for which his undoubted excellence seemed to qualify him. Besides, there is some reason to believe that even by 1417, he had not yet reconciled himself to a life of teaching. The reputation he later attained in this field and his posthumous fame as an educator incline us to think of him as having envisioned this role for himself from the beginning: yet it was probably circum-
stances more than a vocation which made him drift into it.
After returning to Italy he had neglected the obvious course of opening a school in Verona, and made his way to Bologna, pretty clearly in the hope of entering the Papal service. But the Curia was over-staffed and in a somewhat confused state in 1410, and he had been sent by Bruni to Florence on what must, in retrospect, have seemed a wild goose chase. At Florence, and later at Venice, he had taken what opportunities lay open to his talents; and it so happened that these had lain in tutoring others in Greek. His experience of teaching, however, was that it is a thankless and unglamorous existence, the rewards of which are slender and recognition slow. By 1427, however, he had somewhat changed his mind, perhaps because by then he was reasonably secure and successful. He warns his favourite pupil, Martino Rizzon of the dangers of forsaking a lowly, but steady occupation like teaching for the doubtful glories of a more spectacular profession: "... since you do not intend to spend your life in this business of teaching, there ought to be a ship in the harbour to sail off into another way of life... For the prestige of medicine and law is certainly considerable and a means by which men may advance themselves; but they demand a long period of study. Moreover, the financial returns are rare, the fees are small and the fruits uncertain." By contrast, he goes on to recommend a career in the Roman curia: "commodissima et fructuosa scriptoría apostolica forot, qua te facile tolleres humo" ("An apostolic secretaryship would be most advantageous and fruitful. Thereby you would easily lift yourself from the common soil") -- showing that he still inclined to think of an Apostolic secretaryship as the culmination of a
scholar's desire. It is certainly true of Guarino that by 1417 he was neither as rich nor as famous as he might have been had he become, for example, as Apostolic secretary.

84. He had not, however, abandoned the notion of securing a post which would advance him rapidly; for in 1417, he had plans for entering the Curia, either as a servant of the Pope or as secretary to one of his cardinals. It is uncertain exactly when he applied, or what post he wanted. Probably the election of the pro-humanist Pope Martin V on 11th November emboldened him to seek entry into the Curia, and the time of application probably coincided with that of his pupil, Francesco Bracco, for whom he wrote two references (Letters 86, 87) on the day of Martin's elevation. Many of the established members of the Curia had departed; for Loschi had returned to Vicenza in 1415 and Bruni had returned for good to Florence after the deposition of John XXIII. Yet we learn from a letter of Poggio to Francesco Barbaro that no place could be found in the Curia for either Guarino or Francesco Bracco. The date of this letter is around December 1417, for it alludes to the recent death of Cardinal Zabarella (17th September): "obit ille qui doctorum omnium erat asylum." Guarino had certainly had news of his rejection by

* Barzizza himself had gone to Constance to await the election of new Pope and to solicit employment in the reconstituted Curia.

** Publ. by Clark in Classical Review XIII (1899) p. 119-130.
2nd January 1418, for he wrote to Niccoli, in Letter 94, that he
had no more hope of entering the Papal service—
hence his mood of dejection. In Letter 89 of 17th January he
told Antonio Corbinelli: "de romana curia actum est." ("It is
all up with the Roman curia")

85. If it was the post of Apostolic secretary he desired, it is
strange that the Pope could find no employment for him. With
Bruni gone, the Curia needed a consummate Greek scholar. But
it was a confused time, and Guarino's one remaining friend of
note in the Papal Secretariat, Poggio Bracciolini, had served
under the anti-pope John XXIII and could not have had much
influence with the new Pope. Moreover, the interest in diplomatic
relations with the East to end the Schism had taken a very
secondary place during the struggle for power at Constance.
Finally, only a very few discerning scholars really understood
the value of Greek. Some even doubted whether it had any use
at all. It seems that Martin V, despite his humanistic
leanings, was not sufficiently interested in the services of the
foremost Greek scholar in Italy to employ his as a Secretary.
86. It seems, however, that Guarino had a stroke of ill luck; for
his chances of success were tied up with some man who died at a
very inconvenient time. In Letter 94, Guarino attributes the
failure of his hopes and calculations to the "envy of death":

* Lorenzo Monaco, for example, wrote to Barbaro attacking
the value of Greek studies. Barbaro replied with a spirited
defence, singling out Bruni and Guarino as moderns whose life and
reputation had been enhanced by the skill in Greek. Guarino
sent a copy of Barbaro's apology to Gualdo (Letter 63 ).
"hoc inprimis fecit detestanda morbis invidia." Possibly his supporter had been Cardinal Zabarella, the "refuge of all scholars." Sabbadini, in the *Epistolario* Vol. III, p. 74, finds support for this in a letter of Barzizza addressed without doubt to some cardinal. The relevant extracts are as follows: "Your kinsman Giacomo, my most reverend Lord and Father, recently met me and explained your Eminence's wishes. He told me that he had received instructions from you to the effect that I was to give him as a secretary any good scholar I had, with whom you could share your duties... But I have talked a great deal on this matter with Guarino of Verona, whom I understand to be very well disposed to your Eminence (tui dignitatis amantissimum). Since he is the best scholar in Latin and Greek that I have known in this generation, and endowed, moreover, with such loyalty and humanity, that in my opinion there is no-one to whom you could better and more fittingly entrust your most important business... If he can obtain from certain patrician youths a remission of his contract with them to teach Greek and the good arts—he is still in honour bound by it—he has confirmed that there is nothing he would more gladly or eagerly do than obey your wishes." The date of this letter in the manuscript, however, is 1418, by which time Zabarella was dead. Therefore, unless the date 1418 is wrong in the manuscript, Barzizza was not writing to Zabarella, but to another cardinal. This in turn means that sometime in 1418...
Guarino made yet another attempt to move out of teaching, this time quite definitely to be confidential secretary to a cardinal. We must conclude that he was not appointed because he was unable to obtain a release from his contract with the patrician youths mentioned in Barzizza's letter.

87. Another sign of restlessness appears in Letter 115, of 7th July, 1418, in which Guarino tells Cristoforo Scarpa that he would like to return to Verona and set up a school in partnership with him. It is little more than a day-dream, for Scarpa had already been hired by Niccolo Zorzi, podesta of Verona, to tutor his sons, Pietro and Fantino. At this time, there are signs that he was finding the contubernium at Venice rather difficult to run. John of Pannonia's description of the overflowing classroom and Guarino's own remark, "vellem non tantam habere familiam" (Letter 116, Sept. 1418) are often quoted to show how popular Guarino's lectures were: but surely the significance of Guarino's remark is that it is a cry of discomfort. The task of catering for all the needs of his many pupils cannot have been easy for a single man.

Sylva Panegyrica 1. 321: 
"Atria nec capiunt studiosas ampla catervas"
and 339-41:
"Omnis conditio, sexus simul omnis et actas Accelerant, plebi stipatur curia, mixti Primaevis cani, maribus sedere puellae"
These lines seem to refer to the period in Venice; but we should remember that the description would be coloured by John's recollection of conditions in the 1450's, when he was Guarino's student at Ferrara.
It should not, therefore, surprise us that he acquiesced so easily to the wishes of his mother and relatives that he return to Verona and settle down with a wife. The sexual dalliances of 1417 at Padua were his Indian summer of bachelorhood and the frustrations of both 1417 and 1418 had probably disposed him to settle. Letter 120 of 15th October recounts, in a rather amusing way, how he went on a visit to Verona and was swooped upon by his relatives, and especially his "suavissima genetrix," who demanded that he get married. The bride had already been picked and neither she nor Guarino seem to have had any say in the matter. Clearly, it was to be a marriage of convenience uniting the dei Guarini with the Zendrati and perpetuating the ties which already existed between the two families. Guarino's letters to Mazo dei Mazi, the lawyer who handled the arrangements for the wedding, show that he was not so much eager for the match as prepared to yield to pressure to contract it. No doubt, however, the prospect of a dowry and the advantages of having a wife to assist in the running of the boarding school would weigh heavily with Guarino in favour of marriage. He retired to Venice, leaving Mazo dei Mazi to make all the final arrangements, such as drawing up the contract (Letter 122) and appointing a steward for the villa at Val Policella, which was to be part of the dowry (Letter 127). There is no evidence that he had so far even seen the bride to be, Tadea Zendrata, but it is hard to imagine that he had not. She was certainly younger than Guarino, for she was to bear him thirteen children, but of her physical attractions we know nothing. Nevertheless, it is worth
noting that as the weeks went by, Guarino became increasingly enamoured of matrimony as an institution. By 22nd November (Letter 125) he emerges as a champion of wedlock. His bachelor friend, Antonio Corbinelli, had claimed that marriage is an impediment to philosophers, citing in support Theophrastus' Tract on Marriage* and repeating the charges commonly levelled in the Middle Ages against the fair sex. Indeed, from the times of the early Christian writers—and even before them—there was a tendency amongst certain contemplatives to exalt physical chastity even at the expense of honourable wedlock, on the grounds that virginity is the most meritorious state in the eyes of God: women were by nature temptresses capable of distracting philosophers and religious men from their lives of serene contemplation. Guarino, however, displays a sensible modern spirit in urging on Corbinelli the glory of lawful wedlock, and in pointing out that it is only the vices of men that prevent them from being philosophers.

* Theophrastus' so called Tractatus de nuptiis was transmitted in summary by Jerome's Adversus Jovinianum l, 47, a widely-known work in the Middle Ages. (Cf. L. Valmagi; Lo Spirito anti-femminile nel medio evo, Torino, 1890, p. 7-8). Jerome's text was published by E. Bickel, Diatribe in Senecae philosophi fragmenta (Teubner 1915) p. 382-94. Jerome had founded the Mediaeval conception of Cicero as a monastic scholar and despiser of marriage by attributing to Cicero the remark that one cannot devote himself to a wife and philosophy at the same time ("non posse se uxori et philosophiae pariter operam dare"). Cf. Ad. Jovin. Bk. 1 c. 47-48 (Migne P. L. 23, 276 ff.). For a good discussion of the Christian attitude towards beauty and love in general see H. O. Taylor, The Emergence of Christian Culture in the West (Harper, N. Y., 1958) p. 123-135. Marchette Chute, Geoffrey Chaucer of England (1963) p. 52, also has a few apposite remarks.
89. The ceremony took place on the 27th December, 1418. Cittadella dates it wrongly in 1419, since he did not calculate it "a nativitate": but he published the actual marriage contract in I Guarini p. 25-27, together with two subsidiary documents of 17th October and 5th November 1418, relating to the dowry. The most valuable acquisition Guarino made was a fine villa in the nearby Val Policella, with the adjoining land. Guarino came to love this retreat, which he called his "paradise." It is vividly described in Letter 143. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Val Policella still produces a good wine, which I enjoyed in trips to Italy in 1958 and 1964. Guarino's marriage to Tadea Zendrata, the presence of many friends and relatives at Verona and the need to supervise his newly-acquired property determined him to leave Venice. After the wedding, he returned to Venice to clear up some business details before moving finally to Verona in early 1419.

90. Despite the cares that bedevilled his five years in Venice, he did brilliant work there. Under his guidance, Barbaro, Giustinian and Andrea Zulian made great strides. Barbaro produced the De re uxoria and versions of Plutarch's Lives of Aristides and Cato; also a funeral oration on Giannino Corradini and a laudation of Perugio Giudaloti on the occasion of the latter's graduation from the University of Padua. Zulian's funeral speech on Chrysoloras was a widely-disseminated document. Giustinian translated Plutarch's Life of Cimon so well that Guarino (Letter 58) said it sounded like an original composition.*

* It was published in 1470.
From Giustinian also came Plutarch's *Lucullus* in 1416, and the *Phocion* soon afterwards. In 1418, he wrote a funeral oration on Carlo Zeno. Guarino made sure that his students' work received ample publicity. The *De re uxoria* was sent with Francesco Bracco to Ferrara and the translations by Barbaro and Giustinian went to Ambrogio Traversari at Florence and to Girolamo Gualdo at Padua. The *Cimon* and *Aristides* went to Gian Nicola Salerno at Verona. In distributing his pupils' work, Guarino enhanced both their reputation and his own. Like most humanists, he was acutely aware of the advantages of advertising. Indeed, he was sometimes a little pressing. For example, in Letter 33 he tells Zulian that he has chanced upon a speech composed by that pupil for delivery at his uncle's funeral. But Paolo Zulian's will expressly forbade the delivery of a laudation, and his nephew Andrea had honoured his wishes. Yet Guarino thinks fit to over-ride the will and declares that the speech should be published, because, as he says, "I swear I could never be made to believe that it is the mark of a great soul to despise fame and glory, to spurn the praise of famous men and be unmoved by tributes paid to one's name, especially in view of the custom of the fierce and brave Spartans, who despaired of the lives of their young men, if they saw that they were but little excited by the sweets of glory." In this passage, as so often elsewhere,
Guarino gives expression to that passion for fame so characteristic of the Renaissance. He is unabashed in his belief that excellence, particularly literary excellence, should receive wide acclaim.

In Letter 40, for example, he specifically urges Ugo Mazzolato to praise him, since it is the "duty of a friend" to do so.

91. Before Guarino left Venice, he had not only rendered a fine service to the cause of education by grooming so many humanists and by showing that the system of "contubernium" could be run efficiently, but he had also established an impressive record in the field of pure scholarship. Letter 47, of 5th February 1416, includes a list of his translations to date: "The Calumnia of Lucian, a short work, granted, upon which I served by apprenticeship; from Plutarch, the lives of Flaminio, Marcellus, Alexander and Caesar, and Coriolanus; another work On the education of children (an elegant piece in my opinion); and after these, I translated the Comparison between Brutus and Dion of Syracuse." This list omits the early version of pseudo-Isocrates' Ad Demonicum probably because he had wished his authorship suppressed at the time it was made (Letter 2). In 1417 (Letter 66) he translated Plutarch's Themistocles and dedicated it to the venerable Carlo Zeno, who died on the 8th March of the following year.

Probably in the same year, he made his abridgement of the Erotemata of Chrysoloras, for on the 12th January of 1418 (Letter 95)

* The list appears to be chronological. For the translation of the περὶ παιδιῶν ἀγωγῆς, see Letter 5; for Flaminio, Letter 6; for Dion, Letter 21. The other versions are extant in manuscript, but the exact dates of their production, with the exception of Themistocles, are unknown.
he made a gift of a Greek grammar of that name to Niccolò Pirondolo, whether Chrysoloras' work or Guarino's simplified version is not clear. Later, as a letter of Pier Candido Decembrio tells us, Guarino revised his abridgement and added to the rules: "Scio Guarinum eiusque sequaces amplioribus uti regulis." Chrysoloras' grammar was useful as a beginning book, although comparatively jejune in its material and a trifle clumsy because of its method of proceeding by question and answer. It is not therefore surprising that Guarino, whose aim was ever simplification, should attempt to improve on Chrysoloras; nor that Filelfo later felt it necessary to expand the material (Klette, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur 1890,III p. 24). Letter 95 also lists Plutarch's Phocion, Eumenes, Pelopidas and Philopoemen as versions by Guarino, so we may assume that these additional lives were translated between February 1416 and January 1418. At the end of Letter 98, of 19th January 1418 there is a passing mention of "those rules," which he proposes to send to Cristoforo Scarpa. The off-hand reference suggests that Girolamo Gualdo, to whom the letter is written, was already quite familiar with this work, none other than the famous Regulae, a Latin grammar compiled by Guarino. It was not original in method or nomenclature, for it owes much to Priscian; but at least it aimed at clarity and simplicity. Entirely pragmatic, it eschews all attempt to connect grammar with logic, and therefore marks a clean break with the mediaeval habit of seeing logical patterns in the inflexions of nouns and verbs, rather than the result of
usage, which is often far from rational in the matter of language. It was admirably suited to become a standard text book of the New Learning. Its first printing was by Giovanni Biffi in 1484. In his teaching, Guarino's aim was simplicity of exposition. In Letter 197 he condemns those who confuse their pupils with a plethora of unnecessary material.

92. To this list should be added the treatise on the diphthongs, composed as early as 1415 or thereabouts (Letter 29) a lexicon of Servius (cf. Letter 181 and note), the hitherto-unknown version of Isocrates' Ἐγκώμιον Ἐλένης, speeches, and a large number of letters. By means of the latter, Guarino maintained the closest contact with the leading scholars in the North of Italy. Indeed, Sabbadini goes so far in his Vita di Guarino sec. 90 as to suggest that he held together the scholars of Constance, Padua and Florence. This is perhaps an exaggeration; but at any rate, Guarino was one of the most interested parties in the exciting new discoveries of manuscripts that were being made at this time. Although it is becoming fashionable in certain quarters of Renaissance scholarship to minimize the importance of the "discoveries" made by Poggio and others, one has but to read the correspondence of the humanists concerned in them to feel the intense excitement they aroused at the time. It is

The contents of this work, and Guarino's teaching methods are more fully discussed in Guarino and humanistic education. For Sabbadini's discussion of the Regulac, see La Scuola e gli Studi p. 39-47 and Studi ital. filol. class. XIV, p. 113-25.

Similarly, it is also fashionable to minimize the importance of the classics in the Renaissance—a view attacked by e.g. Bush, Classical Influences in Renaissance Literature (Harvard U. P. 1952).
true that the search for better manuscripts of authors already known, and for works that had for centuries been only honoured names, was only one manifestation of a wider intellectual movement: but the early Italian Renaissance was nothing if not an awakening of interest in antiquity for its own sake; and consequently, scholars wanted accurate texts as an aid to direct, first-hand study of the classics. The discoveries, therefore, were paramount in stimulating and propagating humanism; for they were its very life-blood. It matters little that some of the authors "discovered" had already been known for centuries, and that others were the works of minor authors. The point is that scholars were being regaled with a steady stream of matter for argument and editing. Without the discoveries, and the enthusiasm of the few men who made them, humanism might have proved abortive. For example, there had been a copy of Nonius Marcellus at Padua as early as 1407, but no wide interest was aroused in this author until another manuscript of the work was found at Paris in the latter half of 1415. In 1416 and 1417 the searches of Poggio, Rustici and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano at St. Gall aroused the world of scholars to a pitch of enthusiastic anticipation that is difficult for us to imagine. When da Montepulciano found a Festus and a Vegetius there in February 1417, Barbaro wrote on 6th July to Poggio in terms of almost touching enthusiasm. Some of the manuscripts he lists as recent discoveries would not, perhaps, excite such fervour in us—Silius Italicus, Tertullian, Marcellinus, Manilius, Probus, Nonius Marcellus, Asconius Pedianus. He also lists Quintilian and Lucretius, however: and these were certainly important enough.
93. The discovery of Lucretius was perhaps the most important in terms of content, but the Epicurean philosophy held little appeal to an audience still predominantly mediaeval in its religious attitudes. Most early humanists, including Guarino, seem to have regarded it as a doctrine of Pernicious and unbridled pleasure-seeking. The De rerum natura, with its attack on organized religion, stood little chance of being properly understood.

Guarino may have seen a copy of it by August 1417, but the evidence is very tenuous, resting upon a doubtful reading in Letter 70 of that date. Letter 70 is represented in four MSS., three of which have the reading: "Luctm. ad te mitto, quem si diutius apud me habere potuisset, interdum transcurrissem, et emendatior ad te iret." For "Luctm." the fourth MS. has "Libellum", obviously a copyist's substitution for an unfamiliar contraction. If "Luctm." stands for "Lucretium", we must assume that Guarino had a copy of this author for a short time in 1417, and that he would have attempted, given time, to have improved its text before sending it to his correspondent, Girolamo Gualdo. We would have to assume, further, that he had received the Lucretius from Poggio or from Francesco Barbaro (who is known to have had a copy from Poggio) for transmission to Gualdo. There is no evidence for this, however, in the letters of any
of these humanists. It is far more likely that "Luctm." in Letter 70 is a mistake for "Luclm.", which would be a contraction for "Lucullum". In that case the reference would be to Plutarch's life of Lucullus translated in 1416 by Leonardo Giustinian. This would explain why Guarino could have made Gualdo's copy "emendator", because he would have had in his possession a good copy of Giustinian's work.

There are only three echoes of Lucretius in Guarino's entire epistolary. In Letter 386, line 16, this word "induperator" is used, but he could have known this word from such passages as A. Gellius, XVIII, 9, 2 and Cicero, De divinatione I, 107. In Letter 586, line 33, "creteae imagines" occurs, a reminiscence of Lucretius IV, 280; and in Letter 702, line 7, we find "sentiscerem", a word peculiar to Lucretius. But all of these instances occur long after 1417. It is therefore unlikely that Guarino read Lucretius as early as 1417, and certain that at no time in his life did he give the poem any real study.

94. Quintilian, by contrast, was of immense interest to the humanists especially those involved with teaching. Poggio discovered two MSS. the first at St. Gall in 1417. Barzizza seems to have obtained his copy from a
bishop or cardinal at Constance with whom he was friendly—possibly Cardinal Branda Castiglioni—while Guarino probably got a copy of this first Quintilian from Barzizza in 1417. Poggio, in the meantime, had found another Quintilian in Germany, in the second half of 1418. Guarino wrote direct to Poggio for a copy of this one (Letter 83): "... Previously a Quintilian was brought to us, which this generation admits was brought back to life by your efforts; nor will posterity be silent about it. And it has come to be valued so much by scholars, that there are very few events at Constance that are considered more important than this business of books. But through copyists' errors or for some other reason it is corrupt, and so I need your active assistance. I understand that you have lit upon another exemplar of Quintilian which you have with you. Please have a transcription of it made in my name, as correct a one as possible. If you are willing to do this, that is to say, if your duties permit, I shall have any price you ask paid to you as soon as possible." Guarino seems to have given Barzizza the second Quintilian either to inspect or copy; for at the end of 1420 he asked for his "Quintilians" back and on 28 December acknowledges having received them on 12th November.

95. The recently discovered speeches of Cicero* found their way

* These were Poggio's discoveries at Langres of the Pro Caecina, and at Colonia of the Pro Roscio comoedo, In Pisonem, the two Pro Rabirio and the three De lege agraria (Sec E. Walser, Poggins Florentinus 1914, p. 57-59). Poggio first announced these discoveries to Francesco Pizolpasso in a letter of 18th September 1417 (See Sabbadini, La Scoperte dei Codici 1914, p. 191). He sent copies of them to Niccoli, who passed them on to Barbaro. In 1423 Poggio had to write Guarino (Letter 246) to solicit his aid in getting them back from Barbaro.
first of all to Florence and filtered through to Guarino from Niccolò Niccoli via Francesco Barbaro (Cf. Mehus, Traversarii Epist. VI, 8, 14) who had visited Florence with his nephew Ermolao to hunt for manuscripts. In 1416, Niccoli sent Barbaro various orations of Cicero, the letters Ad Atticum and the speeches of Demosthenes, translated by Leonardo Bruni (Cf. Mehus, Traversarii Epist. VI, 6). Ambrogio Traversari sent a copy of the letters of Chrysoloras and made a copy of Xenophon's Agesilaus for Barbaro, to whom he also sent an emended Lactantius and a copy of his own translation of Dio Chrysostom's Sacred Ladder. In return, there was some exchange of material from Venice. Incidentally, one cannot but wonder whether Guarino's reconciliation with Niccoli in 1416 was not, subconsciously at least, prompted by the former's knowledge that the Florentine bibliophile had access, through Poggio and other connections, to practically every new discovery almost as soon as it was made. We should always bear in mind that humanists would go to extraordinary lengths to obtain books (Cf. Note 1 to Letter 177).

95. In the matter of discovery, Guarino made an important contribution at the beginning of 1419 with the Letters of Pliny the Younger. Excitedly, he announced the find to Gualdo in Letter 141: "Three days ago, certain manuscripts of wondrous antiquity were shown to me. Almost all of them were religious ("sacri") works. Amongst them, I came by one manuscript, which you will

* Amongst these was a manuscript of Zeno. Its discovery is referred to by Pietro Tommasi in Letter 474 A, line 14 (of 1419?). Guarino refers to the examplar of Zeno in Letter 318 (of 1425?).
be just as delighted to hear about as I am to behold it. It is the Letters of Pliny, a singularly venerable work; the shape of the characters is exceedingly fine and gloriously youthful amidst the wrinkles of time—as Vergil would say "cruda deo viridisque senectus." The format of the volume is rather on the narrow side, so that its pages each contain three columns like very straight furrows in fields. It is divided into eight books and about two hundred and twenty letters. Every one has a title. I have skimmed through some; they seemed very sound textually to me, and although so ancient and decrepit, they do not appear in any point to make nonsense. This was a delightful surprise to me. I am expecting your copy to arrive by ship any day. I have decided to emend it on the basis of these letters, so that by my help it may return to you so chastened that it will learn to deceive no-one and tell the truth at every point." The manuscript was discovered in the Chapter Library of Verona, a treasure house not only of patristic writings, that had preserved this valuable Pliny, containing twenty more letters than had been known to the Middle Ages. According to Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini p. 355 ff., this codex was the archetype of the so-called "family of eight books" in the manuscript tradition of the Younger Pliny. Guarino had no change to work extensively with it, owing to a plague that dispersed the citizens of Verona later in the year (see Letter 181); but one sign of his study can be seen in Letter 145, which is a description of the

villa at Val Policella, based entirely on Pliny, Epistle V. 6. 96. This assessment of Guarino's contribution to scholarship up to 1419 should not omit mention of his work at Florence on the text of Horace. Rosmini, in Vol III, p. 96 of his Vita di Guarino quotes a letter from Pontano to Panormita in which Guarino's work on Horace—now unfortunately lost—is mentioned: "I am sending you...a manuscript of Horace...which was once the property of that grand old man Guarino, in Etruria...a few pages are mutilated, but it is adorned with the precious corrections of that great scholar in the margins...At the end of the book there are a few poems written in a more recent hand and attributed to that consummate poet, but Guarino has oppositely noted that they are spurious and quite unworthy of Horace; for their flavour is entirely that of the age that followed and must be judged unworthy of Martial himself..." It is interesting that Pontano, no mean scholar, should so value Guarino's notes, written at a time when few men had any feeling for textual criticism, far less enough acumen to distinguish between Golden and Silver Age Latin. It was only with Lorenzo Valla, about the middle of the Fifteenth Century, that textual criticism began to be tackled on scientific principles. It will be remembered that his denunciation in 1440 of the so-called Donation of Constantine was based on a critical examination of the grammar and syntax of the text. But Guarino seems, from early in the century, to have had more than a rudimentary skill in the art of establishing a sound text. There are many instances in the letters where Guarino's help was enlisted in deciding on correct readings and
solving difficulties of interpretation. The great Barzizza himself, acknowledged to be the best Ciceronian scholar of his day, was not averse to seeking Guarino's opinion on Ciceroniana (Letter 46). Letter 124 of 25th August 1418 to Mazo dei Mazi is revealing for a study of Guarino's methods in treating a text. Mazo had sent Guarino certain orations of Cicero to emend. They were returned not only corrected but annotated. The first speech he completed was the Pro Archia and this he sent to Mazo "as a kind of sample (praegustationem), so that if you are satisfied with the method, I shall follow this path with the others. As you see, I have not only emended it, but also added certain illustrative notes ... my additions have been rather few. I wanted some points to be kept for me so that I can assist you in person also." The care and economy he displays here was typical of his approach to scholarship. One who avoids rashness is less likely to tinker with the received text of an author. In this respect, Letter 304 is particularly instructive. Guarino had received a copy of Suetonius from Ugo Mazzolato to emend. It was returned with the words: "... I have not been able to correct it too extensively, for the Greek letters are missing ... although I could obtain the meaning by conjecture, it seemed preferable to me to abstain from doing so, lest I should be rash and arrogant ..." Such respect for the manuscript tradition is commendable, and rare amongst humanists of the time. It cannot be doubted that apart from the texts on which we know Guarino lectured, which would necessarily be of a comparatively easy nature (in Greek at any rate) he was making constant efforts
to improve himself by private study. We know, for instance, from Letter 707, LXXI.40, that in 1416 he was studying a manuscript of Pindar—perhaps the only one in Italy at the time. George of Trebizond claims that he spent two days explaining the metres in Pindar to him. Although George relates this in malice, there is no reason to doubt that Guarino did in fact consult him. What is really remarkable is that he was not too proud to do so, and that he knew enough Greek to tackle Pindar at all.

98. No scholar, however, especially one whose reputation is growing, can hope to escape calumny. At the beginning of 1416, Caronda had spread a malicious rumour that Guarino was the author of a book listing all the errors made by modern translators from the Greek. Bruni in particular seems to have felt he was under attack; so that when Guarino denied the malicious allegation, in Letter 47 to Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, he was at pains to extol Bruni as not just another successful imitator of Cicero, but Cicero in person! Fortunately, no-one seems to have taken Caronda's churlish lie seriously, and spite of this kind could not prevent Guarino from winning an increasing affection from his contemporaries for his generosity and devotion to them, and recognition of his excellence as a teacher and scholar.

99. While Guarino was still in Venice and preparing to leave for Verona, word of his intentions had got round. The Florentines made yet another attempt to lure him back. On 24th February 1419, Traversari wrote to Francesco Barbaro (Traversarii Epist. VI, 20) asking him to persuade Guarino to return: "... The young men of our city want him. Further, the magistrate whose
duty it is to hire scholars for the glory of the state is
arranging to extend him an invitation at any salary which he
himself stipulates." So far as we know, this invitation was not
actually sent until much later; but Guarino must have known that
it was being mooted. He showed no interest, however, despite
the fact that he was moving to Verona without any definite offer
of employment.

100. It is clear, however, from Letter 131 written to Tadea's
cousin Federico Pittato on the 25th March, that the city was
looking forward to his arrival. His wife was making a suitably
respectable show of longing for him. It could hardly have been
more than that in a "marriage de convenance," and Guarino's own
words about his young wife are merely dutiful rather than im-
passioned: "Vis ut eam diligam? diligo, amo, quando ita te
velle intelligo; suus esse in perpetuum opto et quandoquidem
sic optare videris dabo operam ut coniunctione ei sim." It is
probable that he arrived in Verona about the 1st of April.
He at once set about organizing private lessons on Cicero and
Terence, using Mario Vittorino's Commentary as a basis for
his lectures on the former (Letter 141). The text to be used
was almost certainly a selection from the Ad familiares
which he had himself made; for he refers to these letters in
correspondence with pupils later in the year (Letters 152, 153,
164, 171). This private course, attended by the scions of all
the best families in Verona and its surrounding district, was
intended to establish his credit in Verona and pave the way for
an appointment as public professor. His pupils included the
brothers Verità, Bartolomeo Pellegrino, Lodovico Cavallo, Lodovico
Mercanti, Bartolomeo Brenzon, Lodovico Polentino, Pisoni, Mazo
dei Mazi, and Giovanni Lamola from Bologna. Unfortunately,
however, plague struck in the latter half of the year and the
pupils scattered for safety. Guarino retired to his newly-
acquired villa at Val Policella, and there spent his time amidst
pleasant surroundings, studying and writing to his pupils (Letters
147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 165, 166,
167, 170, 171).

101. The main theme of these letters is Guarino's disgust with
the plague that had disrupted his courses. But it is also
interesting to notice his diligence in keeping in touch with his
students, and the tone of paternal concern which is already
apparent towards them. Letter 166 is also a sample of tuition
by correspondence: for in it Guarino warns his pupil, Giacomo
della Verità, not to use the form "vos" for the classical "tu,"
and refers him to the usage of the ancients as the sole arbiters
of correct grammar.

102. In September, he took a week's holiday at Lake Garda (Letters
150, 151) and wrote two poems there that breathe a love of the
scenic beauty of his surroundings (Letter 154). By October,
he was longing to be back in Verona, but would not move until
the plague had completely cleared. Guarino's longevity, incidentally,
may be attributed in no small part to the care he always showed
in avoiding any infected area. His friends were planning to
escort the newly-weds home, but Guarino got wind of their
intention (Letter 168) and went to some lengths to forestall what he conceived would be an embarrassing fuss (Letter 174). Although imbued with a desire for literary fame, Guarino was a retiring and modest man in his private life. It seems likely that he returned to Verona at the end of October or the beginning of November.

103. By the 11th December he was planning to start a course in rhetoric after Christmas, and asked Girolamo Gualdo (Letter 179) to send him certain specific copies of Quintilian and one copy of Asconius Pedianus. Clearly, the latter was for his own use and the Quintilians were to be sold or lent to students. The inaugural lecture* to this course is translated after Letter 179 in the Summaries; but we cannot know whether it was delivered before or after the official decree of 20th March 1420, by which he was finally appointed as public lecturer in Rhetoric. He was to lecture with particular reference to the speeches and letters of Cicero, and on "other matters"—left vague—which his students might request. He was also permitted to take private fee-paying pupils, whether natives of Verona or not, up to the number of twelve at a time ("in duodena"). The fees paid by these pupils was to be a matter for private negotiation. Meantime, the state paid him an emolument of 150 scudi—described by Rosmini, Guarino I,p. 14, as "dei piu meschini stipendii."

* The speech as we have it is so short that it could have been delivered in about ten minutes. It is really merely a few preliminary remarks, possibly even a summary of a much longer address. Petrarch's Coronation Oration is about the right length of a real "prolusiona."
There can be no doubt that he really wanted to settle in Verona, where he would be amongst friends. Typical of his feelings is a splendid burst of patriotic fervour in Letter 184, in terms that could have been taken from Cicero himself: "Quid enim absurdus, quid vituperabilius, quam quaestui habere rem publicam, pro qua omnia commoda, facultates, liberi, vita denique effundenda et amittenda seu potius expendenda est?" As the Anonymous Panegyrist was later to point out, money was not Guarino's prime concern: and a striking confirmation of this comes in a letter unknown to Sabbadini. Writing to an unidentified friend in the summer or autumn of 1420, Guarino refers to an "electio" that had been sent to him from Florence inviting him to lecture there with special emphasis on Greek, but he dismisses the offer of no less than 300 Florins most brusquely: "quod mihi videor hoc tempore facere non posse." Such a salary was considerably more than what he was getting from Verona, and even higher than the 250 Florins paid to Manuel Chrysoloras. Of course, one cannot discount the possibility that he could not move to Florence only because he was already bound by a five year contract. But it is unlikely that he would wish to be disrupted again and we have already seen how heartily he detested the contentious atmosphere of Florence. Moreover, he was probably not too badly off at Verona with his modest salary supplemented by private fees and the valuable acquisition of

his wife’s dowry. Finally, we shall see how, in 1422 and 1424, he steadfastly refused other tempting offers to leave his homeland.

105. For the next three years, Guarino worked with energy and enthusiasm. They were not uneventful years. In September 1420, Lodovico Migliorati, lord of Fermo was hired by Carlo Malatesta to help his brother Pandelfo, who was being besieged by Carmagnola in Brescia. The path of the mercenaries lay through Veronese territory. The citizens had good reason to fear that their city would be plundered or their farms ravaged, for mercenaries were prone to get out of hand even in allied districts. Guarino, as the best scholar in Verona, was commissioned to write their commander a plea to restrain his troops (Letter 189). The danger was averted, but such letters remind us that life in any Northern Italian city was forever subject to alarms and peril. Guarino’s letter is an eloquent expression of a real desire for tranquillity, the ideal he pursued all his life, and which was eventually to lead him to the haven of the Este court.

106. Notable amongst his pupils at this period were Ermolao Barbaro, who was the nephew of Francesco Barbaro, Bernardino da Siena and Alberto da Sarzana. Barbaro came in the summer of 1421, at age fifteen already a child prodigy. He began work on a Latin translation of Aesop’s Fables, which was dedicated on 1st October of the next year to Ambrogio Traversari—a splendid achievement for such a young scholar. Bernardino da Siena came to preach in the Duomo at Verona in 1422 and stayed several
months with Guarino, upon whom he made a strong impression. Alberto da Sarzana arrived in Verona in September 1421 and studied there until August. Guarino, according to Carbone, taught both evangelists the "art of artistic preaching." In the case of Alberto especially, this instruction contributed in no small measure to the impact of his sermons throughout Italy. We must remember that the Italians were an emotional people, who responded to glowing oratory replete with all the figures of rhetoric; and although many itinerant preachers were currently giving voice to a simple enough message--the condemnation of vice and the praise of virtue--they normally made no lasting impression on their congregations unless they could express themselves in torrents of memorable rhetoric. Indeed, as Ralph Roeder points out in the first chapter of *The Man of the Renaissance* (Meridian Books, N. Y. Aug. 1958) it was the lack of literary refinement in Savonarola's style which caused his initial failure as a preacher in Florence. The fruits of Alberto's studies under Guarino appeared on the 11th June 1422, when he delivered a highly successful sermon for the Feast of Corpus Christi before a huge audience in Verona.

107. In 1421, Guarino seems to have published no original work except for a fine funeral oration on Giorgio Loredan, the Venetian general who had won the battle of Gallipoli in 1416. In the first draft, apparently, he had condemned the murderers of Loredan, but toned down his remarks on the advice of Francesco Barbaro (see Letters 201, 202 and notes). It was typical of Guarino that he felt an injustice keenly, but it is no less true that he considered discretion the better part of valour. He could
not afford to make enemies in Venice, which still ruled Verona, especially when there were men in Verona itself who disliked him. Letter 221 gives a graphic account of the attempt made by some gutter politician, whom we should probably identify as Antonio Quinto, to discredit him in the Council House. The malcontents, however, were only a vociferous minority and Guarino tells with relish how their spokesman was thrown out to a chorus of protests and hissing. The hostile politicians were, however, to prove a nuisance to Guarino a few years later.

On 20th September, Guarino's first son was born and christened Girolamo, after Girolamo Gualdo (Letter 208). The event gave Guarino great joy: "I neither can, nor imagine I can leave him a lot of money and a rich inheritance, but I shall bequeath him some kind of literary legacy." He kept his promise, for Guarino educated all his sons personally, and with fine results.

During the early part of 1422 the most exciting event in humanistic circles was the accidental discovery at Lodi of Cicero's Orator, De Oratore, and Brutus. Bishop Gerardo Landriani, while searching for some ancient charters, found what we now refer to as the Codex Laudensis, the lost archetype from which we have three direct transcriptions, the codex Florentinus (containing the Brutus and Orator), the codex Palatinus (containing the De Oratore and Orator) and the codex Ottobonianus (containing the Brutus, De Oratore and Orator, as well as the De optimo genere oratorum).

Cittadella, I Guarini p. 36ff. gives documentation of the lives and careers of Guarino's family.
The news spread fast, because the *Orator* and *De Oratore* had previously been known only from defective manuscripts, and the *Brutus* had been entirely lost. Poggio heard of it in London, and Aurispa in Constantinople. Niccoli promised Aurispa an early transcript. In the meantime, Landriani was unable to make proper use of his discovery, so he sent it to Gasparino Barzizza in Milan, via their common friend, the lawyer Giovanni Omodei. Barzizza, besides being the finest scholar living near Lodi, was also the most eminent Ciceronian of his day. Moreover, he had spent many years trying to patch up the mutilated text of Cicero's known oratorical works, especially the *Orator*. There is a letter of Panormita to Barbaro written in 1431 (Codex Ambrosianus H 49 inf. f. 156 r) which tells of poor Barzizza's embarrassment when he compared his guesses with the readings of the Lauciensis: "Quod magno et erudito cuidam vino nuper evenisse non nescis, qui mutilatum Ciceronis Oratorem supplere studens, postea invento integro Cicerone erubuisse fertur" ("You know what recently happened to a certain great scholar. His aim was to fill out the gaps in Cicero's *Orator*, in its defective state; but when a complete Cicero was discovered, he is said to have blushed."). Whether the story is true or not, Barzizza wasted no time in copying out the new manuscript, transcriptions of which were also made at Milan by Cosmo Raimondi.

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and Flavio Biondo. It seems that Barzizza kept the original.
The last that was ever seen of it was in 1428. *

110. Guarino heard of the discovery in June and by the 18th of
the month sent his pupil, Giovanni Arzignano, to Barzizza with
a covering letter requesting a copy of "Ciceronem integrum"
(Letter 214, line 40). For some reason, Arzignano brought back
only the Orator, which was forthwith distributed to friends.
There are some suspicious circumstances attendant upon Arzignano's
mission. Giovanni Lamola, who was a pupil with Guarino at the
time, refers to the event in a letter of 1428 (Letter 455, lines 140-143)
"If you (Guarino) think you have seen them (i.e. genuine copies of
the Orator, De Oratore and Brutus) you are wrong. And do not
believe that that fickle and unreliable Arzignano brought the
real ones to us, because he cheated us royally." (Apparently
Lamola had forgotten that Arzignano did not bring back the
Brutus and De Oratore). Lamola goes on to say that there were

* A. S. Wilkins in the preface p. 1. of Ciceronis Rhetorica
(0. C. T.) Vol II. says: "Laudensis quidem ipse nescio quo casu
mox perit, neque quisquam post annum MCDXXVIII eum vidit."
One cannot help wondering why the original disappeared. Perhaps
a clue is forthcoming from a letter of Barzizza to Landriani
(Gasparino da Barziza (sic): Opera ed. Furietti, 1723, p. 215):
"feci autem, ut pro illo vetustissimo, ac paene ad nullum usum
aptum, novum manu hominis doctissimi scriptum ad illud exemplar
correctum alium codicem haberes." Either Barzizza was so keen
to keep the exemplar that he was prepared to deceive the Bishop
by calling it "just about unfit for use" or he valued the
knowledge gained from the manuscript far above the manuscript
itself, and was indifferent to its fate after the transcriptions
were made. A third possibility is that the old manuscript fell
to pieces from constant handling.
many errors introduced by ignorant copyists of the original Codex Laudensis, who were quite unable to take an accurate transcription of it. (He himself relied on the copy taken by Cosmo Raimondi). We shall probably never know the truth of what happened. but it may be that Arzignano was too lazy to make the transcription himself, or unwilling to pay for a decent copy to be made. He could have bought an inferior transcript, and made a profit for himself out of the money that Guarino would undoubtedly have given him. Be that as it may, the copy he brought back was not outstanding, and Lamola could not forgive him. There is, perhaps, something suspicious about Arzignano's eagerness to undertake the mission. Guarino says in Letter 214, 14040 that he "took on this task without prompting." But it would be a mistake to make too much of this. If Arzignano was not a criminal, he was seemingly incompetent.

111. Guarino responded to these important discoveries with a renewed interest for Cicero, which never left him. The style of the letters from Verona strikes one as markedly Ciceronian, a good index of the reading he was doing. We know from Letter 298 that he lectured in 1425 on the Pro Murena, and he annotated the Pro Roscio Amerino. In 1424 we hear of the Academica, in 1425 there are allusions to the De Amicitia, De Fato and Tusculan Disputations, and in 1426 we hear of his interest in the
De Republica. We also know from three extant but undated sets of lecture notes by students that he lectured on De Senectute, De Amicitia, and Paradoxa Stoicorum. Extant also is part of a set of notes taken at lectures on Rhetorica ad Herennium which seem to have been given in 1445. But the Ciceronian works mentioned so far were not necessarily Guarino's favourites. In letters written before 1422 there are 124 citations of Cicero, an average of approximately 5 for every 8 letters. Of these 37 citations are from the collection Ad Familiares and 5 from Ad Atticum. After 1422 the number of citations from Cicero increases appreciably, and of these a large proportion is from the Letters, De officiis, and the rhetorical works, particularly De Oratore.

112. Mention may here be made of the invitation extended in 1422 to Guarino by Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, to come and tutor his children (publ. by Sabbadini, "Documenti Guariniani" in Atti dell'Accademia di agricoltura di Verona XVIII, p. 238). Guarino nowhere refers to the offer in his letters, but according to the Anonymous Panegyrist (Appendix
it was substantial. It is a pity Guarino nowhere
states why he refused. The Panegyrist claims that he was
content with the salary he had from Verona, but the real
reason may have been a dislike for Mantua. In Letter 479,
which seems to have been written about August or September
1421 (see Summaries Letter 479 n. 2), he says he has just
returned from Mantua, where it was perpetually dark. John
of Pannonia says much the same in his poem Ad Ursum (E. Abel
Adalekok Budapest, 1880, p. 121):

"Ursa, rogas Ocni fuerim quot in urbe diebus?
Septem perpetuis noctibus urbe fui.
Quippe ubi continua nebulis latet obsitus aer,
Illic aurorae quis locus esse potest?"

The swamp vapours, the sparseness of people and dwellings,
the croaking of frogs, the sea-weed and reeds in the streets
and the pigs running wild could hardly have disposed Guarino
to settle there. It is also possible that he could not
break his contract with Verona. Again, he could not have
foreseen that the Council would hesitate to renew his appoint-
ment in 1425, and Verona offered a steadier income than the
marquis of Mantua, whose children would soon grow up. At
any rate, he recommended Vittorino da Feltre (cf. sec. 75)
who assumed his duties in 1423. Rosmini in Vittorino p. 69
claims that he started in 1425; but there is no doubt that
he had been there some time by 9th June 1424, for on that
date Guarino wrote Lodovico Gonzaga complimenting him on his
progress under Vittorino. Besides, Rosmini himself quotes
two documents that indicate Vittorino's presence at Mantua
in May 1423.
113. In the autumn, Guarino retired to his villa at Val Policella. On such occasions, his pupils appear to have gone with him. Letter 219, for instance is subscribed: "Ex Valle Polyzela III kal. octobris," and begins: "Venit ad nos Paulus noster, cuius adventu nobis, idest condiscipulis et mihi pariter non parum attulit festivitatis . . ." The atmosphere seems to have been more relaxed. Probably Guarino did little or no formal teaching on vacations, and the pupils were free to do whatever reading they chose. Though the master was always available for consultation, he was obviously much occupied with domestic duties; for he promises Giorgio Bevilacqua in Letter 219 to write something for him "modo per vindemiarum occupationes id facere liceat, quarum necessitas mustis magis quam musis operam me dare cogit et dispotandi tempus ipsum disputandi rationem intercipit" ("providing that it is possible to do so, amid the tasks imposed by the vintage, the vital nature of which compels me to pay more attention to "must" that the muses, and the time for "potations" breaks into the very course of "disputations.") Amongst his pupils, the names of Ennolao Barbaro, Tommaso Pontano* and Giacomo Lavagnola** are prominent at this time. The latter fell ill with a fever towards the end of September.

* He later became a teacher in Bologna and Umbria.

** Later capitano at Florence, podestà at Siena and Bologna, and a Roman senator.
Guarino was quick to observe signs of sickness in his young student: "I am not a little disturbed because I have detected that my sweet Giacomo Lavagnola is less than well." The words that follow, although jocular in spirit, nevertheless show that Guarino had a tender sympathy and fatherly interest in his students: "... I take it ill that I did not learn the arts of magic, which are said to have very great potency; for as the ancients have said 'They can even bring the moon down from the heavens'... To what end? So that the fever, at the bidding of my spells, may leave the poor undeserving body of my Lavagnola and enter some fat belly and batten on those lazy and sluggish tripes." Happily the boy recovered. Guarino was delighted: "O bene factum!" he wrote to Bevilacqua (Letter 220). A myriad of such little touches of warmth and sympathy in Guarino's letters constantly please the reader and draw us close to this kind-hearted man.

About September of 1422, Tadea gave birth to another boy, who was Esopo Agostino. Possibly the name "Esopo" was suggested by Ermolao Barbaro, who had been working at Val Policella on a translation of thirty of Aesop's Fables. Esopo Agostino

* Sabbadini thought that "Esopo" and "Agostino" were different children. See sec. 142 of this biography.

** The manuscript, probably an autograph, is in the British Museum (ms. add. lat. 33, 782) and has this title: "Hermolai Barbari Veneti patricij ad doctissimum Ambrosium monachum prooemium in aliquas Aesopi fabulas", and the subscription: "Explicunt: quaedam Aesopi fabulae traductae per me adolescentem Hermolaum Barbarum patricium Venetum anno Domini MCCCCXXII kl. octobris sub expositione disertissimi ac eruditissimi viri Guarini Veronensis patris ac praeceptoris mei". The preface only was published by Mehüa, A. Traversari Epistulae XXIV, 19.
Guarino was destined to become a notary, and eventually "domus dispensator" (steward) for the Este family at Ferrara. He died sometime after 1469.

115. Two notable events in 1423 were the election of Francesco Foscari as Doge in April and the arrival of the Emperor John Palaeologus in Venice on the 15th December.

Letter 230 is an official letter of congratulation written to Foscari by Guarino on behalf of Verona. At the end of July, a large representative group, including Guarino, attended the celebrations in Venice. Flavio Biondo met up with Guarino at this time and spent several days with him in Verona.

When the Emperor disembarked, he was regaled with speeches in Greek from Leonardo Guistinian and Francesco Barbaro, a famous event referred to more than once in contemporary literature. These speeches are not to my knowledge extant; which is a pity, because we are comparatively short of original compositions in Greek by Italians of this period and it is consequently difficult to form any reliable opinion of the level of competence they were achieving (for Guarino's see *The Letters written in Greek*). But it is interesting to note that Barbaro at least seems to have had some command of spoken Greek; for the Anonymous Panegyrist tells us that the Emperor impatiently told the Venetians not to expatiate on the virtues of their teacher, which he already knew, but to tell him at once where Guarino was to be found. Anyone who reads the Panegyrist's words at this point almost senses Barbaro's deflation (allowing, of course, that the
Panegyrist's account is accurate) but he managed to give the desired information. It is a fair surmise that this exchange was in Greek. The Emperor certainly went to the trouble of visiting Verona on the 21st February 1424. He moved on the next day, but one imagines he spent a pleasant evening with Guarino, full of reminiscences and sparkling conversation. Guarino met Giovanni Aurispa at this time, and struck up a lasting friendship.¹¹⁶

By the 8th December 1423, there were rumours of plague in Verona (Letter 247). By March of the next year nearly everyone had fled the city. Having no pupils to teach, Guarino retired about the beginning of April ** to Montorio, where in 13th June 1422 he had purchased a villa for 200 ducats (Ant. Arch. Verona, Ufficio del Registro f. 866 42). No doubt fear of pestilence was uppermost in his mind, but we know from Letter 250 of 7th May that he had been feeling jaded from overwork and welcomed the

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¹¹⁶ For career of Aurispa up to this time, see Letter 303 note, in Summaries.

** Proof of this is a ms. in the Marcian Library (cod. Marc. lat. L 498) which I have not seen. Sabbadini reports that it contains i) Guarino's translation of ps. Plutarch ἀναθήματα, dated 10th April 1424, ii) Guarino's translation of Lucian's Calumnia, with a note at the end: "Explicit Calumnia die 17 aprilis 1424 Patavii per me Antonium G. Urceensem civem Brixiensem. Emendata deinde Montorii audiente Guarino die X kal. maii MCCCCXXVII." The date should be emended to MCCCCXXIII (i.e. 1424) according to Sabbadini (Epistolario III p. 158). If we accept this simple change, it indicates Guarino was in Montorio in April.
chance to refresh his enthusiasm for study amid the manifold natural delights of the surroundings. The villa is described in his will as "a house situated in the territory of Verona at Villa Montorio together with a garden ("broilo" = mod. It. "brolo") and vineyards and olive plantations, with the use of the nearest water, and with vines planted facing the garden, and a meadow at the top of the garden." Guarino derived "montorius" from "Mons λοικός" meaning "the lovely mountain" (cf. Letter 251, at end: "Ex Monte oreo idest specioso"), just as he connected Policella with πολικήλος, "much sought after," and some time later, the Alpine hamlet of Perzen (the modern Pergine) with "per ἕγνυ" or "πέρι ἕγνυ" -- a most salubrious connotation. He was, of course, too good a scholar to advance any of the etymologies in anything but the most jocular vein.

On the 18th June (Letter 260) he declared his intention of visiting Val Policella on the 25th to supervise the administration of his estate there. Guarino was never so immersed in scholarship that he neglected business details. He left Val Policella on the 27th (Letter 262), passed the night of the 28th at San Martino, and the next morning took ship along the River Adige for Venice (Letter 264). The plague in Verona was by now a reality, and he proposed to convey his family far away to the safety of the

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"Domus posita in territorio Verone in villa Montorii con (sic) broilo et terris vineatis et olivatis cum usu et iure aque proxime et viniis positis contra broilum et cum uno prato in capite broili." A large extract of the will is given by Cittadella, I Guarini p. 33-34, taken from the Archivio Notarile of Ferrara.
Venetian lagoon (Letters 262, 266). By August (Letter 267) he had returned from Venice, where, presumably, he had made arrangements for lodging his family. In Letter 268, he asked Battista Zendrata to advance him some money out of his salary, since he had decided on Venice as the best refuge. Tadea was again pregnant, so he proposed to buy horses to convey her—presumably in a wagon—as far as Este Castellum, where the two little boys, Esopo and Girolamo, were to be placed on a horse or mule for the rest of the journey. In spite of all his worries, Guarino contrives to write with a light and amusing touch about these arrangements. Nothing, however, turned out as he had planned.

118. The Venetian government, alarmed by the numbers of their own citizens who had already returned from Verona, and by the ever swelling crowds of non-Venetian refugees who were swarming into the city, decreed that no-one from Verona and district could gain entry. Guarino had therefore to change plans at the last minute. Baby Esopo was left behind in Verona (Letters 279, 280), probably because he was still too young to survive the journey to the mountain recesses of Trent, where they finally found refuge. Letter 269, written at the end of August to Tadea’s cousin, Battista Zendrata, is full of anxiety for his family and for those left behind in Verona. The health of the baby must have been a constant source of worry at this time. Worse was to come: the plague began to ravage Trent itself.

Letter 263 tells us that Ermolao Barbaro and Bernardo Giustinian had already left Guarino and gone home to Venice.
(Letter 270), a surprising circumstance, for Trent lies deep in the mountains and even today is difficult of access. By 9th September Guarino moved to a hamlet called Pergine in Italian and Perzen by the locals. As we have seen, he regarded the name "Perzen" as a good omen. It was a pleasant spot, dominated by a citadel and surrounded by fertile, green fields. A limpid stream coursed through the middle of the village. The inhabitants lived by hunting, hawking and fishing. To Guarino they seemed hospitable, but quite alien in speech and manners. He decided to keep Tadea there until her child was born, for the plague was still rampant in Verona and the rigours of winter might prove harmful if she moved in her condition.

Money was in short supply, because on 18th September Guarino sent Battista Zendrata another request for the advance of salary that had not been forthcoming at the first application. On 23rd October he sent a third reminder, this time in urgent terms (Letter 276). Having no pupils to teach, Guarino spent his time reading ("tempus fallo litteris").

119. Leonardo Giustinian sent him an invitation (Letter 271) to leave the barbarous outlands of Trent and come to Venice, which by then had raised the ban on foreigners entering its precincts. Giustinian's rather amusing opinion of Trent sums up the contempt
felt by the town-dwellers of northern Italy for their Alpine neighbours: "So God love me, I cannot recall the name of this area without a shudder, such an indefinable ring of barbarity does the name of Trent seem to me to possess. And are you living there, Guarino my friend?" These words proved prophetic, for a polished humanist could not be expected to relish the company of untutored rustics, and already by 12th October Guarino was languishing. In Letter 274 he says: "Valeo igitur, si valere quis inter barbaros et horridos potest." Even their language was a bastard mixture of German and Italian, as Bruni remarked in a letter of 1414: "We arrived in Trent, quite a pleasant city compared to the surrounding terrain... Some of the people speak Italian, others German. According to the district of the city each inhabits, whether facing Italy or the other Gaul, so does he use one or the other language." Guarino's letters display a growing disgust with the habits of the locals. Relatively abstemious, like most Italians, Guarino describes in Letter 277 the gross indulgences of the Germans in food and drink, but his tone is not that of a scandalized moralist, but of a bewildered bystander. Letter 284 shows that he did not lose his sense of humour, despite nervousness over the attitude of the locals, whose motto seems to have been "aut bibe aut abi" ("drink up or leave"). It is interesting that
even today the words "Sauf oder Lauf" or backwards to
give the pseudo-Latin, "fuas redo fual" often appear
on the walls of Tyrolean inns.

During this enforced stay, Guarino kept mentally
active; for instance, he learned some German, as we
gather from his appointment, after returning to Verona,
to be one of the "interpreti della casa dei mercanti,"
a post which involved translation from German. The
speech he made on assuming this post was published by
Sabbadini in "Documenti Guariniani," Atti della
242-45. The fact that Guarino had a keen ear for
languages is borne out by Letter 813, in which he
quotes four samples of Spanish he overheard from
students at Ferrara.

120. In his absence, his enemies in Verona had
not been idle. We have no record of who these men
were or what lay behind their hostility. In 1422
(Letter 221) a certain "An. Quin." had demanded in
the council that Guarino's salary should be reduced,
but he was hissed out on that occasion. This was
probably the same Antonio Quinto who is mentioned in
Letter 291 and recorded in the archives of Verona for
1424 as "ratiocinator publicus." By 1424, however,
he seems to have been on Guarino's side, for in Letter
291 he is spoken of as likely to do Guarino a favour.
The gist of the charges levelled at Guarino can be gathered from the speech of the so-called Anonymous Veronese, which appeared about November, 1424 (It is translated and annotated at Appendix B). The young author, a student of Guarino's, denies that his master has ever shown incompetence or greed, or given a disproportionate amount of attention to his private pupils. We also gather that Guarino had helped certain persons in a law-suit in which they were being unfairly prosecuted by some influential citizens. Presumably these latter individuals had been offended and were attempting to bring about Guarino's dismissal.

121. Guarino had doubts that his contract would be renewed, for on the 16th November (Letter 281) he sent Mazo dei Mazi copies of two offers of employment he had received, one from Venice, the other from Bologna.* With exquisite tact, he merely enclosed

* Bologna invited him again in 1433 (Letter 653) but again Guarino declined. Rosmini (Guarino I, p. 17) claims Guarino taught at Bologna, a notice which clearly follows John of Pannonia, Sylva Panegyrica 386-390:

"Tu mare frenantes Venetos, tu Antenoris alti Instituis cives, tua te Verone legentem Finis et Italiae stupuit sublime Tridentum Nec iam flumineum referens Florentia nomen Ac Phoebo quondam nunc sacra Bononia Marti"

The verb is "stupuit," and the "nec" is clumsy. He means that Trent and Florence and Bologna wondered at his lectures. This passage has given rise to the belief that he taught at Padua (The City of Antenor), Trent and Bologna. But the only reason he visited Trent in 1424 and Padua in 1416 was to escape plague, and Mazzetti, Repertorio dei Professori bolognesi (Bologna, 1847) makes no mention of Guarino.
this information and protested that his heart lay in Verona. No doubt Mazo made use of the hint, when the council met, to promote Guarino's cause. On the 22nd November (Letter 283) Guarino supplied Battista Zendrata with more specific information: "Many people are summoning me to Venice and promising a great deal, but to tell the truth, if I can obtain my usual salary from our state, I have decided to curb my eagerness for a higher standard of living. But should it prove difficult or impossible to obtain that, I have to think about the needs of my family... It will be up to you, my dearest Battista, to write back and say what hope you and my very good friend Mazo have of my prospects. So that you may see what kind of letters I am getting, and the eagerness with which my friends are extending their invitation, I am sending you a letter from my friend, Giustinian. I am not sending others from Zulian and Barbaro, because they contain rather private matters, which I do not wish to become public knowledge." Obviously, Guarino expected Battista to show Giustinian's letter to the council, in the hope that it would spur them on to decide in his favour. Guarino's letter ends with another request for money: "Let me know if you have any cash in our public chest, that I might have for my immediate use." One must admire
Guarino's patience and tact under those trying circumstances.

122. By the end of November, the situation had improved; Guarino's tone in thanking Battista and Mazo for their help (Letter 285) is much more optimistic. His contract was renewed by 37 votes to 8 on 10th January, 1425. The terms were exactly the same as those of 1420 (Antico Archivio Veronese, Acta Consilii C.f. 66), the pay being 150 gold ducats, with the privilege granted of taking in student boarders. Doubtless Guarino was relieved, for he had debts to repay and Tadea had given birth to another boy on 7th December 1424 (Letter 286). The child was given the name Ambrogio Manuel, Ambrogio because he was born on the Feast of San Ambrogio (Ambrose) and Guarino's father-in-law had already expressed a liking for this name, and Manuel in honour of Chrysoloras (Letter 287). He was always referred to in after years as Manuel and was eventually to enter the Church and enjoy a very varied career (Cittadella, I Guarini p. 41-42).*

123. It seems that Guarino was kept waiting until the last moment before he knew for sure that

* Cittadella says he entered the Church on 8th June, 1431 -- which must be wrong, since he would be only 6 1/2 at that time.
he would be re-appointed, for there is a curious statement in Letter 294 of January, 1425. This letter is an invitation to Giovanni Lamola to resume his studies at Verona, but Guarino says: "I have been forced to stay on here for this year at least."

Apparently, he was prepared for disappointment and already facing the prospect of a futile year in Verona before finding another appointment. Under such circumstances, it would be natural to canvass for pupils as a means of support. Even so, one is bound to wonder what had become of the invitations extended only a month or so before by Venice and Bologna. It is possible that Sabbadini's dating of the letter in January, 1425 is wrong; but this is not likely, since the only other date in which such a letter could have gone to Lamola was 1419, when the latter was only nine, and the tone of the letter would be hardly appropriate for a boy so young. Again, Guarino remarks that he had brought "me et meos" back to Verona and this seems to rule out 1419, for in that year Tadea had no family. Nor could "meos" refer to students, for Guarino did not have any to bring back with him in 1419. It seems better to assume that the council was undecided over Guarino's re-appointment right up to the time of its vote on 10th January. Such temporizing may have been one factor in Guarino's decision five years later to leave Verona.
His public record did not warrant such treatment. In 1421 and 1424 he had been one of the "deputati totius anni," a function he again fulfilled in 1426. He served on the Council of Fifty in 1423 and was again to serve in 1425, 1427, and 1428. In 1423 he had been entrusted with writing the official letter of congratulation to the new Doge, Francesco Foscari, and in the next year he delivered a public welcome in Greek to the Eastern emperor. Each year, too, Guarino wrote speeches of welcome to the incoming podestà and capitano, and valedictions for those leaving office. All of these speeches are extant in manuscript. As an envoy, he visited Venice in 1424 to discuss taxation -- probably the occasion referred to by the Anonymous Veronese (Appendix B, sec. 7) when Guarino eloquently and fearlessly pleaded for Verona. In 1425 he went again to Venice on a similar mission. When unable to go in person, he wrote letters to influential patricians such as Daniele Vettori and Francesco Barbaro on behalf of his native city. But his really outstanding service to Verona was his teaching, which by 1424 was already quite famous in northern Italy.

Once re-appointed, he set about collecting his old pupils, such as Lamola (Letter 294) and Biagio Bosone (Letter 297), and organizing courses. He asked Giacomo Ponzione (Letter 298) to find out if Bosone had
a copy of Cicero's Pro Deiotaro and to ask him to copy the Pro Murena upon which he proposed to lecture. Both works seem to have been wanted as extra texts, which Guarino would probably sell to some student. He seems, indeed, to have engaged in selling manuscripts to clients other than his own students, for he also asked Bosone (Letter 299) to secure "Cicero's letters to Lentulus" -- he quotes this as the title specified by clients in Vicenza -- the Tusculan Disputations, Verrines, Philippics and De Oratore.

126. He also wrote to Vitaliano Faella, playfully chiding him for his absence from the classroom while "the divine Cicero" was taunting Cato and the Stoics in general, a clear reference to Pro Murena 60-65. Guarino seems to have disliked Cato, with whom he identified all that was over-severe, joyless, hypocritical, and needlessly repressive. In later years (Letter 677) he again assailed Cato as a poseur, on that occasion with political overtones. Guarino also hinted to Fealla that he would like to spend Easter with him in the country, but he does not seem to have been invited, or else found it impossible to take a vacation.

127. He had also hoped to see Flavio Biondo and his wife, who had planned a vacation in Verona in early spring (Letter 311), but Biondo was unable to come. He was in Vicenza as secretary to Francesco
Barbaro, who had been nominated podestà in December, 1424, and had assumed duty in February, 1425. As a compromise, Biondo and his wife promised to look after Guarino's son, Girolamo, for there were signs of plague at Verona. Sometime between the 13th and 18th April, Guarino went to Vicenza to discuss water rights that were in dispute between that city and his own, and took Girolamo with him. Doubtless he found time to discuss manuscripts with Barbaro and Biondo, for he had already asked the former (Letter 308) for news of a copy of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, previously commissioned by Guarino from Aurispa at Venice, and for word of the Letters of Pliny, which had not yet been returned to him (Letter 258). The need for the Pliny became urgent in June, when Guarino asked Biondo (Letter 316) to send a copy so that a transcription could be made for Archbishop Capra of Milan. He also asked Biondo to find out whether Ermolao Barbaro, who was staying with his uncle at Vicenza, had mistakenly removed a quinternion of Cicero's *Academica* when he left Val Policella in 1424 (Letters 261, 263). On the 18th April, Guarino had also sent Biondo a copy of Cicero's *Brutus*. The two men therefore were united by a common interest in scholarship. Their friendship was always sincere and warm. Letters 314 and 316 are particularly worth reading for their good-natured banter.
On a more serious note, Guarino wrote Barbaro (Letters 307, 308, 309) on behalf of friends at Vicenza, who no doubt found that his friendship with the new podestà stood them in good stead.

128. At the end of June, Guarino's mother-in-law died, a loss which so overwhelmed him that he retired in July for a short stay at his villa at Montorio. It is a pity we do not know more about this excellent woman. Guarino tells us (Letter 320) that she was energetic and good-humoured, full of sage advice, and expert with medications—a great help in a house full of young students. Tadea took her place and went to Val Policella in early autumn with her father to look after the vintage and perform all the other tasks her mother used to do (Letter 331). Running the school at Verona and helping Guarino in his business affairs seems to have been a family concern.

129. Another sad event of 1425 concerned Guarino's friend, Ugo Mazzolato, with whom he had resumed correspondence in February (Letters 304, 305). Their friendship blossomed in a number of letters, but a dark note was struck on 8th August (Letter 321) when Guarino mentioned "some bad news" he had heard, and expressed relief that Ugo had escaped from an event that was "full of terror". This must surely mean the Vengeance wreaked by Niccolò III, marquis
of Ferrara, upon his young wife Parisina and his first-born natural son, Ugo, who were accused of adultery and executed on 25th May, 1425 (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* XXIV c. 184). The story of this tragic love, so reminiscent of Dante's tale of Paolo and Francesca, is well told in Ella Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara* (Deuf and Co., 1904) p. 69-75. We know from the *Registro dei mandati* vol. 1 in the Archivio Estense of Modena that Mazzolato was private secretary to Parisina from 1422-24; so he must have been at least interrogated. The shadow of Niccolò's inhuman vengeance, from which no-one could dissuade him, hung over Ferrara for years.

130. Guarino was also saddened by the death in Rome on 14th August of Antonio Corbinelli, his old patron during the years at Florence (sec. 55). He did not hear the news until 7th September, and two days later (Letter 327) he wrote to his friend, Filippo Regino, deploring the loss of Corbinelli in moving terms: "I see I have lost a gentleman of the first degree, to whom I was bound by a wonderful sense of loyalty." Two days later, he passed on the news to Francesco Barbaro (Letter 328) and remarked that Corbinelli had been driven from Florence by crippling and frequent taxation, but the truth of this allegation has never been established. Corbinelli left
his books to Niccolò Corbazzi, with the proviso that after the latter's death, they were to be given to the Abbey at Florence (Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* vol. 1, 1905, p. 52). The bequest displeased Poggio, who wrote to Niccoli about it in scathing terms: "I learned from your two letters about Antonio's books. What a silly thing to do, thrusting that treasure into a spot from which it will bear no fruit! I can't imagine what he was thinking about, putting Greek books among those two-legged asses, who haven't even a smattering of Latin!" (*Epistulae* ed. Tonelli, II, 32). Such a splenetic outburst could never have come from Guarino, whose grief for Corbinelli was genuine.

131. The cares of 1425, however, were assuaged by the presence of pupils and friends at Verona. On 11th March, Andrea Zulian had assumed a magistracy there, and did so well that he was re-appointed on 26th March, 1426. His sons and their tutor, Filippo Camozzo, came with him (Letters 305, 322). In September, Ermolao Barbaro and Ermolao Donati came from Vicenza (Letter 332). The former stayed to complete his studies, but Donati paid only a short visit, during which Guarino conducted him round the sights of the city, no doubt including the old Roman amphitheatre, a great tourist attraction then,
as it is now. Donati left an excellent impression on Guarino and all the citizens of Verona (Letter 334).

Apart from Ermolao Barbaro, the two outstanding students of 1425 were Giovanni Lamola and Martino Rizzon, the latter a native of Verona and probably Guarino's favourite pupil of all. We gather from a letter of Rizzon's (364) written from Venice in October that Lamola had accepted Guarino's invitation, but it is not known exactly when he came or when he left. Rizzon himself had left Verona about July to take up a post as tutor to the sons of Giovanni Tegiacci in Venice. As we shall see, Guarino maintained a fatherly interest in him.

132. There is evidence that 1425 was a year of great mental activity for Guarino. He lectured on the Pro Murena and possibly also the Pro Roscio Amerino, two speeches found together by Poggio in 1415 at Cluny (Voigt, Wiederbelebung I, p. 245. n. 1); and we hear of various manuscripts that excited his interest. For example, he mentions (Letter 293) a "recently-discovered speech of Cicero" to Galesio della Nichesola, vice-podestà at Mantua in 1425, which had been sent to Giovanni degli Uberti, Bishop of Mantua. No more is heard of this speech, but it was probably one of the eight—the Pro Caecina, in Pisonem, Pro Rabirio Postumo, Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo, Pro Quinto Roscio and the three De Lege Agraria—
discovered by Poggio, and then copied and disseminated by Francesco Barbaro (Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini pp. 48, 54-56). In Letters 318 and 320 to Girolamo Gualdo we also hear of a manuscript of "Firmicus" that belonged to a citizen of Verona, probably the Abbot of the monastery of San Zeno, near Montorio. Guarino was having this manuscript copied for Gualdo, but a quaternion was mission from the exemplar and he promised to "wring" it from the owner, so that Gualdo could have a complete transcript before going on to Florence, where he was due to take up a magistracy. Alternatively, Guarino promised to have a copy of the missing quaternion sent on to Florence. This manuscript cannot have been the astrological work Mathesis by Iulius Firmicus Maternus, since this work in eight books was not discovered until 1429 by Poggio at Monte Cassino (Poggii Epistulae ed. Tonelli, III, 37; 39). Perhaps it was the De errore profanarum religionum, which Firmicus wrote after his conversion to Christianity, the only extant copy of which is in the Vatican, but it is unlikely to be the same manuscript that Guarino had prepared for Gualdo.

In Letter 318 Guarino also mentions that he has been unable to obtain "the exemplar of Zeno," by which he probably means a Veronese Ms found in 1419 of the Tractatus (Sermons) of St. Zeno, Bishop
of Verona from 362 A.D. until his death about 375. Rosmini (Guarino I, p.153) says that Guarino had been the first to work on this text, but Guarino does not refer to such a redaction in his letters. The Tractatus were known in the Middle Ages (see Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church under "Zeno") and first published at Venice in 1508. Guarino did have a copy, however, which he sent to Gualdo, who later left it in Florence with Niccoli and Traversari (Letter 375). It was restored to Guarino in 1427 (Letter 407). Nothing could better indicate Guarino's generosity and trust than his willingness to lend out valuable manuscripts for long periods of time. He was no mere bibliophile, but a genuine seeker after knowledge.

We also hear of a Lactantius (Letter 333) which Guarino hoped to obtain from Francesco Barbarigo, but what the work in question was is not known.

Along with Letter 304, Guarino returned Ugo Mazzolato's Suetonius, and promised to send "the Aulus Gellius" later. In 1422 he had received a copy of Aulus Gellius to emend but had been too busy to do so. In Letters 310 and 321 he mentions being busy on the task, and it finally went to Mazzolato with Letter 320 in August, 1425.

133. In December, the citizens of Vicenza honoured Guarino by asking him to write the introduction
to the City Statutes, a revised corpus having been undertaken by Francesco Barbaro and his "capitano," Niccolò Cornaro. They were finally approved on the 4th of January 1426, and the Doge Francesco Foscari ordered Barbaro to put the new code into effect from 1st March. Guarino wrote the citizens on the 18th December 1425, praising Barbaro, and thanking them for the honour they had paid him. Famous as Barbaro's new code was, Guarino's introduction to it became even more so, for it was published three times in his own century and other editions appeared in subsequent centuries. It is also commonly found in manuscripts under the title: "Prohemium in municipales Vicentinorum leges ab Guarino Veronensi editum" or simply, "Guarinus Veronensis ad Franciscum Barbarum." It might surprise us to find a humanist invading, as it were, the field of law, until we recall that the reverse process had been underway since at least the Thirteenth Century (Cf. D. Hay, The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background p. 70-73, esp. P. O. Kristeller's remark on p. 73). There are a number of examples of lawyers in the Fourteenth Century and earlier whose main interest does not appear to have been the law, but literature. In the Fifteenth Century, we have an excellent example in Antonio Beccadelli of a man who combined legal studies with the writing of poetry and
an interest in the classical revival. The same is true of Guarino's lawyer, Mazo dei Mazi, and a host of others.

134. At the beginning of 1426, Guarino's mother, Libera, made her will, in which she is described as "ill and bed-ridden, but by God's grace, sound of mind and coherent in speech" ("languens corpore et in lecto iacens, attamen per dei graciam sana mente et intelectu (sic) et recte loquens"). Lugubrious as such occasions are apt to be, Guarino does not seem to have considered his mother's end was at hand, for after witnessing the will on the 8th of January, and presenting it to the registrar on the 12th, he left for Trent. We know this from Letter 345, written at the end of the month, in which he says that he has just returned from transacting some public business at Trent. Libera seems to have ailed every winter after that, but she did not die until 1433 (Letter 571).

135. The year promised well. Giacomo Zilioli, Guarino's influential and generous friend in Ferrara, had agreed to send his sons, Paolo and Bonaventura, to the school in spring, a time, as Guarino says in Letter 343, "suitable not only for planting bushes, but also for sowing the seeds of learning." They did not, however, arrive until June (Letter 360).

Lamola had also written with exciting news
(Letter 344). A manuscript containing the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus had been discovered in Germany. Actually, a description of this manuscript had been sent by a monk from the monastery at Hersfeld to Rome (cf. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* p. 4-5 and 263-82). More exciting still was Lamola's announcement that a manuscript of Cornelius Celsus, the medical writer, had been unearthed, for as yet Celsus was only a name to the humanists. Guarino's reply was exuberant: "Oh, if it were only granted me to see Cornelius Tacitus himself, the friend and colleague of my friend Pliny, and speak to him in person! As for Cornelius Celsus, after hearing his name and status, I am so ablaze with desire to see and hear him, that if the whole of Lake Benaco were poured over me, it couldn't quench this kind of fire!" He then begs for more details, especially how he can obtain a copy of Celsus. His excitement mounted when Antonio Beccadelli wrote him in April (Letter 355) again mentioning the *Agricola* and *Germania* and adding the *Dialogus* to the list of discoveries. There were other riches, too; Frontinus' work on the aqueducts of Rome and Suetonius' *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*. But Beccadelli was most enthusiastic about the

* The monk at Hersfeld had found all three of the minor works of Tacitus, but Lamola had not heard of the *Dialogus* when he wrote Letter 344. These works were "rediscovered" in 1455 at Hersfeld by Enoch of Ascoli.
manuscript of Celsus, which he had in his keeping at Bologna. Apparently it was on loan from a citizen of Siena, who had found it in that city, and upon leaving town for a spell had entrusted it to his wife, whom Beccadelli calls "Helenca." Ordered by her husband to lend it to Beccadelli, she parted with it reluctantly; and when it was delivered, the last page and three others from near the middle were found to be missing—torn out, according to Beccadelli, to help her card her wool. Whether she had been responsible for the mutilation or not, it still earned her the title of "whore" from Beccadelli, who branded her daughter and niece also with the same mark. In his reply (Letter 356) Guarino could not resist piling further opprobrium on the good lady, whom he had never even met: "Elencham, idest improbatam mulierem, evasit Cornelius Celsus... Huil Harpyas et Scyllas omnis flagitio superans et tentigine monstrum, lena meretrix periura et vere elencha, idest digna. Quid sibi cum Cornelio Celso, nisi ut quae tot penes insatiata deglutit et hunc ipsum improba devoraret?"

136. Beccadelli must have sent the manuscript

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Poggio, says the latter found the Celsus at Constance, but this is an obvious fiction. F. Marx (Taubner ed. of Celsus, 1915, p. xxxix-li) claims that Niccoli went to Siena in 1427 to find the ms. One may therefore deduce that it had by then been returned to its Sienese owner.
to Verona, for on 11th October (Letter 375), Guarino wrote to Gualdo that he had that day "brought out" an edition of Celsus, which would be of immense interest, especially to physicians. About November (Letter 380) he wrote to Lamola, exulting that Celsus could now speak to humanity.

In both letters, Guarino mentions the discovery of Cicero's *De republica*, a work that had been long lost. But in fact this discovery, made by Nicholas of Cusa* in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, consisted only of the extract from the end of *De republica* Book VI, known in the Middle Ages and since as the *Somnium Scipionis*. Nicholas, acting on behalf of Cardinal Giordano Orsini, had found, according to Guarino, "eight hundred very old manuscripts", among them fifteen comedies, and part of a sixteenth, by Plautus. This was plainly the famous codex Ursinianus (now codex Vaticanus Latinus 3870), which contained the *Amphitruo, Asinaria, Aulularia*, verses 1-503 of the *Captivi*, the *Bacchides, Mostellaria, Menaechmi, Miles Gloriosus, Mercator, Pseudolus, Poenulus, Persa, Rudens, Stichus, Trinummus, and Truculentus* (See A. Ekmout's introduction to the Bude edition of Plautus, 1952, p. xxviii).

* For his discoveries in general, see Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* 1905, p. 110, and 1914, p. 16-27.
These comedies did not reach Rome until December, 1429. Poggio tells us (Epistulae IV, 4) that the first four in the above list were already known, the other twelve being "ex lucro". Guarino did not set about getting copies of the comedies found by Nicholas of Cusa until 1430 (Letters 578, 579) and even then he thought that only ten new plays, not twelve, had been discovered. (Letter 578, 38-40: "Principio ut transcribendi facias decem comoedias Plauti, quae repertae nuper sunt, ultra eas quas habebamus antea... "). Hence when he referred in Letter 366 of 3rd August, 1426, to the "comedies of Plautus" being copies for Zilioli, he must have meant the plays known in the Middle Ages: the Amphitruo, Asinaria, Aulularia, Captivi, Casina, Curculio, Epidicus, Vidularia, and Cistellaria.

137. The manuscript of Plautus was copied for Zilioli by Guarino's own scribe, "a faithful fellow, by no means ignorant of literature", whose name is nowhere mentioned. The work was finished by the end of October (Letter 379). The scribe had also been asked to copy a Servius, but refused because the exemplar which Guarino had obtained via Zilioli from the Gonzaga library at Mantua (Letter 438) was too hard to read. Guarino was determined to have this Servius copied, for Zilioli had promised the copy to him as a gift. The problem was solved by Zilioli's commissioning of the Florentine scribe, Mariotto Nori, on Guarino's recommendation.
This man had beautiful hand-writing, but was vain and childish and the butt of many jokes by Guarino in letters to his friends. Even so, Guarino respected and used his talents more than once; for instance, on 9th September (Letter 373) he mentions that he is expecting the arrival of Augustine's *De quantitate animae* from Mariotto, but it is not clear whether the latter had copied it or merely acted as an agent in its purchase. In the same letter, Guarino promised Mariotto a copy of his *Regulae* (see sec. 91) and apologized for not having a copy of Propertius, which he admits to having seen "elsewhere"—probably in Florence, where Ambrogio Traversari had a copy. Guarino expressed a wish to look at this author again, and although he did not name Traversari as the owner, was careful to ask Mariotto to pass on his respects to Traversari when next he wrote to Florence. Propertius was little known among the earlier humanists. E.A. Barber in the Oxford Classical Text of Propertius (1953) lists eight manuscripts of this author belonging to the Fifteenth Century, as well as the codex Laurentianus of about 1380 which has marginal notes by Coluccio Salutati. It is just possible that this was the manuscript Guarino had seen "elsewhere". But the text of Propertius seems to have been virtually unknown to Guarino, for he never quotes from it or refers to Propertius by name, except in this one passage.
Other authors whom Guarino does mention in 1426 were Lactantius (Letters 357, 358) and Papias (Letter 379). Tommaso Parentucelli, the future Pope Nicholas V, had found Lactantius' *Epitome* (of the *Divinae Institutiones*) at the Abbey of Nonantola, a rich source of manuscripts (See G. Tiraboschi. *Storia dell' augusta badia di s. Silvestro di Nonantola*, Modena, 1784; Sabbadini: *Scoperte dei codici*, 1905, p. 89-91). Guarino, however, had only heard of the find, and may not have obtained a copy. The same is true of a Papias found at Reggio (Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, 1905, p. 123.)

It was in 1426 that Guarino's attention was first called to Antonio Beccadelli, commonly called Panormita, from Panormus his birth-place in Sicily. Beccadelli was studying law at Bologna where he became friendly with Giovanni Lamola, who wrote to Guarino about him in terms of the highest praise. On 26th January (Letter 344) Guarino confessed an interest in this new star of humane learning, and was even a little extravagant: "O felix hisce viris et divinis ingeniiis actas!" Lamola sent him a copy of Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus*, which had come out in September, 1425. Guarino seems to have looked it over and then written a hasty and perhaps ill-conceived letter (346) which was later to land him in considerable trouble. (See Guarino as a figure in controversy.) Beccadelli wrote in February (Letter 347)
thanking Guarino for his praise, and ever afterwards admired him extravagantly, although Guarino’s first flush of enthusiasm for Beccadelli cooled.

In February, Aurispa wrote Guarino from Florence (Letter 348), mainly to promote his fellow-countryman Beccadelli, but also to complain about the treatment he was receiving in Florence. He had been hired in September, 1425, to teach at the university there (Letter 303) and remained two years without enjoying much success. Possibly this was because he was less of a scholar than a business man engaged in the purchase and sale of manuscripts; but he himself alleges that the Florentines were jealous of the large collection of manuscripts he had brought back from Greece in December, 1423. Certainly Aurispa had a magnificent collection: from his first voyage (1405-1413) he brought back manuscripts of Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dio Cassius, and Aristarchus’ commentary on Homer; from a second voyage (1421-1423) he brought back 238 volumes, the most important being the Homeric Hymns, Pindar, Plato, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Callimachus, Xenophon, Strabo, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus. Although he does not say so, Aurispa’s

* Aurispa’s friend Rinuccio da Castiglione brought back from Constantinople in 1423 the Dialogues of Plato, Aesop, Lucian, and Archimedes’ treatise on floating bodies.
real problem may have been that the Florentine bibliophiles wanted the use of his manuscripts without being willing to pay for them. It will be recalled that Guarino had experienced a similar rapaciousness from Niccoli, and had no great liking for Florence, so that he probably relished Aurispa's comment, "I would rather live with beasts than with such fellows". At any rate he sympathized with Aurispa (Letter 350), advised him to close his ears with wax, like Odysseus, and get clear of Florence with all speed. In the same letter, he hints that there was something untoward about Beccadelli's personal morals, but does not yet come out with a condemnation.

140. Nothing, however, could better illustrate Guarino's sympathetic nature than his letters to Martino Rizzon, the young student who had gone to tutor Giovanni Tegiaci's sons in Venice. In October, 1425, Guarino gave him some excellent advice on regulating his own study hours and the principles to which a teacher should adhere (See Guarino and humanistic educ.). Rizzon seems at first to have liked his post and Venice, a full description of which he had sent (Letter 337), waxing lyrical enough to call it "a paradise of delight and the glory of all Italy" ("paradisus deliciarum et universae Italiae splendor"). Even the faint stench from the canals did not offend him. Early in 1426, however, he began to grow
restless. None of his letters written in 1426 has survived, so far as I can discover, but Guarino wrote him no fewer than nine that are extant (351, 353, 361, 363, 364, 365, 381, 383, 384). In March, he begged Rizzon to write more often, then took him gently but firmly to task for resenting the treatment given him by Tegiaci. Guarino points out that success does not come over-night, and that far from being exploited, Rizzon was being paid a salary that many young teachers would be glad of; he should conform to his employer's whims and refrain from complaints. "Stop throwing around those silly remarks about your mother and relatives and home," he warns him roundly. One presumes that Rizzon had been trying to extract more money by claiming that his mother needed financial assistance; but his real problem seems to have been vanity and extravagance, for Guarino warns him that a rich wardrobe would eat into any salary and suggests that he spend his money on books rather than on unnecessary luxuries. The admonition seems to have worked, for Guarino's letters to Rizzon for the remainder of the year were less severe, even indulgent. By November (Letter 381) he had written Tegiaci suggesting improved terms for Rizzon. At the end of Letter 383, five words speak volumes for Guarino's wisdom and affection for his ex-pupil: "Tu vale, stude, disce, persta" which may be translated loosely as "Take care of yourself, study and learn, and don't give up." In spite of a certain waywardness
and laziness in Rizzon (in Letter 353 Guarino calls him "insuetus et ad laborem molliusculus") his old teacher seems to have regarded these faults as mere peccadillos and to have exerted himself considerably on his behalf.

141. In return, Rizzon was able to do Guarino a favour. Gian Nicola Salerno had died on 13th June (Letter 361) and Guarino composed and delivered the funeral oration. "I am most anxious" he wrote to Rizzon, "that a copy of that speech, on which I spilt more tears than ink, should be sent to Leonardo Giustinian." Rizzon must have delivered it and then passed it on to Francesco Barbaro (Letter 363). The speech is extant in many manuscripts, and Sabbadini published some extracts from it (Epistolario vol. 3, p. 202) among which is this interesting passage: "When a certain countryman of ours—for his honour I do not mention his name—met Salerno recently on his way to school he asked: 'Why do you attend classes even at this time of life?' Gian Nicola replied: 'So that I may die the less' (ut minus moriar). Then his questioner asked: 'How long do you intend to be a student?' The answer was: 'As long as I have no reason to regret getting wiser and better.'" Salerno died aged 47, one year younger than Guarino in 1426.

142. Professionally, 1426 was a good year for Guarino, if only because it marked the beginning of his close association with Giacomo Zilioli and the court at Ferrara. He had known Ugo Mazzolato, the chancellor, and Zilioli, the marquis'
secretary, since 1415 and corresponded sporadically with both, but the really important period of Guarino's contact with Ferrara dates from June, 1426, when Zilioli's sons, Paolo and Bonaventura, came to his school. In Letter 370 he says: "I have entrusted the boys to my wife, more out of deference to that excellent mother of yours (Zilioli) than because I thought it was necessary. For believe me, my wife may be affectionate to my own children, but she is just as affectionate to yours and extremely lenient with them. So don't worry." In a previous letter (360) he had promised that the boys would live "socratice, idest tenuiter ac sobrie," with liberal helpings of culture rather than food. One imagines that the change of policy was to re-assure the children's grandmother that he did not intend to starve them of nourishment or love. In the months ahead Zilioli sent many gifts, usually eels and other comestibles. Doubtless he was inspired by his mother's anxieties as much as by his own generosity. Be that as it may, Zilioli certainly trusted Guarino, and the letters that passed between the two men now began to take on a real note of warmth and mutual respect.

143. In September Guarino went to Val Policella to supervise the vintage, a business which he told Lamola (Letter 374) had been thrown upon him by Tadea since she was "taken up with her pregnancy and unable to attend to the vintage, which was her sphere of activity." On 11th
October he announced to Gualdo: "Today I was blessed with a new baby boy, who is the fourth brought into the world by my wife." This statement led Sabbadini into what seems to me an absurdity.

He points out that Guarino ends Letter 318, of July 1425 with the words: "Valet Hieronymus, Aesopus, Augustinus et Manuel," that is, four sons are listed; Girolamo, Esopo, Agostino and Manuel. He concludes that between July, 1425 and 11 October, 1426, "Esopo" must have died, which is why Guarino lists the son born in October 1426 as his fourth. To support his view, Sabbadini adds that the name "Esopo" does not occur again in Guarino's writings. But this argument will not bear examination.

Guarino's first son, Girolamo, was born in September, 1421 (Letters 205, 208, 407) and the first we hear of a second son is on 1st June, 1423, at the end of Letter 231: "Our Esopo . . . is in the country, and is learning to endure sunshine and wind, so that he may grow up strong". Sabbadini is probably right in claiming (Epistolario vol. 3, p. 148) that the second child was born about September, 1422, for in that year Ermolao Barbaro was working at Val Policella on a translation of Aesop's Fables, and the nature of his work may have suggested the name "Esopo" (Aesop). The first mention of a child called "Agostino" comes in Letter 272 of 18th September, 1424, in which Guarino asks Battista Zendrata to pay four pounds to the boy's nurse in the Abbey of San
Floriano, near Verona. We know from Letters 279, 280, 285, and 423 ("quem olim educandum dedi ad S. Florianum") that "Agostino" had been left behind when Guarino went to seek refuge in Trent. In Letter 268 of August, 1424, Guarino wrote from San Martino, near Verona, that he planned to go to Venice—his initial intention before hearing of the prohibition placed by the Venetians upon the entry of outsiders—and to convey "both boys" (utrumque puellum) there on a mule. But the fact that he planned to take both boys does not imply that he actually did so. Further, why does he talk of only two boys, if there were three to be disposed of? Sabbadini (Epistolario vol. 3, p. 65), going on his assumption that there were three, says that "Agostino" was left behind in Verona: "Agostino, l'ultimo nato, restava a balia a Verona." There is no mention in Guarino's letters from Trent of an "Esopo"; and if "Agostino" had been born, as he would have to have been, some time in 1423, it is odd that Guarino never mentions it in the letters of that year. He does not even say that Tadea was pregnant. Surely the solution is simple enough: "Esopo" and "Agostino" were one and the same child, born in 1422 and given two names, "Esopo Agostino," the first of which was soon dropped in favour of the second, as frequently happens in the case of a baby. "Esopo" may even have been no more than a pet name given by Ermolao Barbaro and kept up for a short time as a joke. Guarino himself, being a classical scholar, may have liked
"Esopo," but "Agostino" would commend itself more readily to Italian ears and would stand a better chance of becoming the dominant name. The double name should present no obstacle, since Guarino named his next son, born on 7th December, 1424, "Ambrogio Manuel" (Letter 288, 53-54: Ambrosio et Manguli nomen indidi") but always referred to him as Manuel.

If the above explanation is rejected, we must convict Guarino of being unable to count, because in Letter 375 he specifies that a new son (to be called Gregorio) is the fourth Tadea has brought into the world. There is no mention here, or elsewhere, of one having died. The list given in Letter 318, on which Sabbadini's case rests, presents no problem. It should be re-punctuated: "Valet Hieronymus, Aesopus Augustinus, et Manuel." Girolamo Gualdo, to whom the letter was written, would know that "Aesopus" went with "Augustinus," but subsequent copyists could easily make the error of separating the words by a punctuation mark. The punctuation is not therefore sacrosanct. As a confirmation of my argument, there is Lodovico Carbone's statement that Guarino had thirteen children. Carbone accounts for them all, dead and alive, but no "Esopo" is mentioned.

144. The only other noteworthy event of 1426 was Guarino's translation of Plutarch's life of Philopoemen, which he dedicated to Mazo dei Mazi (Letter 377). It is remarkable that he found time for such work when he was so busy supervising the vintage; Letter 375 is dated "Ex
Valle Polyzella V idus octobris, inter musta et torcularia."
Tàdea's confinement, however, and his duties on the estate
did not prevent him from doing scholarly work or enjoying
the company of friends. At one supper party in his house he
regaled Lavagnola, Mazo dei Mazi, Faella, Brugnara and others
with a letter of Mariotto Nori's from Florence: apparently
someone in that city had made opprobrious remarks about the
Veronese humanists, but Guarino tells us (Letter 380) that
his guests nearly perished with laughter when they heard
Mariotto's report. 1426 had, on the whole, been a good year.

145. The next was just as busy and full of interest.
In January or February, Guarino wrote a verse epistle (386)
to the artist Antonio di Bartolomeo Pisano, more familiarly
known as "Il Pisanello" or "Pisanello." This poem of 90
lines, called by Biondo in Italia illustrata "easily the
most famous poem of the century," has sometimes been assigned
by art critics to Guarino's period at Ferrara because of a
supposed reference to the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus in
lines 16-17: "Induperatorum faciem sagulumque vel arma/
Nobilitans." If "induperatorum" is translated "of emperors"
then the reference is to Pisanello's medal of the Eastern
Emperor, struck during the Council of Ferrara in 1438.
But "induperatorum" can, and more probably does mean "of
generals," an interpretation strengthened by the words
"sagulum" (a general's cloak) and "arma" (weapons). The
reference then would be to the battle scenes painted by
Pisanello at Venice early in his career, before he moved on
to work in the Lateran at Rome, and thence to his native Verona. He showed no interest in celature, for which he is most famous, until 1423.

Guarino's poem is competently written, but as literature hardly justifies the fame that has accrued to it. Sabbadini points out that Line 34 "Seu volucre seu quadrupedes, freta saeva quietaque" is hyper-metrical; but this is not a flaw, since the next line begins with a vowel. There are more than a score of examples of this in Vergil alone. Line 11 begins "Mihi natura neget" in all the manuscripts, and Sabbadini rightly restores "Mi natura neget," which is surely what Guarino wrote. The poem is replete with echoes of Ovid, Persius, and Vergil; like most humanistic productions, it smells heavily of the lamp, and lacks the freshness and genuine inspiration of Petrarch. On the other hand, it has proved its value to art historians.

147. Guarino had known Pisanello from at least 1416: there seems to be a definite reference to him in Letter 55: "When Master (magister) Pisano left here (Padua) he promised to give my Cicero to Master Pietro." The title "magister" does not prove that Pisanello, who would then be about 21, had a university degree, but it suggests scholarly attainments. It could be that Guarino was merely using him as a messenger, but there is also a possibility that the bond between the two men was a common interest in humane studies rather than a devotion to painting, for there is little in Guarino to
indicate that he was a real connoisseur of art. His references to it are surprisingly few and are nearly always "dead references" to shadowy figures such as Phidias, Polycletus, Polygnotus, Apelles, Zeuxis, and Praxiteles (Letters 346, 386, 861) which he knew only from the pages of Pliny.* One wishes that Guarino had told us more about contemporary works of art and artists whom he had seen with his own eyes. No-one in Italy at that time could have failed to notice the paintings, mosaics and statues in every church, not to mention private houses where the nuclei of huge collections were already being gathered. Venice itself, a city well known to Guarino, was one of the most colourful in Europe. Martino Rizzon describes its palaces in rapturous terms: "...illas aedes amplissimas marmoribus eductas, auro et picturis distinctas" (Letter 337, 16-17). It is well known that colour played an important part, both hedonistically and symbolically, in the lives of people in the period under general discussion. To judge from his writings, however, Guarino, like Erasmus, does not appear to have been responsive to colour, or to have valued art for decorative purposes. He loved nature, but his descriptions of it concentrate on the qualities of freshness, movement, size and so on. Now and then he will use a word like "viridis" (green) but far more often the adjectives he chooses to describe natural objects are "dark" or "sparkling" rather than those specifying a positive colour. For example, the poem to Pisanello contains only one adjective of colour (line 94: "...per prata virentia flores") and even there it seems to have come in to make the necessary dactylic rhythm in the fifth foot of the hexameter. The next two lines are more typical:

"Arboribus lux prisa redit, colleque nitescunt,
Hinc mulcet avium praedulces aesthera cantus."

*References in Pliny N.H to the artists Guarino mentions are: Apelles, XXXV, 128-129; Polygnotus XXXIV, 69-71; Timanthes XXXV 72-74; Zeuxis, XXXV, 62; Euphranor, XXX, 128-129; Canachus XXXIV, 50; Polyclitus XXXIV, 69-71; Myron XXIV, 57; Praxiteles XXXIV, 69-71.
In describing Pisanello's painting (lines 60-61) Guarino's interest centres upon the play of light and shade and the proportions and perspective:

"Quae lucis ratio aut tenebrarum distantia qualis!
Symmetriae rerum! quanta est concordia membris!"

One gets the impression that Guarino saw nature and art in black-and-white with the eyes of a mathematician rather than in full colour with the eyes of a hedonist. Common sense, of course, rebels at this overstatement of the case. It would be illogical to damn Guarino as unresponsive to colour and art in general simply because he does not refer to these things frequently. After all, he did write Letter 386 in praise of Pisanello, and had obviously looked at his work. We shall understand Guarino's attitude better if we remember two things.

First, it was not yet the high noon of the Renaissance, with its full-blown cult of individual prowess, glorification of the artist, and sometimes frank hedonism. Guarino is a figure representing the transition from typically mediaeval thinking to that of the High Renaissance. He was still sufficiently mediaeval to have no notion of art for art's sake, and seems definitely to have believed that the purpose and justification of artistic creation was not to give pleasure (which had sinful connotations) but edification, and in particular, moral edification. He always appears concerned to emphasize the "useful" purpose of things which might be valued by us purely for their decorative effect. For example, in Letter 35, of 1415, he asks Ugo Mazzolato for a picture of Ferrara ("situm depictum quam diligenter") but specifies that his interest in it lay in its usefulness for historical research. Unquestionably he would not have thought that the carvings, coloured marbles, and glorious paintings with their rich gold leafing in churches had been placed there to delight the eye, but to reflect the glories of Heaven.
and inspire devotion. Similarly, he would value a painting for its technical excellence only insofar as it provided useful information or a means of spiritual exaltation leading to a betterment in personal morals. The last part of Guarino's poem to Pisanello makes it clear that the painting in question was a religious one (could it have been Pisanello's lost painting of St. Jerome, Guarino's favourite saint?) and that its real splendour for him lay in the subject. He praises the technique, it is true, but points out that the pagans were also fine technicians. What makes Pisanello's work better is that the ancients could create only the likeness of false gods, whereas Pisanello can paint the Eternal Father and the saints who have shown men the path to salvation.

Second, he was first and foremost a literary man, and believed in the supremacy of the written word over the plastic and pictorial arts. He was much too tactful to make this point in the poem to Pisanello, but there is perhaps a veiled implication that literature is really a more rewarding activity than painting in his remark that Plato and Socrates did not despise the art.* In this poem, Guarino is content with saying that both literature and painting can confer immortality on their subjects. In Letter 861, of 1452, however, he comes out with a very clear statement of his belief in the supremacy of literature. Battista Guarino had written a letter describing the appearance of Manuel Chrysoloras, and Guarino thanks him in these words: "You place him before my eyes in such a way that as I behold Manuel Chrysoloras' stature, expression, beard, complexion, mannerisms, and the whole set of his body, I almost begin to shout for joy, 'even such his eyes and hands,

*Diogenes Laertius, Plato III, 5 says Plato practised painting. Socrates is not thought of as a painter, but if he ever made sculptures in the proper sense he would also have painted them. Guarino could not, however, have known this.
and such the face he showed. So to my way of thinking you have surpassed Zeuxis, Apelles, Polyclitus, and to mention the moderns, Gentile (Bellini), Pisano, and Angelo (da Siena) in painting skill, and the more so because, first, they paint or painted in ephemeral pigments, and second, because they made their figures mute, and in such a way that the artist's glory dominates that of the figure depicted; but you give colouring and artistic expression to my friend Manual in such firm, lively and enduring lines that his life and the immortality of his name grow greater every day."

148. As far as music is concerned, the same caution must be observed as regards the plastic and pictorial arts: the fact that Guarino rarely mentions it does not necessarily mean that he was un-musical. He never discusses music as an art or refers to any specific musical performances or instruments, except trumpets. This is a pity, because music flourished at Ferrara under Leonello d'Este (See E. G. Gardner, Poets and Dukes in Ferrara, N.Y., 1903, p. 54) and it would be pleasant to hear more about it. Perhaps Guarino considered that he should keep apart from the more sensuous delights of court (cf. Letter 796, end). Certainly, as a humanist, he would consider songs in the vernacular as frivolities beneath literary notice, which is why he never mentions music even to Leonardo Giustinian, who is remembered today as a writer of Italian poems to be set to music rather than as a humanist. There are, however, two letters (389, 390) to Giacomo Zilioli praising a priest called Gioacchino. Very likely they were recommendations on behalf of this priest in an application for the post of court musician, for Zilioli

Giustinian's poem "Perla mya cara, o dolce amore" is fairly well known to students of early Italian verse. This song, with its music (which may also be by Giustinian) and another attributed to Giustinian are recorded on side 2 of Masterpieces of the Early French and Italian Renaissance (Nonesuch Records, New York, 1965)
would be the man to make such an appointment. In the first letter, Gioacchino is called a "modern Orpheus". The other is a verse epistle of 11 lines, the kind of thing Guarino could have dashed off as an extra testimonial. It appears that Gioacchino's instrument was the organ, and the last two lines suggest that he was also a composer:

"Qui musis luces, quo musae auctore relicent,
Pro quibus accedunt tibi grandés undique testes."

But even this evidence presents a difficulty. Guarino was capable of producing a reference for a musician without being himself a devotee of music; he does not state that he himself has been enraptured by Gioacchino's art, but simply that he was known to be a skillful musician. It is tempting to think of Guarino enjoying music at those informal convivial gatherings of which he was so fond, to argue that his enjoyment of the rhythms of prose and verse almost imply a musical ear; but for all we know, he could have been as unmoved by music as Samuel Johnson, that other great literary man. One recalls that Guarino approved of dancing, which is unthinkable without music, but even this activity was only a means to refresh the mind for further study, and not an end in itself. His artistic enjoyment seems to have come predominantly, if not exclusively, from the spoken or written word; his recreations are listed in Letter 311 as "rusticaria negotia vel militaria", by which he probably means country rambles, gardening and arms drill. But we should always keep in mind the Christian conscience that would prevent Guarino from admitting in letters that might reach the eyes of posterity that he indulged himself in the sensuous frivolities of painting and music for their own sake; nor should we forget a certain element of literary snobbery that permeates all humanistic writings, in which literature as an occupation and pastime is invariably exalted over the other arts. If he
did enjoy painting or like

"To hear the Lute well toucht, or artfull voice
Warble immortal Notes and Tuskan Ayre"

he is remarkably careful to hide it.

1119. Although Milan and Venice had been at war since 1426, Guarino did not at first make references to it. This does not mean that he took no interest in current events, but simply that he avoided expressing himself frequently on the explosive subject of politics, a prudent course for one whose concern was to study and teach with as little interference from outside as possible. Barzizza seems to have pursued the same policy, for in February, 1427, he was able to send Guarino a letter (388) from Milan via Francesco Mariano, but refrained from giving any information on affairs in Lombardy ("nunc litteris non sunt mandanda"). It is possible that Mariano had to have letters of passage into Veronese territory*, and there was always the chance that his documents, among them Barzizza’s letter, would be inspected. Mariano may, however, not have been a Milanese subject, although he had been studying under Barzizza, so that when he decided to learn Greek under Guarino at Verona, there would be no obstacle to his leaving. Guarino had to resort to a rather roundabout method of getting letters to Milan, for on 25th February he wrote to Beccadelli in Bologna (Letter 391) asking him to write Lomola, who had gone to Milan at the end of 1426 to work for Cambio Zambeccari, and ask him to borrow a certain copy of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and send it somehow to Verona.

This Macrobius belonged to Giovanni Corvini, a noted politician and bibliophile, who already by 1412 had an excellent library, including

*Cf. Letter 294, 15-16: "Nam tibi de litteris passus providebo, ut et commode venias et utiliter" (Guarino to Lomola, who would have to pass from Bologna to Verona)
Cicero's letters to Atticus, an Aulus Gellius, and the Macrobius Guarino wanted so badly. The latter had been trying to obtain it since 11:22, when he enlisted the aid of Giacomo Zilioli and Ugo Mazzolato (Letter 223). The real owner of the manuscript was Bartolomeo Capra, Archbishop of Milan, but Corvini—whom Guarino habitually calls a "harpy"—had it securely in his talons. In Letter 1128, Capra himself says that his Macrobius had "descended to Hell" and promises to get another copy for Guarino. It was Lamola who finally contrived to send Guarino a transcription of Macrobius in 11:28 (Letter 455). This was founded on two copies, one of which Cambio Zambeccari had wrested from the clutches of Corvini, the other being an "older manuscript" obtained from Lodi. Although Capra was unable to help Guarino, several letters passed between the two men and helped to keep alive Guarino's contacts with Milan.

150. The whole year was unusually busy, for Guarino refers more than once to his "unending labours". We do not know what books he was lecturing on, although a request for a copy of Priscian, that explained all the metres in Terence (Letters 406, 433), suggests that in August he was lecturing on that poet. In February, we hear of a complete text of Herodotus sent to him by Beccadelli (Letter 391). Probably this was the first complete one he had seen, although in 11:16 he had translated from Book I (Cf. Letters 46, n. 3, and 25, n. 3). In January, he had promised to look out for Cicero's Letters for Rizzon (Letter 387), and in April, he expressed excitement over Mariotto's progress with the Servius (Letters 403, 409). We also hear mention of Zeno, Pliny and Papias (Letters 407, 438), but he was not working on any of them. Guarino took a short break towards the end of April at Castelrotto (Letter 401) but was back at work in May. On the 17th, he wrote Flavio Biondo, who was serving as chancellor to the current podestà of Brescia, Pietro Loredan.
After asking for news of the war to be sent as soon as the Venetian army took the field, and details of how the "Lion" (Venice) was repulsing the "snake" (Milan) he wonders if Biondo can find him a serving girl of thirteen or fourteen. The wages were to be three or four ducats, inclusive of equipment such as shoes. To a woman of thirty or thirty-five, Guarino was ready to offer six or more ducats for help with making up the beds, cooking and other chores. One cannot help wondering why such domestic help could not readily be got in Verona. By 1st June he had given up the notion of getting a servant from Brescia, probably because the pace of the war had stepped up by May (Letter 404), but he still needed one (Letter 405), probably because Tadea was again pregnant. Besides, he had to enlarge his house to accommodate his growing "family" (Letter 406), by which he probably meant his "contubernales" or student boarders. The work began in August, and strained both Guarino's patience and finances. Benedict of Cremona, a fellow schoolmaster, acted as his go-between with various tradesmen while he himself was busy at Val Policella with the vintage (Letters 415, 416, 417). In Letter 416 he asks Benedict to find out if one Caravaggio will accept a cart load of grapes in payment. If he imagined that he would escape the noise at Verona by going to Val Policella, he was mistaken, for in Letter 419 of 25th September, he complains of the crowds that constantly surround him. Bartolomeo Brenzon had invited him to spend a holiday at Lake Benaco, but he could not accept because of the large numbers of students he had, so many that on country walks they clustered around him like grasshoppers or starlings. Even if he took them with him no inn could possibly accommodate them all; and in any case his conscience would not permit him to desert them. The wonder is that amid all his worries Guarino still had time to work with his students, even on feast days (Letter 420). Although
he does not say so, it is quite likely that he had to go on working be-
cause he needed the extra money. We know from Letter 418 that students
paid their fees in a lump sum, but they would expect a definite amount
of instruction for their money. Guarino would also have to make refunds
for any periods of interruption.

151. Relations with Ferrara could hardly have been better. All year,
Guarino sent frequent assurances to Giacomo Zilioli and the Lady Ferraria
that their children were flourishing, and was rewarded with warm friend-
ship, gifts, and at least one extra pupil, Ugutio della Badia, the son
of the marquis' secretary, Niccolò della Badia (Letter 425). In December,
Guarino was able to do Zilioli a favour, which must have raised his stock
considerably. As "referendarius" to Niccolò III, Zilioli was in charge
of all petitions and appointments; so that it was his task to select a
tutor for Meliaduse, Niccolò's second born natural son, now 21 years of
age. Aurispa and Beccadelli were being considered. In veiled terms,
Guarino wrote Zilioli (Letters 431, 432) warning him against one of them.
It would be throwing a lamb to the wolf. The word "lupus" being the male
version of "lupa", a whore, no doubt Zilioli understood what was intended.
Guarino was too discreet to name Beccadelli, but it was plainly he who
was meant. Aurispa was appointed and Zilioli escaped the possibility of
losing his office or even his head. Niccolò's sensitivity to moral cor-
ruption in others, if not in himself, was likely to explode in sudden
and irrevocable violence.

152. About this time, also, Guarino began his friendship with Niccolò
Pirondolo, who shared his enthusiasm for gardening. In September (Letter
412) Guarino asked him for some peach stones and fennel seed in return

\[\text{Gardner, Dukes and Poets in Ferrara following p. 563 publishes a family tree of the Este, in which Niccolò is shown to have sired 4 legitimate children and 12 natural ones, plus "many other bastards" that are un-named.}\]
for some seeds and cuttings from the garden at Val Policella. The messenger who was sent with the peach stones and seeds lost them along the way (Letter 420), much to Guarino's vexation. It is a pity that Guarino did not discuss his garden more often, because it is obvious that he loved nature. Like Petrarch, he enjoyed planting and watching things grow, but, unlike the earlier scholar, he does not seem to have kept minute records of his work for posterity.*

153. Even as he was writing to Pirondolo about the peach stones, Guarino was interrupted by a messenger from Ferrara with news that Ugo Mazzolato had died. It must have happened suddenly, because Guarino in Letter 409 of 28th August talked of him as being in good health. The cause of death was probably plague, which also carried off the infant son of Andrea Zulian sometime in 1427 (Letter 414). So frequent were those incursions of pestilence that the prospect of death was ever present. At the first sign of it, those who could afford to do so left for another district.

154. It is not therefore surprising that when Martino Rizzon heard a rumour that Guarino had died, he believed it. Guarino wrote to his ex-pupil on 9th October (Letter 422) assuring him that the "bad news" he had heard was untrue. This was not the first time that Guarino had been subject to this melancholy rumour, for in 1426 a report of his death had evoked a letter from Antonio Beccadelli (Sabbadini: Ottanta lettere inedite del Panormita, Catania, 1910, p. 125-29) and the following epitaph:

"Quantum Romulidae sanctum videre Catonem,
Quantum Cepheni volitantem Persea caelo,
Alciden Thebae pacantem viribus orbem;"

*Cf. Wilkins, Life of Petrarch p. 133: "On the last day of September... Petrarch, with some help planted spinach, beets, fennel and parsley in the garden of Sant' Ambrogio; and noted the fact in his Palladius."
Tantum laeta suum vidit Verona Guarinum

This epitaph was quoted and attributed to Beccadelli by Pietro Ransano (A. Termini, Pietro Ronsano, umanista palermitano del secolo XV, Palermo, 1915, p. 169). It is possible that the rumour heard by Rizzon in 1427 was no more than an echo of the earlier report. In 1429, Guarino again had to re-assure Zilioli that another report of his death was untrue (Letter 519). It can at least be said that rumours of a man's death are a reflection of his fame, as in the case of Petrarch (See E. Wilkins, Life of Petrarch, Chicago, 1963, pp. 145, 189, 224, 229).

155. Happier notes were struck by the birth of Guarino's fifth son, Leonello, about the beginning of November (Letters 1129, 1419) and the victory at Maclodio on 12th October of Carmagnola, the condottiere of Venice, over the Milanese troops under Piccinino. On the night of the 13th Guarino saw from Val Policella the blaze of torches in Verona. Passers-by soon told him that more than three thousand enemy troops had been captured or destroyed. This victory so thrilled his normally pacific nature that he set about composing a laudation of Carmagnola, which was to become his most famous oration (more fully discussed in Guarino as a figure in controversy).

156. At the end of 1427, Francesco Filelfo returned from Constantinople with a wife—the daughter of John Chrysoloras—and about 40 Greek manuscripts, including Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Theocritus, Aeschines, Polybius, and Dio Chrysostom. On the 21st December, he wrote a letter in Greek to Guarino (E. Legrand, Cent-dix lettres grecques de Francois Filelph, 1) from which we gather that Guarino had been used as an interlocutor between him and the University of Bologna, and had sent a messenger to Filelfo at Venice with an offer of employment at that institution. Filelfo accepted and began lecturing on Greek texts in March.
1428, although Guarino did not know he had actually gone to Bologna until May of that year (Letter 453). Writing to Martino Rizzon, who had given him the news, Guarino interestingly observes that Filelfo ought to make a more serious bid for popularity, and choose texts to lecture on that are "useful rather than vehicles of ostentation". Filelfo's contract was not renewed after the close of the academic year in August, and he moved on to Florence. He would have done well to imitate Guarino, who knew how to please his employers.

157. The first half of 1428 was quiet for Guarino, the only notable event being the publication of the speech on Carmagnola on 16th February (Letter 439). His friend Battista Bevilacqua, who had taken part in the campaign culminating in the victory at Maclodio, wanted Guarino to write a history of the entire war, and had supplied him with a mass of reports to help him do it, but Guarino declined on the grounds that history should be the "light of truth", and that if he treated the facts objectively he might not only offend some people but find himself under suspicion of treason. He admitted to Bevilacqua that he did not wish to neglect modern history, but thought it better to avoid possible trouble, citing Xenophon's dictum that he had often regretted having spoken, but never having held his tongue.

158. Other letters of this period were to the Genoese, Bartolomeo Guasco, who was in Ferrara for the peace conference between Venice and Milan (412), Flavio Biondo (400), Ugolino Elia (458, 450), Pietrobono Giosippos (419), Giovanni Spilimbergo (415) and Giacomo Zilioli (438, 441, 466, 447); of these only those to the last two named were important.

Spilimbergo was a schoolmaster at Udine, aged about 48. On 11th April (Letter 414) he wrote Guarino to say that he had married Bartolomea Giosippos, Tadea's cousin. Guarino expressed delight at having a "scholar"
in the family and also wrote to Pietrobono and Costantino Giosippo con-
gratulating them on their choice of a husband for the girl. We know from
letters written at this time by Guarino's pupil, Lodovico Ferrari, that
Guarino was Lodovico's uncle on the mother's side, and that Lodovico's mother,
Cecilia, was the sister of Bartolomea Giosippo's mother. Bartolomea was
the daughter of Costantino Ciosippo by his first wife. The relationship
between Spilimbergo and Guarino was therefore very distant.

159. The letters to Zilioli also concerned a wedding; that of Zilioli's
daughter to Ugolino Elia, the closest friend of Ziliolo Zilioli, Giacomo's
eldest son. The two men had graduated together as doctors of law in 1427
(Letter 411). Guarino had been invited to the wedding on the 14th February,
but expressed doubts that he would attend since he had no suitable clothes
and had no wish to be a "goose amid the swans". He agreed, however, to
write the wedding oration, which was to be delivered by either Paolo or
Bonaventura Zilioli. The wedding took place after the conclusion of the
peace negotiations on 19th April, because Giacomo Zilioli considered a
glittering social event would be out of place during the conference
(Letter 446). The boys left Verona on 20th April (Letter 447) in the charge
of Guarino's assistant, Antonio de Brescia.

160. Antonio returned with the boys on or just before 18th June (Letter 457).
Meanwhile, signs of plague had appeared in Vicenza (Letter 458) and by
25th July had spread to Verona; Guarino wrote to Zilioli that Paolo and
Bonaventura had been sent for safety to Val Policella (Letter 459).
By the 29th he had gone there himself with the few pupils he had left
(Letter 460). In Letter 462 he describes to Martino Rizzon how the plague
broke out in Verona, spread steadily, and caused most of his pupils to flee the city. By October he had dispersed most of the pupils who had followed him to Val Policella (Letter 467). Zilioli had meanwhile offered him refuge at Ferrara, but Guarino attempted to minimize the immediate danger and refused the invitation (Letter 468), although he could not conceal his anxiety, for between 25th July and 26th December he sent no fewer than seven brief reports to Zilioli on the progress of the plague and constantly implored his advice. Zilioli, trusting in Guarino's judgement, continued to send money and gifts (Letters 470-472), kept the invitation to Ferrara open, but did not withdraw his sons.

161. By 14th February 1429 the plague seems to have abated, for Guarino wrote his patron in light-hearted vein thanking him for a gift of eels and promising some carp in return. But by 25th March (Letter 472) a few deaths among the lower classes were reported at Verona and signs of plague had appeared in the surrounding countryside. Zilioli sent his courier, Gian Nicola, to Val Policella renewing his invitation to Ferrara, this time with the weight of a similar invitation from Marquis Niccolò d'Este. Guarino accepted with alacrity, but the terms of Niccolò's "liberale invitatamentum" are not stated (Letter 473). Guarino's words suggest, however, that some definite promise of assistance, perhaps financial, had been made: "I willingly and eagerly accept the offer (quod offertur), for what would I rather do than comply with the wishes of such an excellent prince? To serve him is to be a king." But he did not wish to leave Verona suddenly and without permission, for he was still under contract as public professor; he emphasized the need to "dissociate" himself rather than "break away"
from his native city. He promised to come at once if the plague persisted, otherwise he desired the marquis' permission to stay at least until the end of summer to put his affairs in order.

162. Does this mean that he had already made up his mind to leave Verona for good? Sabbadini in his *Vita di Guarino* sec. 199 says: "Probabilmente non avrebbe saputo dirlo nemmeno lui stesso." It is true that he loved his native city dearly, but there was much to attract him in Ferrara; it was a richer city, and he had made some powerful friends there, including Zilioli, referendarius of the marquis and next to him the most influential man in the state. Now the marquis himself was showing interest and had offered his patronage, even if it was only on a temporary basis. Besides, what real security did he have at Verona? The plague might last for months, and there was no certainty that his private pupils, from whom much of his income came, would return. It is also possible that he was still secretly smarting from the Council's hesitation in 1425 over his re-appointment. The same thing might happen again when his contract was again due for discussion early in 1430. Although too discreet to commit such thoughts to writing, he may well have been contemplating a permanent move, and that by putting his affairs in order he meant, among other things, continuing to draw his regular salary as long as possible.

162. Unfortunately, it was not to be. The plague worsened, and by 3rd April he had determined to leave with his entire household and furniture and was arranging to hire a boat to carry them via the Adige and Po to Ferrara (Letter 474); Zilioli was to find them a house there with four or five bedrooms. By the 7th he had obtained written permission, by 40 votes to 6,
to absent himself for the duration of the plague, without salary, and on condition that he accept no other offers of employment: "... cum condicione quod pro tempore quo atabit absens a civitate non lucretur salarium aliquod et nichilominus tempus quod steterit absens non preiudicet sibi quin possit prosequi usque ad terminum et ad tempus sibi concessum et promissum... ita quod quando redierit et repatriaverit possit prosequi tempus predictum cum salario..." (document published in Epistolario III, p. 241). Despite a reference to him as "benemerito", these terms seem a little brusque. If the Council had really wanted him back, or had shown sufficient foresight, one might have expected some kind of official assurance that his contract would be renewed. Instead, the terms of the decree were entirely to the advantage of the city. It is tempting to assume, with our historical hindsight, that Guarino's talents were universally appreciated, but the average citizen probably had little understanding of the true worth of scholars, and civic affairs, then as now, were often controlled by men wonderfully short-sighted in matters of culture. The fact that Verona employed a public professor — the next best thing to having a university within her walls — was certainly a matter of civic pride, but one is bound to wonder whether the concern of the city fathers for education went much deeper than that, or if they truly realized what an acquisition they had in Guarino.

163. Guarino's first letter from Ferrara is dated 21st May, but he had probably arrived about the middle of April, for there is extant in several MSS (including one in the British Museum, and one in the library of Balliol College) a speech made at a banquet given by Tebaldo Costabili in the house
of the Pendalia family. It is entitled Oratio Guarini Veronensis in
laudibus convivii in praeentia marchionis Ferrariae and appears to have
been given in April 1429 (See Epistolario III, p. 252-53). He had therefore
been welcomed by the upper classes of Ferrara. But such social delights
were short-lived, for plague appeared in the city by May (Letter 507),
and by the 24th Guarino, anticipating another sudden flight, had not
unpacked his belongings or leased a house.

164. The next we hear from him is at Argenta, a town in Ferrarese territory,
whence he wrote on 15th June (Letter 508) to Ugolino Elia, Zilioli's
son-in-law, deploring the death of Paolo Zilioli from plague. A great
deal had happened. One gathers that he had first taken his wife and children,
a relative known as Giovanni d'Este, Antonio da Brescia, the two sons of
Giacomo Zilioli, at least two domestics, and some friends from Ferrara,
including Bartolomeo Casciotto, Francesco Calcignano, and Bartolomeo Roverella
(Letters 508, 510, 526), to live in the house of one Lodovico Morelli
(Letter 529). There Antonio da Brescia, Paolo Zilioli, and Giovanni d'Este
fell sick of plague. Guarino at once withdrew himself and everyone but
the victims from the house, and found refuge in the house of Giacomo Bando.
So hasty had been his flight that he took no supplies with him and was
compelled to make use of some wine he found in Giacomo's house, which seems
to have been placed at his disposal very quickly. Nothing, indeed, could
induce him to send anyone back or even to touch the garments of those who
had been stricken with plague. Some people believed that the plague was not
contagious (Letter 541) but Guarino had observed that it was, and would run
no risk. His friends dispersed variously to Vicenza, Ravenna, and the
surrounding countryside, leaving only Guarino, his wife and children, Bonaventura Zilioli, and two serving girls named Caterina and Elisabetta (Letters 519, 533). Antonio da Brescia stayed on in Morelli's house to nurse Paolo and Giovanni. Paolo died before 15th June (Letter 508). Antonio recovered, and seems immediately to have left and remained in sorrow in the house of a friend called Isnaro. Giovanni d'Este, although rumour had it that Guarino had left him to die "like a beast", was tended by a servant of the local governor. He rallied temporarily (Letters 510, 515) but finally succumbed (Letter 569).

165. The loss of Paolo was not only a personal sorrow to Guarino, but might have damaged his relationship with the Zilioli. Giacomo himself showed admirable fortitude and held no grudge against Guarino or Antonio da Brescia, but his wife, Ferrara, fell into paroxysms of grief (Letter 517) and even as late as November, when Guarino wished to visit Ziliolo Zilioli at Porto, was unwilling to admit him to her house (Letter 559). Bonaventura was recalled soon after Paolo's death and not sent back again, despite repeated pleas from Guarino.

166. The whole period until the end of the year was full of vexations. First, Guarino's youngest son, Niccolò, was afflicted with worms, and then caught fever (Letters 516, 517). One of the serving girls was suffering from a protracted fever (Letter 521). Giacomo Zilioli fell ill in August (Letter 523). Antonio da Brescia caught fever about the same time (Letter 526). Agostino and Gregorio Guarino caught fever (Letter 527). Manuel fell and opened an ugly gash in his head, which did not heal until
early September (Letter 533). The serving girls were either ill or too weak to work most of the time, and Tadea was not only pregnant again but suffering acute pains in the kidneys (Letter 544). Most of the time it fell to Guarino to tend the invalids. The wonder is that he managed to preserve his sense of humour, making light of the continual noise which interrupted his rest and study and the crowded conditions in which they were living. In the meantime he also found time to send to Mantua for a book in the possession of Vittorino da Feltre (Letter 511), transcribe part of an Athanasius for Ugolino Elia and Tommaso Cambiatore (Letter 514), defend the governor of Argenta from charges that he had neglected to attend Paolo's funeral (Letters 515, 517), congratulate Elia on the birth of a son (Letter 540), encourage Lelio Todesco to continue with his studies (Letter 530), intercede with Zilioli for various persons (Letters 513, 524) and deal with a number of business and personal matters (Letters 525, 526, 528) not the least being a request that Damiano dal Borgo should remember to send Tadea a mauve silk sash from Venice, and a diplomatic move to lodge his mother in a smaller house at Verona (Letter 528). The only thing which seriously annoyed him was the theft of many of his possessions from the locked house of Lodovico Morelli in August (Letter 529). Guarino was scandalized to learn that the intrepid burglar was none other than a priest, who, although he could not be made to confess, nevertheless restored much of the spoil under pressure from the governor of Argenta and the Archbishop of Ravenna.

167. In September, a few people caught plague in Argenta. (Letter 542) Guarino thought first of going to a village called Longastrino, but
settled finally on San Biagio, where Paolo Rasponi offered him the use of his house (Letter 546). It was not too far from Argenta, for which Guarino was thankful, since the birth of Tadea's baby was imminent by 26th October (Letter 551). In fact, however, she had still not given birth before the end of the year. Much exercised by the thought of being pushed out into the cold if Tadea should give birth at night, since the house at San Biagio had only one room, Guarino jokingly regretted his lack of skill as a midwife and made a pact with his wife that she was to have the baby during the day (Letter 554). Meanwhile he made light of the constant distractions from study and kept himself busy by starting a funeral oration for Teodora, mother of Giacomo Zilioli, who had died fifteen days after Paolo at the age of 65. Not long after that, Giacomo's daughter, Contessa, wife of Niccolò Pirondolo, died, as did Girolamo, the little son of Ugolino Elia.

168. Guarino returned to Ferrara on 21st December or just before (Letter 568) and immediately wrote Stefano Todesco, largely to make sure that a jocular letter he had written to Tommaso Cambiato (562) had not been taken in ill part. In Letter 569 of 25th December he looked back upon the sorrows of the last months of 1429: many of his friends had died and he had incurred considerable expenses. The time had come to study and work again, and on the 30th he sent to Filippo Regino, the canon at Verona, for the Letters of Pliney and the commentary by John of Holywood on the Sphaera of Prosdocino dei Beldomandi (or di Beldomando), as well as Vergerio's De ingenuis moribus. Possibly the mathematical work was for his own interest or for sale to a customer — for Guarino occasionally acted as an agent in
this way — but the Pliny and Vergerio were certainly intended as texts for a series of lectures. Although his letter to Regino was private, Guarino probably realized that its contents would be discussed in Verona. He therefore made the point that he could not return because of the wintry conditions and Tadea's advanced pregnancy; besides, the youth of Ferrara had asked him to open a school, promising high fees, and he had agreed. Apparently, he did not expect that his contract in Verona would be renewed. Alternatively, he intended to teach in Ferrara only as a temporary measure to earn some much-needed money, and the statement to Regino that the youth of Ferrara wanted his services may have been an oblique hint to the Council that they should promise him a new contract. If so, it did not succeed. I believe, however, that Guarino had long made up his mind to remain in Ferrara and that only the most advantageous terms could have drawn him back to Verona.

169. According to Carbone, Guarino was given hospitality by the Strozzi brothers, Niccolò, Roberto, Lorenzo, and Tito. He seems to have lived in their palace until 1437, when he purchased a large house of his own.

170. Perhaps the final factor in his decision to remain at Ferrara was the death of his mother, Libera, early in the year (Letter 571), probably in March. In the same month or perhaps earlier, Tadon gave birth to a daughter, who was named Libora also. On 25th March Guarino wrote to Ziliolo Zilioli, then acting as envoy for Marquis Niccolò in Rome, that he had wished to delay the baby's christening until Ziliolo should return, but Giacomo Zilioli and Ziliolo's wife, Caterina, had not wished to wait. The marquis himself stood as one of the godfathers, a singular honour,
which indicates that Guarino already stood high in his favour. Guarino
now had a rapidly growing family, the oldest of whom, Girolamo, was
already advanced enough in his studies to write a letter to Stefano Todesco,
a friend of the family, to whom Tadea also wrote (Letter 576).

170. At this point an examination of Ferrarese culture before the arrival
of Guarino seems in order. According to Carbone in the funeral oration
on Guarino in 1460, it was barbaric. But we need not literally believe
that the ancient authors lay wholly neglected or that the greatest names
among them were rarely mentioned. Admittedly, the Latin taught in the
schools was mediaeval, and instruction in Greek was unobtainable, even
if anyone had wanted it. But Ugo Mazzolato had been in learned correspondence
with Guarino as early as 1415 (Letter 34) and Giacomo Zilioli was showing
a lively interest in the new "studia humanitatis" by 1417 (Letter 80).

In 1426 the latter sent his sons to Guarino at Verona. Flavio Biondo had
been welcomed at Ferrara in 1422, and Aurispa was invited there as tutor
to Meliaduce d'Este in 1427. Guarino seems to have engineered the appoint-
ment through his intimacy with Zilioli (Life sec. 151) but the Marquis
Niccolò III would never have sanctioned it if he had not been convinced
of the value of a humanistic education. Of course, by 1460 Ferrara had
become one of the great Italian centres of humanism, and such small beginnings
would mean nothing to Carbone, who was in any case writing in the exaggerated
manner appropriate to a funeral oration. Further, the humanists entertained
very rigid ideas of what constituted "culture," which they equated with
their own narrow classicism. It is surprising to find even Sabbadini,
writing in the Nineteenth Century, guilty of similar prejudices, for in
his Vita di Guarino sec. 215, he seems to suggest that Guarino in Ferrara,
Vittorino in Mantua, and Beccadelli in Milan somehow "improved" the
cultural tone of these cities. Not a word is said about pre-humanist
culture. It would be more accurate to say that while the humanists
changed the cultural atmosphere of these cities, they did not necessarily
improve it; for standards of excellence depend upon one's pre-selected
criteria. Within recent years mediaeval culture has been better understood
and appreciated, and enlightened minds no longer judge it by the yardstick
of humanistic prejudice.

171. Since some understanding of pre-humanist culture in Ferrara is
necessary for grasping Guarino's achievement there between 1430 and 1460,
it is well to recall that native Italian literature developed comparatively
late. The internecine struggles of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries
had drawn the attentions of Italians into non-literary fields. Intellectually,
they were pre-eminent as jurists -- hence the founding of the law school
at Bologna -- and this was one reason why Latin, the language of jurisprudence,
continued to flourish. Other reasons were the survival of Roman grammar
schools and the abiding presence of the Roman past; hardly a town in
Italy could not boast of some association with figures or events from
antiquity. Again, the many political divisions and jealousies between
states made adoption of any common dialect extremely difficult, so that by
the Thirteenth Century no really dominant form of Italian had emerged.
Meanwhile, to the north of what we now call France there had developed many
epics of chivalry written in the "Langue d'Oc," while in Provence had emerged the "Langue d'Oc" with its courtly lyrics of love and battles and a polished species of satire. Both of these languages found their way into Italy. The common people, more generally attracted to the Chansons de Geste and Arthurian romances of the Langue d'Oc, adopted a form of speech sometimes called Franco-Italian, while the nobles favoured the Langue d'Oc, spoke it in their courts, and aped the values of Provençal culture. So strong was the influence of Provençal troubadours in the Trevisan Marches, particularly from about the end of the Twelfth Century to the middle of the Thirteenth, that the area was known as "La Marca amorosa." Although Italian began to prevail about the middle of the Thirteenth Century, the French tradition did not completely wither, as is proved by the fact that Brunetto Latini wrote his *Tesoro* in French, Marco Polo dictated his adventures in French, and Dante saw fit to chastise those who preferred French to Italian. Similarly, the villa at Mantua which Vittorino used as a schoolhouse was named "Casa Gioiosa" ("Zoyosa" in the Venetian dialect), surely preserving memories of the Provençal word "Joie".*

In Ferrara, Azzo VI, first lord of the city (1208-1212), and his son, Azzo VII Novello (d. 1264), protected troubadours from Provence such as Aimeric de Pelguilhan and Ralmenz Eistors; and under Obizzo II (1264-1293)

*The fact that Vittorino was displeased with the associations of "Zoyosa" and changed it to "Giocosa" suggests that he wished to eliminate every trace of mediaevalism, even the associations of the villa with that comparatively harmless species of devotion known as "Amor courtois."
and Azzo VIII (d. 1308) a collection of Provençal poetry began to be amassed, particularly in the latter's reign by the so-called "Maestro Ferrara" or Ferrarino (G. Bertoni, La Biblioteca Estense e la Cultura Ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole I, Torino, 1903, pp. 4, 81-84). The tradition of courtly love poetry, commingled with the external trappings of chivalry, lingered on in Ferrara during the Fourteenth Century and beyond, while it was a dead letter in other cities such as Venice and Florence. Ultimately it was to make the work of Boiardo and Ariosto possible in Ferrara, for despite the humanism introduced by Guarino between 1430 and 1460, Ferrarese culture under Borso (1450-1471) and Ercole I (1471-1505) rather swiftly reverted to type.

172. Marquis Niccolò III (1383-1441) was something of an enigma. Largely a feudal-type despot, he revelled, like his sons Leonello and Borso, in the pleasures of hawking, hunting, and jousting. He adored the trappings of chivalry, never better than when the Emperor Sigismund on his way home from his coronation in Rome stayed for a week at Ferrara, and on 13th September 1433 conferred knighthood on Niccolò's favourite sons, Leonello, Borso, Ercole, Folco, and Sigismondo (Letter 640). His court was one of the most colourful in Italy, Guarino refers, for example, to a vast mythological pageant written and directed by the Sicilian poet and wit, Giovanni Marrasio (Letter 611). On the whole he was loyal to his friends, considerate of his subjects, courteous towards his servants and minor nobility, and affectionate towards his mistresses and many children. In his youth he had studied Latin under Donato degli Albazanni, the friend of Petrarch and Boccaccio and teacher of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, and may have affected some
scholarship. The inventory of his books in 1436*, published by Adriano Cappelli, "La Biblioteca Estense nella prima meta del secolo XV" in Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana XIV (Turin, 1886) p. 12-30, shows 279 MSS. in all, including nearly 200 Latin MSS. representing authors from classical times to the Fifteenth Century, 23 words in Italian, and, significantly, 58 French works, most of them romances. On the other hand, he was atypical of mediaeval barons in that he avoided armed conflict whenever possible, and more than once was called in to arbitrate in disputes between individuals and states. Again, his normally mild manners could erupt in impulsive savagery, as in 1425 when he dispatched without trial his wife Parisina and her stepson Ugo (Life sec. 129), and in 1434 when he ordered the strangulation of Giacomo Zilioli. Finally, he was no reactionary mediaevalist content to live amid hazy dreams of chivalry while his neighbours were modernizing their courts. Nowhere was his political sense

*The best of his collection may well have been Caesar's Commentarii de Bello Gallico with miniatures by the Florentine artist Giovanni Falconi and marginal notes by Guarino, which is extant in Modena. There were also two works by Dante, listed as "Libro uno chiamato Danti" and "Libro uno chiamato el scripto sobra el purgatorio de Danti" respectively, and a good collection of Boccaccio's minor works. There were also a German MS. and an unnamed Greek MS., to the latter of which we shall later have occasion to refer discussing Guarino's translation of Strabo.
more obvious than in his deliberate policy of attracting to Ferrara
a nucleus of wits and scholars, particularly those of the humanist
variety.

173. Humanists had demonstrated their value as pamphleteers early
in the century in the competition between Florence, Venice, and
Milan; by the 1420's, if not earlier, the idea was taking root that
in the aggrandisement of states the pen is at least as mighty as
the sword. Further, the persistent claims of humanists that only
the literary man, the sacer vates, writing in a polished style, can
confer immortality upon men and their deeds were rapidly forcing
ambitious states and individual grandees to compete for the services
of poets, orators, and historians of the new school. As early as
the Fourteenth Century, the Carrara family at Padua had demonstrated
their liberal outlook by entertaining Petrarch and later Giovanni
di Conversino, and between 1408 and 1420 humanism proper shed
lustre on that city in the presence of Barzizza, who did the same
for Milan from 1421 to 1430. Similarly, Giangaleazzo Visconti of
Milan had welcomed Manuel Chrysoloras in 1440 -- according to
Guarino because he was "unbelievably desirous of glory" (Letter 262).
The humanists Uberto Decembrio and his son Pier Candido served the
Visconti well, and for a time Beccadelli and Lorenzo Valla were
resident luminaries at Pavia. Nearer to Ferrara, Gianfrancesco I
Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, had in 1423 acquired Vittorino. Niccolò,
not to be outdone, and aware of the political and personal advantages
of employing humanists, seems deliberately to have set about acquiring them. In 1427 he imported Aurispa as tutor to Meliaduce (Another humanist, probably Beccadelli, had also been considered). In 1428, via Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicholas V), he offered employment to Filelfo, which the latter had to decline (E. Logrand, Cent-dix lettres précieuses de François Filelfo Paris, 1892, p. 3).

Aurispa knew Latin and Greek and proved a good pedagogue, but he had neither the talents nor personality needed to attract and hold together the small nucleus of first-rate scholars envisioned by Niccolò. In 1430 Meliaduce took holy orders and so did Aurispa. To ensure the latter's continued presence at Ferrara, Niccolò had him appointed Abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Pomposa, where amid its famous collection of codices Aurispa remained happily until his death in 1459. Thus it was that Guarino's advent in 1429 and 1430 eminently well suited Niccolò's plans. It is doubtful whether Niccolò simply wanted a tutor for Leonello at this stage (although Carbone says this was his motive), for that appointment was not made until early 1431. More probably the appointment was made primarily to keep Guarino in Ferrara, and only after Niccolò had satisfied himself that this was the man he had been looking for.

His choice was justified, for Toscanella came in 1431 as tutor to Borso, Giovanni Lamola came as a student and collaborator with Guarino on the latter's edition of Caesar, and many others followed, including Bartolomeo Facio, Francesco Calcignano, Guglielmo Capello, the Sicilian poet and wit Giovanni Marrisio, and the Greek Theodore Gaza. By 1441, when Niccolò died, Ferrara was one of the most
brilliant citie in Italy and was fast becoming the most famous training ground for humanists in Europe, a status it definitely achieved under Leonello (1441-1450). This was due to Guarino and to Niccolò's foresight in bringing him to Ferrara.

175. Soon after his arrival in December 1429 Guarino assumed, in addition to his duties as a private teacher, the role of humanist factotum at court. Thus when Siliolo Zilioli returned from a successful embassy at Rome, Guarino wrote his father a long letter of felicitation (580). Again, when the Veronese Paolo Filippo Guantieri was knighted at Easter in the palace of Delfiore, Guarino produced a speech for the occasion (Enistolario III, p. 270). And when Niccolò's personal diplomacy reconciled two knights who were preparing for an anachronistic trial by combat, Guarino marked the event with a letter in praise of the marquis (604). He never relinquished the position of court orator and panegyrist. His other duty, however, was of shorter duration. In Letter 577 of 28th April 1930 he mentions the piles of correspondence which he had daily to write or dictate — obviously official communications written for Zilioli or the marquis. Doubtless their polished style — which, as Carbore tells us set a standard for future scribes and secretaries in Ferrara — was well received in other humanist courts, and especially by the Apostolic secretaries at Rome. The marquis, then, lost no time in setting his new humanist to work. These secretarial duties ceased, however, as soon as Guarino was made tutor to Leonello.
One quasi-official letter (579) written in 1430 is of particular interest. Sent under Leonello's name, but clearly prompted by Guarino, it requested from Cardinal Giordano Orsini the comedies of Plautus discovered by Nicholas of Cusa (Life sec. 136) and proposed that they be called *Urcinae* after their owner, Orsini — hence the description *Ursinus* and *Urcinianus*, which has since commonly been applied to the famous codex which contained them. Leonello's request went for the time being unheeded, as did efforts by Ziliolo Zilioli at Rome and Lodovico Ferrari from Milan to obtain the codex. Finally, Lorenzo dei Medici got it from Orsini at Rome, and took it to Florence, where it was promptly copied by Niccolò Niccoli, then returned to its own. Orsini then complied with Leonello's earlier request (Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* p. 334). In April 1432 Guarino thanked Leonello for his intervention (Letter 603), but the codex did not actually arrive until September (Letters 606, 633). From it Guarino made an apograph which he lent to Beccadelli at Pavia and did not recover from him until 1444. It was probably Leonello's good offices in obtaining the codex *Urcinianus* that first endeared him to Guarino.

The year 1430 was not barren of literary achievement. Guarino completed the oration in praise of Teodora Zilioli (Letter 576) and with Letter 574 dedicated an original biography of Plato to Filippo di Giovanni Pellizzzone, the Milanese physician who in October 1429 (Letter 551) had been summoned to treat Giacomo Zilioli.
and stayed in Ferrara until 1434. Sabbadini (Epistolaro III, p. 270) reports that Guarino's biography contains an echo of Catullus 39, 16 in the form "risu soluto nihil ineptius"; the interesting remark that Anytus thought Aristophanes a "learned comic poet, but a wicked fellow who wrote the play called The Clouds"; a sketch of Athenian culture in the time of Plato, including extracts from his works; and the opinions of Augustine about Plato. Unfortunately, I have not been able to examine the MS, which is codex Querinianus A VII. 1 in the Biblioteca Queriniana at Brescia; the contents would be instructive for tracking down Guarino's sources and studying how he used them in writing an original biography. But equally interesting is the list of Plato's works which Guarino appended to the biography. Published by Sabbadini (Epistolaro III, p. 270-71), it merits reproduction here, the comments in parentheses being my own:

1. Timaeus vel de mundi anima et natura (The incipit is given as, "Timaeus haec locutus est, rerum universarum duas esse causas, intellectum quidem earum quae ratione fiunt, necessitatem autem earum quae vi." Clearly Guarino is referring to the so-called Timaeus Locrius, a work written in Doric and purporting to be by Timaeus of Locri, but actually a forgery of not later than the first century A.D.).

2. Timaeus alter vel de natura (The incipit is given as, "Unus, duo, tres," thus showing it to be the genuine Platonic Timaeus).

3. Cratylus aut de rectitudino nominum.

4. Parmenides aut de ideis

5. Sophista aut de ente.

6. Socratis
Clearly, the reference made by Sabbadini is to Diogenes Laertius III, of Plato 57-61, where a list is given of the works accepted as canonical by Thrasyllus in the reign of Tiberius. Further, Sabbadini suggests that Guarino had not simply lifted most of the titles in his list straight from Diogenes. I believe, however, that he did, for three reasons. First, he was under no obligation to follow Diogenes' order exactly. He could have been quoting from memory (as so often) or perhaps was anxious to avoid the appearance of parroting his source. Second, he has citations from Diogenes Laertius from as early as Letter 4 of 1408, and had a complete text of that author by 1419 or earlier, for he was one of the texts used by Ambrogio Traversari for his translation of Diogenes (A. Traversarii Epistulae add, L. Methus and P. Canneto, 1759, VI, 12, 14, 23). If he had Diogenes' list at his disposal, surely he would have consulted it. Third, the alternative titles given by Guarino are in almost every case exact translations of the alternative titles assigned by Diogenes.

It may be objected that Guarino omits Politicus, which appears in Diogenes; that he lists Epinomia (as does Diogenes, following Thrasyllus) but calls no attention to Diogenes' remark elsewhere (III, 37) that some authorities assigned this work to Philip of Opus; and finally, that he adds Definitions and Timaeus Locrus, neither of which is mentioned in Diogenes III, 57-61. But the omission of Politicus is best explained as a simple oversight, which could easily happen even with Diogenes' list before him, especially if he was either quoting from memory or taking pains to jumble the order as given by Diogenes. Again, he could have forgotten that
Diogenes had earlier said the *Epinomis* might be by Philip of Opus; but even if not, he was not compelled to make a point of it. As for *Definitions*, he clearly possessed that work because of his complimentary description of it, and would naturally add it to his list. Finally, the *Timaeus Locrus* was a well known and fairly widely disseminated work during the early Renaissance, and if he did not actually possess it, he would at least know of its existence.

On a balance of probabilities, then, it may be concluded that Diogenes was the main source for Guarino's list of Plato's works, but that he did not follow it blindly.

This leads one to take issue with Dabbadini over his claim that the list represents Guarino's own holdings in 1430 of works by Plato. Certainly he possessed no more works than those he lists, or he would have added them. But he may well have possessed fewer. Why, for instance, if he had *Timaeus Locrus*, had he failed to notice that it is in Doric and therefore *prima facie* of doubtful authenticity? It is unlikely that Guarino, even though his own Greek composition is essentially Byzantine and eclectic, could not distinguish between Attic and Doric. But even if he could not, or had only a Latin version of *Timaeus Locrus* (which seems a good possibility), how could he fail to know that the work does not even profess to be by Plato, but by Timaeus of Locri? One must suspect that he had never read it, and did not possess it. He could have copied the *incipit* from some inventory of books to which he had access.
It is, of course, tempting to assume that Guarino had all or most of Plato's works, if only because Plato now seems an author of paramount importance. But Plato did not necessarily appeal to every scholar in the early Renaissance, and to judge from the fact that Guarino cites him only 4 times before 1430 (from Alcibiades I in 1416, from Symposium in 1424, from Republic in 1427, from Crito in 1428), he was not one of Guarino's best known authors. It may be significant that in his list Guarino reserves special comment for the "handy" Definitions and for the bland style and useful moralistic matter of the Letters. Philosophy, as we think of it, would not have appealed to Guarino.

It is likely that he brought codices home from the East (Life sec. 49) but the only two actually known to have been in his possession when his ship docked at Venice in 1408 (or 1409) were an Aristophanes (Life sec. 43) and a Suidas. The fact, however, that between 1416 and 1428 Guarino has citations from Alcibiades I, Symposium, Republic, and Crito strongly suggests that he possessed them. One may confidently add Definitions and the Letters, and probably the genuine Timasus, the beginning of which he cites accurately. The evidence, then, does not permit us to assert as

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*H. Omont in Revue des Bibliothèques II (1892), p. 78-81 published a list of 54 Greek codices entitled Index librorum graecorum manu descriptorum qui in bibliotheca Banti Guarini Veronensis reperti sunt et nunc Ferrariae adservantur. This list, taken from the Collection Dupuy (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris 651 fol. 254-55), shows under item 52: "Suidas, Rhodi a Guarino emptum, sed ita vetustate confectum ut multis in locis lectum non possit." This Suidas is lost, but Laur. 55, 1, written at Mantua in 1422 by Petrus Creticus, may be an apograph of it (ed. A. Adler, Suidae Lexicon V, 1938, pp. 228, 262f.)
Sabbadini does, that he had other works of Plato in 1430.

In 1460 Guarino's books passed to his son Battista. If we assume that all the Platonic items in Battista's library had once belonged to his father, then we may say that at his death Guarino possessed *Platonic Dialogi*, *Platonic nonnulla*, *Platonic multa*, and *Platonic leges* (items 25, 39, 46, 49 respectively in the Dupuy list). None but the last of these items identifies the exact contents, and none has so far been identified with any known MS. There is a final difficulty: The Dupuy collection is not dated; although Omont says that the handwriting is Italian of the seventeenth century, if it was a copy of an earlier document, then the "Baptistus Guarinus" referred to in it would certainly be Guarino's youngest son. But the writer of the list attributes a Greek lexicon stated to have been finished in 1440, to Battista, who would in

*Omont ascertained in 1892 that the 54 Dupuy items were no longer in Ferrara and abandoned the search. Aubrey Diller, however, in "The Greek codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXIV, Nos. 3-4 (1961), p. 318-19 has securely identified Dupuy item 15 (Lucianus) with Wolfenbüttel codex 902; and Dupuy items 31 and 32 (Xenophontis omnia and Xenophontis alterum exemplar respectively) with Wolfenbüttel codices 2698 and 3616. Other Greek MSS owned by Guarino but which do not appear in the Dupuy list are as follows: Aristophanes, cod. Vatic. Palat. gr. 116 (Life sec. 43); Hesiod, fifteenth century, Vatic. gr. 1507, containing a poem of Girolamo Castello with which he returned the Hesiod to Guarino (Letter 778A); Aristotel, dated 1445 (so Diller op. cit. p. 319; Sabbadini, La scuola e gli studi di G, p. 105 dates it 1446), Vind. philos. gr. 75; Hesiod and Dionysius Periergetes, fifteenth century, cod. gr. Paris. 2772, inscribed
that year have been only two years of age. There are other confusions between Battista and his father which prove that the writer did not know them. The name "Baptistus Guarinus" may therefore refer to the poet Battista Guarino (d. 1612) who wrote _Il pastor fido_. This conclusion was reached independently by me, but it is also put forward by Diller in "The Greek codices of P. Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," p. 317. There is therefore no guarantee that subsequent owners of Guarino's books had not added items, including works of Plato, to those originally in Guarino's library, and the value of the Dupuy list for reconstructing the contents of Guarino's library is to that extent vitiated.

179. The actual date of Guarino's appointment as tutor to Leonello is nowhere recorded. By 3rd September 1431, however, the pupil-teacher relationship seems to have been well established, for in Letter 594 of that date Guarino told Niccoli that Leonello had proved a keen student of literature, especially history.*

Suffice to say here that, freed from the burdens of a public professorship and the need to teach private students for additional income, Guarino was able to devote more time to his own work. Thus in two years (1432-1433) he put out complete texts of Caesar, Aulus Gellius, and Pliny the Elder.

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*Guarino also requested, as an aid to Leonello's historical researches, Niccoli's collection of maps. This collection is referred to by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his biography of Niccoli: "Avova uno bellissimo universale (map of the world), dove erano tutti i siti della terra; aveva Italia e Spagna, tutte di pittura." These maps, which are no longer extant, were obviously of the flat-earth, pictorial, medieval variety.
180. The edition of Caesar, undertaken at Leonello's behest and done in collaboration with Lamola, was finished in July 1432. It is more fully discussed in Guarino's attitude to history and historiography.

181. The edition of Aulus Gellius is of some interest. The Noctes Atticae was a favourite text among the humanists because of its useful miscellany of notes on public and private antiquities, literary and textual criticism, grammar, philosophy, history, and so on. Erasmus in his Adagia was later to say of it, "nihil fieri potest neque tercius neque eruditius." Guarino has only two citations from it before 1430 (III, 16, 13 in 1413; XVIII, 4, 2 in 1420), but he certainly possessed a text of it, for in 1418 he was able to give Niccolò Pirondolo the incipit of Bk. I (Letter 95) and in 1425 he corrected Ugo Mazzolato's copy from and exemplar of his own (Letter 321). Like most of the MSS of Gellius current in the early Renaissance, Guarino's either did not contain the Greek passages or contained them in a very imperfect state.* He was therefore elated in June 1432 to come into possession

*Our oldest MS is A, Codex Palatino-Vaticanus XXIV, a palimpsest assigned by Martin Hertz in his standard critical edition (Leipzig, 1883) to the fifth century. A exhibits blanks where the Greek passages should be. Similarly, R (Codex Lugduno-Batavianus Gronovianus 21, for the most part of the twelfth century and from an archetype different from that of A) shows that the writer knew almost no Greek. Codex Magliabecchianus 329, written by Niccoli, contains the Greek passages, but they were really restorations made by Ambrogio Traversari.
of an Aulus Gallius containing the Greek passages. Where he obtained this MS, is unknown. Immediately, he wrote to Ugolino Cantello (Letter 631), a Parmesan lawyer who was also soldier, politician, poet, musician, and bibliophile. Guarino had made his acquaintance, by letter, in 1431 through Stefano Todisco, who in that year was a magistrate at Parma and had written Guarino to say that Cantello had an excellent collection of books (for which see Affò, Scritti parmigiani II, p. 176-179). Todisco had also sent Guarino a list of Cantello’s books. In Letter 627 of December 1431 Guarino wrote Cantello to say that he welcomed his friendship and that he was very eager to receive certain books which, one presumes, Cantello had offered to make available to him. From Letter 628 one gathers that they were Rufinus, In metra Terentiana and Priscian, In carmina Terentii. From Letter 631 it emerges that Cantello also possessed an Aulus Gallius, the Latin text of which Guarino had reason to believe was superior to his own. He therefore proposed that by combining the superior Latin text of Cantello’s MS, with the resources of the new MS, he had acquired in June 1432 and which contained the Greek passages, he would produce an "opus immortaliitate dignum." This “opus,” produced by a collation of the two MSS., came out in 1433 in a fair copy written by Niccolò Pirondolo, who, however, left the Greek passages to be filled in by Guarino (Letter 638).

There is good reason to believe, however, that Guarino had completed the text about September 1432, for there is extant as
Codex Vaticanus 3453, a MS. of Aulus Gellius I-VII and IX-XX**

which bears this notation: "Iste liber est mi Iohannis Lamolae, quem propria manu tamen scripsi." At the end is inscribed:

"Auli Gellius Noctium atticarum liber vigesimus et ultimus feliciter explicit. MCCCGXXXII, pridie kalendas novembras." Since Lamola was in Ferrara in 1432 and had been working closely with Guarino on the text of Caesar, it is all but certain that Vaticanus 3453 is an apograph of Guarino's finished text. If one assumes that it took Lamola about a month to complete his transcription, it follows that Guarino had finished his work by about the end of September. Unfortunately, Guarino's original and Pirondolo's fair copy of it have both disappeared, so far as I have been able to ascertain. Vaticanus 3453 therefore represents our sole direct apograph of Guarino's text.

Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di Guarino p. 119 states that Lamola's text agrees in general with all MSS. of the fifteenth century, but has most affinity with Codex Parisinus Sangermanensis 643, examined and described by Hertz (II, p. LXVII). Sabbadini's reasoning is as follows. In Sangermanensis 643 there

*Not to be confused with the better known Vaticanus 3452, known as V, which is of the thirteenth century and contains only Books I-VII.

**Book VIII was lost somewhere between the fifth and ninth centuries. The chapter headings are known, however, from a number of inferior codices, for the most part later than the fourteenth century.
is a marginal note at XX, 11, 5 (the point at which all codices end): "Atque nihil amplius erat in veteri." In Lamola's text there is a similar note at the same point: "Atque nihil amplius in veteri erat." Secondly, both codices at XX, 5, 11, where Alexander's letter Aristotle is quoted, append this footnote: "Apud Flutarchum in vita Alexandri epistula haec ad Aristotelent extat." He concludes that one of these codices derives from the other. He proceeds to argue that Lamola's is the original, because in the letter to Aristotle the reading ἀκροαματίκους found in all codices of Plutarch is substituted for ἀκροαματίκους which is found in all other MSS. of Aulus Gellius, and such familiarity with the true text of Plutarch suggests the hand of Guarino (who was a great expositor of Plutarch and had already translated the Life of Alexander). Again, at XIII, 7, 2 in a citation of Herodotus III, 108, Lamola's text gives the reading ἴχυροτατον found in all MSS. of Herodotus, instead of ἴχυρον found in all other MSS. of Gellius. Further, Lamola's text continues the citation from Herodotus to the words ὑγίες οὐδὲν whereas all other MSS. of Gellius cite only as far as Μήτρας. This again suggests the hand of Guarino, who was familiar with Herodotus and had possessed a complete copy of his work since 1427.

It is difficult to see, however, how this establishes the priority of Lamola's text. Why, for example, does the Sangermanensis not exhibit the readings ἴχυροτατον and ἀκροαματίκους and the longer citation from Herodotus III, 108? It seems more likely that
Sangermanensis 643 and Vaticanus 3453 both derive from the same source. Alternatively, Sangermanensis 643, which exhibits the Greek passages, was the very MS. which Guarino came by in June 1432. This seems possible, since in it Books IX-XX are written, according to Hertz, in a hand of the fourteenth century, and Books I-VII are in a hand of the fifteenth century. Guarino may therefore have echoed the phrase "Atque nihil amplius erat in veteri" at XX, 11, 5, but made the emendations ἀκροβατικὸς and ἑκυροτατον out of his own reading. This does leave unsolved the marginal note at XX, 5, 11. But there were codices of Plutarch in Italy in the fourteenth century, and it is not impossible that such a note could have been appended then. But I suspect that a close scrutiny of Sangermanensis 643 would reveal that this marginal note is in a hand of the fifteenth century and had been added by someone who knew Guarino's comment.

Sabbadini's reasoning seems better when he goes on to point out that Vaticanus 3453 contains in several passages a fuller text than is found in the "Gelliani," presumably meaning the other texts written before 1432, and that since those fuller passages found their way variously into subsequent codices of the fifteenth century and eventually into the editio princeps prepared in 1469 by Giovanni Andrea, Bishop of Aleria, Guarino's text was the basis of the fifteenth century vulgate of Aulus Gallus.

182. Pliny's Natural History has come down to us in many
MSS., the earliest dating from the 8th or 9th century, but it was comparatively little read until the fifteenth century, during which copies were multiplied. Petrarch had purchased a copy at Mantua in 1350 (P. de Molinac, *Pétrarque et l’humanisme* p. 270). Lodovico Gonzaga had a MS. at Mantua in 1376, but there was none at Florence in 1378 and apparently none in the Visconti library at Milan as late as 1426 (Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators*, 1963, p. 48, n.1.). Woodward praises Vittorino for setting his students to read the *Natural History* both for content and style, but it is worth noting that Guarino did likewise. He has citations from it as early as his period in Florence and in 1421 prepared an epitome of it for Paolo Guinigi, lord of Lucca. This epitome is extant in many MSS. (e.g. Codex Estense VI. G. 5 in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena). At Ferrara he instituted a wide search for good MSS., calling upon the aid of Leonello d’Este and Vittorino da Feltre. There is no record of this in Guarino’s letters, but Angelo Decembrio in his *Politia literaria* (1541) p. 44 puts these words into Leonello’s mouth: "(quod opus Flinii) ut correctissimum haberemus, novistas omnes, adiutoribus Veronensi et Vittorio, familiaribus nostris, quanto cum studio ex remotis etiam nationibus multorum exempla conquisierim."

Naturally, Decembrio makes Leonello take credit for what was beyond doubt Guarino’s project, but there is no doubt that the prince went to considerable pains for his tutor. Vittorino would have access to the Gonzaga MS., and presumably supplied it or a copy of it. Leonello also wrote on 29th July 1433 to Aurispa, who was then on a short visit to Basle, asking him to supply the prologue
to the *Natural History*: "Unum in primis te orare velim, ut prohemin Flinii in historiae naturalem transcribi facias transcriptumque ad diversa exemplaria, tua ista cruditissima dextera, emendos emendatunque ad no transmittas; nam in hoc nostro nonnulli perstant scrupuli qui elevari non potuere" (Sabbadini in *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincoi* XX, 1911, p. 22). Although Auriapa's help probably amounted to very little, Filelfo in 1451 was under the impression that he had actually collaborated with Guarino, for in that year he wrote to Ferrara requesting the Pliny "emendatissimum Aurispaee Guarianique diligentia" (Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino* p. 117).

The 1433 edition is preserved in Codex Ambrosianus D. 531 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It is handsomely written, with illuminated capitals. There are two subscriptions: "C. Flinii Secundi Naturalis historiae liber XXXVI et ultimus explicit feliciter ultimo Augusti 1433" and "Emendavit C. V. Guarianus Veronensis adiuvante Guilielmo Capello viro praestant1 atque eruditissimo Ferrariae in aula principis anno incarnati verbi MCCXXIII. VI Kalendas Septembres." The discrepancy between the two dates (31st August and 27th August) is best explained by assuming that in the second subscription "VI Kalendas Septembres" was a slip of the pen for "II kalendas septembres." The copyist was probably not Capello, who would surely not have described himself immodestly in the terms "viro praestant1 atque eruditissimo." We may safely assume that Capello was a scholarly collaborator, a role for which he had proved himself qualified by producing, among other things, a commentary on Lucan in 1421 (cf. *Lucani Pharsalia* ed. C. F. Wever

A notable feature of the 1433 edition of Pliny was the addition of two letters of the Younger Pliny (III, 5 and VI, 16) to the life by Suetonius which is usually found at the beginning of MSS. of the Natural History. Subsequent MSS. as well as the first printed edition carried these letters.

183. There is extant in Codex latinius Monacensis 11301 in the Royal Palatine Library at Munich what seems to have been a second edition produced by Guarino on 5th September 1459. Book I is missing, and there are many readings different from those of the 1433 edition. A number of samples of those readings is given by Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di Guarino p. 117-118. The subscription reads: "C. Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae volumen ab optimo exemplari editum, quod emendatum fuit per praecellarissimos viros Guarianum Veronensem et Thomam de Vincentia, Gulielmo Capello coadiutante. Anno domini MCCCCLIX. nonis septembris explicit. Andreas de Caligis notarius." Thus it would seem that Guarino had as his collaborator Tommaso da Vicenza, a copyist known to have been in the service of the Este in 1459, and Guglielmo Capello. If so, the subscription provides a notice that Capello was still alive in 1459 (C. Bertoni, La Biblioteca Estense e la Cultura Ferrarese p. 70 gives 1457 as the last date on which he is known to have been living). It is, however, not impossible that the 1459 edition was not by Guarino, for the subscription is ambiguous: quod could refer to exemplari, in which case the name of Tommaso da Vicenza must be a mistake. It is also strange that Guarino
does not refer in his letters to any edition of Pliny in 1459, and his last citation of that author occurred in 1452. Again, Carbonio in the funeral speech of 1460 makes no mention of such an edition. The edition in Codex lat. Monacensis 1130Ⅰ may simply have been a botched text produced by "Andreas de Caligis" for some private individual, with the names of Guarino, Tomaso da Vicenza, and Capello thrown in to lend the production the appearance of authenticity.

184. Having examined Guarino's contributions to scholarship during his first five years at Ferrara, we revert to his private life, and find him in contact with friends, relatives, and humanists in other cities.

185. In particular he did not forget his friends in Verona, notably Ottobello dei Ottobelli, Galasio Avogaro, Tomaso and Donato Fano, Nardo dei Nardi, and his wife's cousin, Battista Condurata. In March 1430 Battista had the sad duty of informing Guarino that his mother, Libera di Zanino, had died. Old and infirm, she had been left behind in Verona. In his reply (Letter 571) Guarino thanked Battista and Nardo for comforting his mother's last hours, and Nardo in particular for having delivered a funeral oration.

The death of this excellent woman, his last blood relative in Verona, may have helped to seal the intention which I believe was already forming in Guarino's mind, not to return to Verona if he could possibly help it.

186. His fellow citizens, however, seem to have realized what a valuable possession they had lost in Guarino, and by 1432 there was
a move to recall him. About April someone in Verona sent him an
unofficial exhortation to return, which is now lost. It was almost
certainly in verse, since Guarino's reply was a poem of 56 lines
(Letter 599, translated in verse in *Summaries*). In it he pointed
out that he was enjoying honoured treatment in Ferrara, especially
from Niccolò and Leonello.

"Moribus in quorum placidis vultuque sereno
Et liquidis fontes et philomela sedet."

Besides, there was war between Milan and the Venetian Republic,
of which Verona was part. This provided Guarino with a good excuse
for temporizing. It is noteworthy that he says nothing about
wishing to settle permanently in Ferrara. Perhaps he reasoned that
he should make the most of the unprecedented leisure and prosperity
he was enjoying at Ferrara. Leonello's education could not be
expected to last many more years, however, and if he were suddenly
to find himself without lucrative employment in Ferrara, he could
always return to Verona. Meanwhile, therefore, he must not offend
the council at Verona. I suggest, however, that Letter 599 was
more than a tactful, temporary recusatio, for it was perhaps also
meant as a gentle hint that he might return if the salary were
right. How else are we to explain his insistence upon the honours
being paid to him at Ferrara?

When peace was signed in April 1433 Guarino must have realized
that he would soon have to make a final decision whether to return
or not. Whether he had himself discussed this matter in Ferrara,
or rumours had spontaneously arisen that he was considering repatriation, we do not know, but Ambrogio Traversari, while journeying from Ferrara to Venice, heard gossip to that effect (Traversarii Epistulae VII, 47, dated 21st June 1433). The crux for Guarino came in June with the arrival of letters from friends, probably Battista and Mazo, informing him of the council’s proposal to employ him in his old capacity at a salary of 200 ducats. These letters are lost; nor has any official invitation, if there was one, survived. But we know the terms involved from the careful letter (615) which, after a few days’ deliberation, Guarino wrote to the council. In it, he protests his love for Verona and insists that money is not his prime consideration. He does, however, rather markedly make the point that he is making 350 ducats at Ferrara (a sum which is confirmed by an entry dated 11th May 1435 in the Archivio di Stato di Modena, Registro mandate 1434-35 f. 103v.) He also states that the marquis will not release him, and that he cannot therefore see his way to accepting the council’s offer. It is difficult to believe that a man with a wife and nine children would willingly take a cut of 150 ducats in salary, especially since it meant exchanging the comparative ease of a private tutorship for the burdens of public teaching. As for Niccolò’s unwillingness to release him, this we may readily believe; but in the final analysis, the marquis could not restrain him, since he was still a citizen of Verona. I believe, in fact, that Guarino had by now grown used to the comforts and delights of life at the Este court. Although
he mentions in Letter 635 that he has made few friends at Ferrara, those he had were powerful — Giacomo Zillioli, Alberto Costabili, Feltrino Boiardo, the marquis, and Leonelli — and from these men he could reasonably expect future preferment. Finally, he was now 59, an age at which no one contemplates with equanimity another upheaval, especially when he has just moved, as Guarino had done about October of the previous year, into a new house (Letter 637). On the other hand, he could not afford to close the gates of Verona forever against his return as a professor, even if for the present he desired to discourage further negotiation. Seen from this point of view, Letter 615 is a masterpiece of tact. There were those in Verona, however, who found Guarino's refusal irritating, and another verse epistle (616) spied to him, probably written by the author of the similar one in 1432, accusing him of ingratitude, affecting disbelief at his intransigence, and barely concealing a dislike of Ferrara with its "croaking frogs." Guarino seems to have ignored this ungracious bagatelle, especially since in Letter 599 he had already warned the author to stop harping on about croaking frogs, fetid swamps, and the drinking-water which had to be purchased.

*There were frogs in the marches around the city; but there is probably a secondary meaning here. The dialect of Ferrara sounded unpleasing to some Italian ears: cf. the letter of Antonio Maria Toscani da Pavia to Orsini Lanfredini published by C. Colombo in Italia medioevale e umanistica 8 (1965) p. 241-43, and Colombo's remarks (Ibid., p. 241) on the "salquato volgare" of Ferrara.*
But lines 17-18 of Letter 616 deserve attention. The author claims that Guarino need have no qualms about returning:

"Ne timeam contes, volui sed dicere sentes,
Falce iacent vepres, est via pulchra, nitens."

Undoubtedly, these "guilty parties" (contes), "thorns" (sentes) and "brambles" (vepres) refer to a small group of men in Verona who seem to have tried to throw difficulties in Guarino's way (cf. Life, sec. 120). Despite his correspondent's assurance that these elements had been suppressed, Guarino may have thought otherwise, and so found an additional reason for remaining in Ferrara.

From 1430 to 1432 we also find him in correspondence with Giovanni da Spilimbergo, his relative by marriage (Letter 607, note 1). This schoolmaster, who taught at Cividale until 1432 and thereafter at Udine, was much interested in Plautus. In 1432 he asked Guarino for any "subsidia" he might be able to supply for a study of that poet. Guarino replied (Letter 610) that he had no commentary on Plautus "nisi quantum quotidiana lectio sparsim suggerit." This notice has a bearing on Guarino's relationship with Antonio Beccadelli in Pavia, with which we must now deal.

Guarino had known Beccadelli since 1426 and was to remain on good terms with him until 1434. Highlights of their relationship were Guarino's praise of the Hermaphroditus in 1426 (Life sec. 138), Beccadelli's good offices in obtaining a MS. of Celsus for Guarino (Life secs 135, 136) and in writing a famous epitaph when he heard a false report of Guarino's death (Life sec. 154). After three years of intrigue, Beccadelli had finally on 1st December 1429 obtained
the position of court poet to the Visconti at Pavia (Sabbadini, "Come il Panormita diventò poeta aulico," Arch. stor. Lomb. XLIII, 1916, p. 5-28). On 15th March 1430 he was also made professor at the university at the large salary of 400 gold florins. In June or July 1430 Guarino's nephew, Lodovico Ferrari, journeyed to Pavia where he and his mother Cecilia had a case before the courts involving a debt of 200 ducats allegedly owed to them by an unknown party in Volpedo. Guarino used this opportunity to re-open correspondence with Beccadelli, who responded by enlisting the aid of his friend Domenico Feruffino, and of Giovanni Feruffino, professor of canon law 1429-c.1439, to help Lodovico and Cecilia win their case (Letter 587). The case, although long protracted, was finally settled in their favour, much to Guarino's satisfaction with Beccadelli and Domenico Feruffino (Letter 619). Beccadelli (in Letter 587) had announced his appointment as court poet; and when he was crowned poet laureate by the Emperor Sigismund in March 1432, a certain Antoniastro wrote to Guarino with the news. Guarino at once offered congratulations and promised to write a more expansive panegyric later (Letter 600). Beccadelli attempted to keep him to this promise (Letter 601), but the panegyric was never written.

Nevertheless, in March 1433 Guarino took considerable pains to protect Beccadelli's reputation by exposing, in letters to friends in Verona, an impostor who had appeared there claiming to be the poet laureate (Letter 614). In the same year he also made available to Beccadelli his own apograph of the codex Ursinianum of Plautus.
190. In the meantime, Beccadelli's enemies at Pavia had been busy. Without doubt, jealousy was their motivating factor. Spearheading the attack was Antonio da Rho who wrote an invective against Beccadelli in 1432 (partially published by Sabbadini, "Cronologia documentata della vita del Panormita e del Valla," in L. Barozzi-Sabbadini, Stui sul Panormita e sul Valla, Florence, 1891 p. 9-15). Apart from accusing him of lechery and denouncing the Hermaphroditus, Antonio also mocked Beccadelli's commentary on Plautus, alleging that he had stolen the substance of it from Guarino. We have evidence that Beccadelli was working on a commentary on Plautus 1429-30 (G. Resta, L'epistolario del Panormita Messina, 1954, pp. 149, 161, 162) in letters he wrote to the ducal secretary, Antonio Cremona, and three young men, Marcolino Barbavara, Domenico Feruffino, and Francesco Piccinino. With the aid of a letter of Guarino's, unknown until 1965 (Letter 985 in Summariae), one may reasonably deduce that Beccadelli had been working on Plautus for at least three years before 1429, for Letter 985 of June 1426 contains an apology to Beccadelli for being unable to supply any commentary on Plautus "nisi quantum latina graecaque lectio suppeditat et doctrina rerum nescio quarum quas ex... Manuelli Chrysolorae ore... collegi," meaning, no doubt, that he had only some rough jottings made in notebooks on Plautus in the manner laid down by Chrysoloras. If we now recall that in Letter 610 to Giovanni da Spilimbergo Guarino had said almost exactly the same thing, it becomes clear that
Boccadelli could not have stolen his commentary on Plautus from Guarino. Thus Sabbadini's contention ("Cronologia documentata della vita del Panormita" p.9) that Antonio da Rho, being a man of integrity, must have been telling the truth, is now open to serious doubt.

191. Although Boccadelli released part of his commentary in 1429 to Marcolino Barbavara, Domenico Feruffino, and Francesco Piccinino, he knew it was poor and advised them to consult Barzizza for further elucidation. The work must have been completed about 1432, but Boccadelli wrote his patron Francesco Barbavara (Resta, L'epistolario del Panormita p. 148-9) saying that he did not wish to publish before consulting the newly-discovered codex Ursinianus. One may readily understand why he absconded in 1434 with Guarino's apograph, thus terminating what had been a warm friendship between the two men.

192. Equally interesting was Guarino's contact in 1433 with Lorenzo Valla, who like Boccadelli, had been a resident luminary at Pavia since 1430, and had in fact gone there as Boccadelli's protege. Although 13 years his senior, Boccadelli did not hesitate to attend Valla's lectures. No doubt that streak of cavalier gaiety which characterized him all his life attracted him to the dash and effrontery of Valla. Neither, certainly, was afraid of the intellectual establishment. Naturally, they attracted hordes of student devotees, many of whom were more distinguished for their drinking and licentiousness than their intellectual audacity. They aped the gaiety of Boccadelli and the dash of Valla, but being
strangers to the genius of the one and the austere scholarship of the other, they finished by giving their idols a bad name. When Valla published his *De voluptate* in 1431 he made Beccadelli the interlocutor who expounded the doctrine of Epicureanism. Unfortunately, this philosophy has always been confused in ignorant and careless minds with self-indulgence, and there were many who believed that Valla and Beccadelli had somehow endorsed a doctrine of unbridled pleasure-seeking. Only to that extent can the *De voluptate* be called the first manifesto of that conscious hedonism which has sometimes been said to have been an element of the Italian Renaissance. Valla certainly did not intend it as such, and Beccadelli at first felt flattered to figure in the dialogue. But by 1432 jealousy had caused an estrangement between the two men, so that when Valla brought out his second edition in 1433 under the less offensive title *De vero bono*, he substituted Guarino’s name for Beccadelli’s as one of the speakers. He also proposed to visit Ferrara and present Guarino with a copy. At this point Beccadelli wrote Guarino maliciously warning him not to receive Valla. Guarino replied courteously, admitting that voluptuaries disgusted him, but reserving the right to judge Valla for himself (Latter 618). Valla stayed two nights in Ferrara. Unfortunately, we can only guess at the conversation between the two greatest scholars of their time. Possibly there was heated debate. In October a gloating letter arrived from Poggio (622). Apparently, Niccolò Losco, then a student of Guarino, had written his father Antonio in the curia at Rome to say that Guarino disapproved of Valla. This delighted the ears
of Losco, Poggio, and Rustici, who detested Valla. Young Niccolo Losco, however, had probably distorted the truth to please his father, or failed to understand that Guarino could disapprove of a man's work without necessarily disliking the man or damning his scholarship. It is noteworthy that nowhere does Guarino speak ill of Valla, or vice versa, and that when Girolamo Guarino joined the other humanists who flocked to the court of Alfonso V of Aragon after his entry into Naples in 1442, he carried a letter of recommendation from his father addressed to Valla, who replied warmly (Letter 784). Worth quoting, too, is Guarino's tribute to Valla, always prized by him: "Lauri, laura, et Valla, vallari corona ornandus es" (Vallae opera p. 629). Finally, it is ironical that by 1442 Valla and Beccadelli were both in Naples and on good terms, and that Guarino, although piqued by his still unreturned Plautus, did not hesitate to commend Girolamo to the protection of Beccadelli also (Letter 783).

193. Perhaps the most important event of 1434 was the execution of Giacomo Zilioli, although Guarino nowhere refers to it in his letters. His last recorded communication with Zilioli was Letter 640 of 2nd December 1433, in which he interceded for one Giovanni Pazatico. Giacomo must therefore still have been referendarius. In 1434, however, both he and his son Ziliolo were consigned to the tower of the Castelvecchio on charges of treason. Giacomo was strangled the same year, the event being briefly noted in the Diario Ferrarese. Ziliolo languished in prison for thirteen
years, during which he wrote a comedy called *Michaelida*. He died soon after his release. Prudently, perhaps, Guarino never again mentioned either father or son.

In 1435 Leonello was married. Although a bastard, his mother had been Stella dell'Assassino, Niccolò’s favourite mistress, and this fact, combined with his own talents, had early marked him out as Niccolò’s heir. To ensure the succession, Niccolò had had him legitimated in 1429 by Pope Martin V, and then betrothed to Margherita, daughter of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua. Thus Leonello could count on Gonzaga support in the event of a disputed succession, which was possible in a court swarming with Niccolò’s progeny.

Even when Niccolò married Ricciarda, daughter of Marquis Tommaso of Saluzzo, early in 1431, he stipulated that no child of the union should displace Leonello. The wedding between Margherita and Leonello was solemnized on 6th February, 1435. According to Vasari, in his biography of Pisanello, among the fine gifts was an effigy of Julius Caesar by Pisanello. The effigy, whether a painting or medallion, has disappeared, but Vasari tells us Leonello rewarded the man who brought it with two ducats, a considerable honour more reminiscent of the magnificent Borso than his more frugal brother. But quite gratifying must have been Guarino’s gift of Latin version of Plutarch’s *Lyssander and Sulla*, which were presented with a dedicatory letter (667) on the wedding day. Since Margherita had been a pupil of Vittorino, it would be pleasant to imagine that Guarino and Vittorino met as guests at the wedding, but there is no evidence for this.
Leonello's formal education must effectively have ended after his wedding. Certainly, he could have done little studying during the nuptial celebrations, which would last some weeks, and in April he went as his father's representative to pay homage to the Pope at Florence (Tonelli, Poggii Epistolae V, 18*). Guarino's Letter 670 shows that Leonello returned in June. From Letter 671 we learn that the prince was disporting himself in the country. All this time Guarino's salary was being paid, since there is record of it in the Archivio di Stato di Modena already quoted (sec. 187). Possibly Guarino and Leonello studied again together in the winter months, but one may presume that the pace was not as intense as it had been. Leonello, however, never lost interest in the classics or his old tutor, who continued to write him didactic or protreptic letters (e.g., 676, 677, 684).

It is plain from such letters as 679 that Guarino felt somewhat lost when Leonello was absent on his many hunting and hawking trips. The leisure so obtained was turned to good account in 1432 and 1433 with the editions of Caesar, Gellius, and Pliny. Similarly in May and June 1435 he expended himself on the polemic with Poggio over the relative merits of Scipio and Caesar (Letter 670)?* If Leonello paid him for this work, there is no record of it. However, Leonello had shown his generosity in 1434 with two large subsidies (Letter 670). The Marquis of Duke was at such a level.

*Where the letter is dated 1434, an impossibility, since the curia did not reach Florence until 23rd June of that year.
of grain, the first on 23rd June, the other on 23rd October (Archivio di Stato di Modena, Reg. mand. 1434-35 f. 38v and 58v; and Letter 679). Certainly Guarino's financial position could not have been unhealthy. This should be borne in mind for our discussion of the purchase he made in 1437 of the Boiardo palace.

197. In a decree of 29th March 1436 the Commune of Ferrara appointed Guarino, public professor of rhetoric at an annual stipend of 150 ducats, plus 100 lire marchesane to cover the rent of his house: "computata pensione domus, pro qua sollevatur et solvitur ei libre centum marchesane" (doc. in Cittadella, I Guarini p. 24). The fringe benefit of having the rent paid suggests that the house itself and not the public square, as was customary in many Italian cities, was to be used for lectures. Courses were to be free, and on holidays there were to be two lectures, on feast days only one. These were, of course, the only days upon which large audiences would be free to attend. The teaching load was not therefore excessive, and would leave Guarino ample time to devote to

*Gardner, Dukes and poets in Ferrara p. 20-21 gives a short account of the government of Ferrara at this time: "No popular councils appear even to have been summoned... The administration of the city was in the hands of a small council, the College of the Twelve Sages, which was presided over by the Judge of the Sages, who was appointed by the sovereign and held office at his pleasure... The Judge and the Sages were paid at the expense of the Commune, and every decision of the College that did not please... the Marquis or Duke was at once overruled. The direction of the financial administration... was entrusted to the Fattori Generali... chosen by the sovereign to hold office during his pleasure."
student boarders, there being no clause to prevent him from accepting them. He seems, however, to have been displeased with the monetary terms, for on 3rd April 1437 his stipend was raised to 400 lire marchesane in addition to the 100 lire "quas de presenti habet pro pensione domus" (Cittadella, ibid. p.24). According to Sabbadini (G. Epistolario III, p. 298) 400 lire marchesane equalled 250 ducats, hence "il Comune dovette assegnare a Guarino lo stesso stipendio che prima godeva, mantenendogli inoltre le 100 lire dell'affito."

This is not quite accurate, for if 400 lire was equivalent to 250 ducats, Guarino's total of 500 lire works out at just over 312 ducats, approximately 38 less than he had been getting from the marquis.

It is difficult to assess the purchasing power of 312 ducats in 1437. Garner, writing in 1903, stated in Dukes and Poets in Ferrara p. 457 that the lira marchesana in 1504 represented a sum equal to 10 Italian lire of his own time. But such monetary equivalences are not very helpful, since there are too many variables involved. Perhaps it is enough to point out that Guarino considered 350 ducats a very generous salary, and that the council of Verona had expected him to support his large family on 200 ducats. It may be objected that the rent of 62 ducats he was paying seems excessively high and suggests that his salary was not as handsome as it might have been. But an examination of two documents relating to the sale of the house will reveal that the rent was high because the property was extensive and desirable.
The first is a decree of the marquis dated 8th April 1437 in the Archivio di Stato di Modena Reg. mand. 1436-1438, which conferred citizenship on Guarino, granted him the privilege of paying only 200 lire marchesane in taxes, and made him an outright gift of 500 lire towards the purchase of the Boiardo house. The purchase price of 3,500 ducats is revealed in the document:

"... Et pertanto sapiendo nui che luy ha comprato in queste nostra citade de Ferrara, per usare la civilita sua quesita, la casa che era di nobili di Boiardi per libre IIII . . . ." The second document is the bill of sale notarized on 5th October 1437. It is partially published by Sabbadini, G. Epistolario III, p. 382, from which one gathers that the house was "cupata, murata et merlata et colorata, cum lodia, curtili, puteo et cisterna," that is, it had a granary, it was surrounded by a wall, was marled, had a terrace, loggia, courtyard, well, and cistern. With it Guarino bought five shops (stationes), three from the Boiardi and two from the notary Rainerio Jacobello. The property is described as bounded on its four sides by the Via San Michele, Via Cortevocchia, Vico Podesta, and the house of the podesta. The three streets are identifiable in modern Ferrara. The Via Cortevocchia has retained its ancient name and runs east and west past the Palazzo Estense or Corte Vecchia, which was the usual dwelling of the marquis, since the Castelvecchio estense did not exist in Ferrara's time. The southern structure (or Castel San Michele) was used only as a prison or refuge. The streets therefore have been confused with the Corte Vecchiae. Vico Podesta is now called Vicolo del Podesta and runs on a southern line between the Palazzo Estense and the Via Cortevecchia, parallel to the Via Cortevocchia. I have ascertained in a letter
Of 23rd November 1967 from Professor L. Capra, librarian of the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea of Ferrara, that the Via San Michele is now called the Via del Turco. It runs north and south from the Church of San Michele in the south part of the old city into the Via Cortevecchia. Only the eastern boundary of Guarino's property now remains to be identified. The house of the podestà is surely to be identified, with the Torre del Podestà which is shown in a map kindly provided to me by Professor Capra, which I reproduce to scale here:

![Map showing Via Cortevecchia, Via del Turco, Vicolo del Boccaleone, Torre del Podestà, Contrada di S. Paolo, Palazzo della Ragione, and Notai.]

The Torre del Podestà is a medieval structure, but the Via Boccaleone did not exist in Guarino's time. The eastern boundary must therefore have been contiguous with the Torre del Podestà. The distance from the Palazzo della Ragione to the Via Boccaleone, according to Professor Capra, is a little over 100 metres. Guarino's
property therefore extended about the same distance east and west and
about 70 metres north and south.

Letter 778A, a verse epistle from Girolamo Castello to Guarino,
opens with a description of the house:

Ést domus in media longe spectabilis urbe:
Concilium Phoebi Pieridumque vocant.
Suspicit hinc crescentes augusta palatia regis,
Parte alia urbanus atria praetor habet.

John of Pannonia, Syla panegyrica 576 also has:

Exin vicinam conscendis principis aulam.

Both of these notices confirm that Guarino's house faced the Corte
Vecchia. It must therefore have been located at the spot marked by the
letter G in the map opposite.*

200. Guarino had begun his public lectures in May, but plague again
interrupted his work. There must have been signs of it in Ferrara as early
as April, because in the decrees of appointment (Life sec. 197) the council
had stipulated that should plague force him to leave the city, he would
receive only half pay for its duration. On 3rd. September he wrote his
son Girolamo (Letter 696) outlining a plan to hire a boat and leave plague-
stricken Ferrara; Girolamo was to join the family and go on with them to
Val Policella. They arrived sometime before 7th October (Letter 697).

201. Guarino found to his disappointment that he was out of touch with
society at Verona. His thoughts kept returning to his friends in Ferrara,
particularly Leonello, to whom he wrote for comfort (Letter 698). Not

*Reproduced from the map of Ferrara drawn in 1395 by Bartolino da Novara.
See Noyes, The Story of Ferrara op. p. 64.
wishing, however, to send the letter without a gift, he enclosed copies of
two letters written by the Veronese sisters, Ginevra and Isotta Nogarola,
with whose work he had now for the first time come in contact. These two
letters have been published by E. Abel, Isotae Nogarolae Opera (Vienna,
1886) I, p. 46 and II, p. 329. They had been addressed in 1435* to
Jacopo Foscari, Doge of Venice, who in 1436 sent them to Guarino at Val
Policella (Letter 697). Both sisters were descendants of Giovanni and
Angela Nogarola, whose literary fame had shed lustre on Verona earlier
in the century. In a sense, Ginevra and Isotta were products of Guarino's
humanistic teaching, for their tutor was Martino Rizzon, who had returned
to Verona in 1430 and opened a school. Isotta's Latin in particular reminds
one of Guarino's in the exuberance of its language, the similarity of its
expressions, and the habit of weaving poetical quotations into prose
passages. Guarino's praise of their elegant style and broad erudition
unquestionably established Ginevra and Isotta as the most famous female
humanists of their time. He did not, however, write to either of them at
this time.

201. On his way home to Ferrara at the end of December, he passed Christmas
Day in Verona (Letter 701), still without contacting the Nogarola sisters.

*Isotta's letter in all the MSS. in which it is found bears the date
6th October 1436, except in the case of Cod. Ottobon. 1153 f. 41v,
where it is dated 6th October 1459. 1459 cannot be right, but the
抄写可能有误。在他所拥有的抄本中，isotta’s的拉丁文日期为6th October 1436
如果1436是正确的，这封信必须在24小时内从威尼斯送到 Guarino，
然后返回到 Verona，因为 Guarino 在 1436 年 10 月 7 日给 Foscari
写信 697，感谢他寄来的礼物。这种速度
是不可能的，所以 1435 应该接受是 Isotta 的信的日期，因此也是
Ginevra’s (G. Epistolario III, p. 337-338).
Finally, Isotta dared to address a letter to him at the beginning of 1437 (Letter 703), in which she thanked him for praising her to the Doge, and deplored the foolishness of her fellow citizens who had allowed Guarino to depart to Ferrara. Perhaps because he was busy preparing to resume his teaching, Guarino did not immediately reply. This gave Isotta's enemies an opportunity to laugh at her. Much distraught, she wrote again at the beginning of April (Letter 704), begging for a reply which would still the jealous voices who had accused her of effrontery and even scandalous moral conduct. There seems to have been no basis for such insults; her only crime was that she had dared to enter the field of letters, which was still thought of as the preserve of men. Guarino's silence was construed as a condemnation on his part. The bitterness of Isotta's letter is therefore understandable. Guarino replied at once (Letter 705), confirming his good opinion of her, advancing his many occupations as the excuse for his failure to reply, but gently reminding her that a person of her culture should be above being vexed by idle gossip. Unfortunately, Isotta never quite lived down the prejudice against her. In June 1439, for example, there was an anonymous letter written in Venice, which laid part of the blame on Isotta and Ginevra for the war between Venice and Milan. It opened with the statement that no woman who is eloquent can possibly be chaste (A. Segarissi in Giornale storico della letteratura italiana XLIII, p. 48-54). But she must have found comfort in Guarino's letter, and in others written to her by his son Girolamo and his pupils Lodovico Zandrata and Tobia dal Borgo (Abel, Isotae Nogarolae Opera I, pp. 93, 109, 121. Isotta's replies are on pp. 103, 116, 129). In 1438 Ginevra married and soon afterwards abandoned
literary pursuits. In the same year the Mogarola family moved to Venice to escape the perils of the war between Venice and Milan. When they came home in 1441, Isotta's enthusiasm for letters seems finally to have been extinguished by the constant taunts of her detractors, and she sought comfort in religion. But she deserves to be remembered as the first female in Italy to achieve real fame for humanistic learning.

202. In 1437 there was considerable discussion at Basle over the future site of the Church Council. A vote was taken on the 7th March, whereby the majority showed their partiality to Basle or Avignon. Others voted for Bologna or Florence. The question of whether the Greeks should be invited at all was also debated, but finally a deputation left in August for Constantinople to invite the Greek emperor (Hefele, Conciliengeschichte VII, pp. 645, 648–649). Guarino alludes in Letter 718 to the sluggishness of the papal court at Bologna and indulges himself in a disrespectful pun at the expense of the emperor: "Curia Bononiae ferias agere videtur, adeo paucis negotiis implicatur, ut parum ab dormiendo videatur absesse... Legati complures Graeciam petierunt, trieres parantur quae Constantinopolitanum Caesarem angustum, huii augustum volui dicere, ad concilium pervehant." Doubtless the pun pleased his correspondent, Nicholas Lassocky, a canon of Cracow in Poland, who probably despised the Greeks, as did many of his ecclesiastical brethren. Rather unexpectedly, the council moved to Ferrara, where the opening address was given on 8th January 1438 by Niccolò Albergati. Pope Eugenius IV arrived on the 27th of the month, the Greek emperor John Palaeologus on 4th March. Marquis Niccolò d'Este, as host of the Council, travelled to Venice to greet the emperor.
203. Guarino must have been delighted to meet so many of his old friends—Poggio, Scipione Mainente, Aurispa, Cencio Rustici, Ambrogio Traversari, Flavio Biondo, and the painter Pisanello, to name but a few. He also met for the first time such men as Leon Battista Alberti, the poet Porcellio, Lapo da Castiglioni and, the Greeks Bessarion and Gemistus Plethon. Missing, however, was Francesco Barbaro, who had been appointed podestà of Brescia in 1437 and was unable to leave his duties (Letter 725).

204. Guarino also met the Pope, to whom he dedicated Latin translations of two homilies of Basil the Great (Letter 727). The Greek codex containing these works had been brought to him by someone from Rhodes. It passed after his death to his son Battista and appears in the list of Guarino’s books published by Omont (cf. Life sec. 178 ad fin.) as item 41: “Magni Basilii Exameron, cujus principium a Baptista Guarino seniore versum est in latinum et in eodem volumine multa alis eiusdem Basilii.” Sabbadini (G. Epistolario III, p. 356) assumed that “Baptista Guarino seniore” was a mistake, and that whoever wrote the inventory had Guarino Veronese in mind. But if, as has previously been suggested (Life sec. 178), the inventory was really that of the books of the Battista who wrote Il pastor fido, then the writer of the inventory may genuinely have believed that Battista, Guarino’s son, was the translator, and have written “Battista Guarino seniore” to distinguish him from the junior Battista, author of Il pastor fido. This, in fact, is an additional argument for saying that the inventory was written for the junior Battista; for otherwise there would have been no point in writing “seniore.”

205. The year 1438 was an extremely busy one for Guarino, for besides
carrying on his teaching (Letters 428-432) he acted as liaison between the Greeks and Latins. It is frequently stated that he was "interpreter" at the Council, but we do not know whether this was an official capacity involving his presence at deliberations. There is, in fact, only one document which suggests that Guarino attended any of the assemblies in an official capacity. This is a short address entitled Oratio Guarini in consilio sinodali (cod. Arundel 138 f. 330v in the British Museum), but it may have been written by Guarino for the use of some delegate. We know from Letter 726, however, that he was kept busy running errands from one delegate to another and that he had a great deal of paper work to do, probably translations of messages. This he found extremely tiresome at the age of 64, and he confessed to Francesco Barbaro that he felt frequent surges of disgust at the very sight of a pen. But what vexed him most was the slowness of most of the delegates: "Nothing could be said to be more splendid, more useful, more glorious or more salutary for the name of Christianity than the business of the Greeks, but it is being practically ignored." The holy synod seemed to him "a perfect mirror of life," where the only pursuits valued were those of leisure and repose, and the only worry that afflicted the delegates was how to avoid worry; people were "making a fetish of inactivity and devoting their energies purely to the invention of new modes of pleasure." At the end of Letter 726 he asks Barbaro to say nothing of these strictures, "since the truth gives birth to hatred." He does not say whether the Latins or the Greeks were more to blame; indeed, the letter reads like a blanket condemnation. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini has left a vivid description of the social life enjoyed by the
delegates. On one occasion, the physician Ugo Benzi da Siena gave a banquet for a mixed company of Greeks and Latins, after which there was discussion of the main issues that divided the Aristotelians and the Platonists. According to Piccolomini, Ugo undertook to defend any point the Greeks chose to attack, and routed opponent after opponent, thus "proving" that the Latins, who had already shown their military superiority over the Greeks, were their intellectual betters also (Opera Omnia [Basle, 1551] p. 450-451). This biased account reflects the patronizing attitude of many Latins towards the Greeks, which was at least one obstacle in the way of a permanent solution of their differences.

206. The Council, which had suspended its public sessions from 8th April to 13th October, accomplished virtually nothing, and was already breaking up before the end of the year (It resumed officially in Florence in January 1429.). War had again intensified between Milan and Venice and the delegates wished to remove themselves from danger. Besides, signs of plague had already appeared by late summer. Guarino, as usual, paid little attention to the war, but was worried by the threat of plague. Nevertheless, he affected to make light of it in letters to Andrea Palazzo (728, 729), who at that time was in the service of Nicholas Lassocky at Bologna. Understandably, Guarino did not wish Lassocky to withdraw his two nephews from the school. He therefore assured Palazzo that in the opinion of Gugliemo Capello, the official in charge of public health (Letter 732), there was no real danger. Nevertheless, people were fleeing from the city. Leonello d'Este had withdrawn to the country and wrote Guarino on 26th September (Letter 734) to say that Lodovico Casella — a pupil of Guarino presently serving Leonello — would
arrive on the 27th bearing a "mandatum et cetera id generis pro tua in Lendinarium vel Rodigium introductione" (presumably letters of passage into either of those places, both of which were under the marquis' jurisdiction). This shows that Guarino had taken steps to withdraw from Ferrara. On the 26th he wrote to Lodovico Sambonifacio, Count of Lendinara, imploring asylum for himself and his twelve children (the youngest, Battista, having been born earlier in the year). He may have gone to Lendinara, for there is an anonymous letter (737) addressed to him there, but he could not have remained long, for Letter 738, of which only the date, place of origin, and a description of the contents remain, shows that he was in Rovigo by 6th October.

207. He appears to have taken some at least of his students with him. The names of two of them — Leonino Brembato da Bergamo and Bartolomeo Ganassone da Brescia — are preserved in cod. Querinianus A VII: 1 (in the Biblioteca Queriniana at Brescia), which is in the hand of Ganassone. It contains, among other things, Guarino's Life of Plato and the list of Plato's works appended to it (Life sec. 177), and Cicero's De legibus with the subscription: "Explicit de legibus quod contemptum est in exemplari cl. V. Guarini Veronensis et cum eodem correctum est per me Leoninum Brembatum adiuvante d. Bartolameo de Ganasonibus de Brixia anno Christi MCCCCCXXXVIII pridie kal. septembris." Brembato also transcribed the works of Vergil in a manuscript now cod. Canon. lat. 61 in the Bodleian, with the subscription: "Leoninus Brembatus Rodigii MCCCCCXXXVIII." 208. Guarino remained in Rovigo at least until 23rd December 1439, the date of his last letter (757) dated from there. Meanwhile, he continued to
write to friends in Ferrara and elsewhere (Letters 739-743, 748, 754, 756, 757). Of these letters the most interesting is 748, written to Leonello in August. The prince had come to the Polesine, that area of land enclosed by the Rivers Po and Adige in which Rovigo is situated, to hunt, but finding no game, had immediately gone home. Guarino gently but firmly rebuked the prince for what he considered poor political judgement. The Polesine had once been a possession of the Estensi, but for 45 years had been Venetian territory. Then in July 1438 the Venetian government, in return for free passage of their troops through Ferrarese territory, had voted to return it to Niccolo, who formally accepted it on 27th August and exactly a month later sent Leonello to take possession (Letter 433). Guarino wisely pointed out that Leonello should have used the occasion of his visit in 1439 to win the hearts of his subjects, wisely pointing out that a prince's name alone is not enough to secure the affection upon which their loyalty rests; he must appear among them, make himself a topic of conversation, shake hands, look men in the eye, and promise aid. No sounder formula for political success could be devised, and the passage of centuries has not changed its efficacy. It may not be too much to assert that of all the early humanists Guarino had the liveliest sense of the value of what we should now term "good public relations." This evidenced by the clever manner in which he kept his own name to the fore by unflagging correspondence with the leading men of his time, by encouraging his friends to spread his fame, by avoiding rash and invidious statements, and by the sound advice he gave those whose interests he wished to promote. This letter to Leonello is a good illustration of such advice. (For an even more striking one, see Letter 758).
209. On another occasion, he offered Leonello some thoughts on the subject of death (Letter 754), recounting how one day in October while walking outside the walls of Rovigo he met a mysterious stranger, whose beard and dress proclaimed him to be a Greek. Guarino explained that he was in Rovigo to escape the plague, at which the Greek expressed surprise that a man so conversant with the philosophical precepts of the ancients should fear death, which is only a prelude to immortality. Guarino replied that in theory he was a philosopher, yet in practice he was afraid to leave the joys of earthly existence. The Greek then argued that life contains more sorrow than joy. Guarino countered by asking why, in that case, did he care to prolong his life, to which the answer came that it is the prerogative of none but God to take away life. Finally, Guarino invited the stranger to his own home, but the offer was declined. Possibly such an encounter really did take place, and the Greek may have been one of those in Italy for the Council; but more probably the incident was fictitious. The philosophical argumentation owes much to Cicero’s Somnium Scipionis, and the stranger may be an allegorical representation of Death.

210. The subject of mutability and destruction was indeed much in Guarino’s thoughts at this time. Death had claimed on the 7th July Margherita Gonzaga, wife of Leonello d’Este, for whom Guarino wrote a funeral oration. The plague was still rife in Ferrara. But worst of all, the war between Venice and Milan was showing no sign of abating. On 25th April (Letter 740) Guarino confessed that he was profoundly disturbed not only by the large numbers of refugees who were pouring into the Polesine but by reports of the misconduct
of the Venetian troops. The latter complaint was particularly bold, since he was writing to Leonello, whose father had espoused the Venetian party. But he had a greater complaint against the Milanese forces, whose commander, Niccolò Piccinino, had devastated Veronese territory in March, April, and May. Among the buildings pillaged was Guarino's villa at Val Policalla, of which barely the walls were left standing. Guarino did not hear of this, however, until the beginning of August (Letter 748).

211. The wonder is that amid these vexations he found time to write on subjects other than war — congratulating Giacomo della Torre on his elevation as Bishop of Ferrara (Letter 739), putting Leonello right on a point of ancient usage (Letter 742), requesting that Ciriaco d'Ancona (then visiting Scipione Mainente at Modena) hunt down some scholarly information for him (Letter 743), and accepting the dedication of Antonio Baratella's Polydoreis (Letter 745).

212. The culmination of his woes came in October, when a report reached him, as he lay sick of fever, that there was in circulation an epigram against Venice attributed to his pen, as a result of which he had lost favour with the Venetian government. Immediately, he dictated a long letter (752) jointly addressed to Andrea Zulian and Leonardo Giustinian, begging them to

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*This was Guarino's first contact with Baratella (d. 1448), a native of Camposampiero on the River Musone, which he made famous in his poem Musonea. A quondam pupil of Barzizza and friend of Lodovico Sambonifacio and Sicco Polenton, he was occupied in 1439 with writing Antenoreis, a poem on Padua, but interrupted this work to compose Polydoreis, as a companion piece of Maffeo Vegio's Astyanax. In Letter 745 Guarino exhorted him to complete Antenoreis.*
scotch the lie. He cites his past praises of Venice, the friendships that bind him to the city, points out the foolish risk he would have been taking in criticizing the allies of the Marquis of Ferrara, and the fact that any one of many humanists could have imitated his style, and concludes with a terrible oath to prove his innocence. Giustinian replied on 26th October (Letter 755) dearing Guarino of all suspicion, but the letter did not reach him until after his return from Rovigo (Letter 758 of 1st February 1440). During the intervening period of almost three months, Guarino must have been in considerable anguish, although he says nothing of this in the few letters he wrote before receiving Giustinian's reassurances. In view of Guarino's arguments in Letter 752, and most of all the oath he took, which for a religious man was no light matter, it is most unlikely that Guarino wrote the notorious couplet, even if in Letter 740 he had not been above criticizing the Venetian army. It probably emanated from the Milanese humanists, who were at that time writing a great deal of propaganda against Venice (See Life secs. 63, 64).
213. Guarino returned to Ferrara sometime between 23rd December 1439, the date of his last letter from Bovigo, and 1st February 1440, the date of his first from Ferrara. In the latter he says that he had been home for some time, probably therefore from the beginning of January. Almost nothing can be gathered about his life from the 13 letters extant from 1440, but 6 of them warrant notice. In Letter 762 to Prosdocimo Prosdocimi (about whom nothing is known) he details the qualities he admires in the letters of Leonardo Bruni, particularly interesting being the remark that just as Cicero's letters to Atticus deal with current events of importance so are Bruni's to be commended for dealing with such lofty topics as the Roman curia and the Schism. Appropriately, this letter was printed at the beginning of the first edition of Bruni's epistolary, since it contains this thumbnail critical judgement of one humanist epistolographer on the letters of another. Letters 762A and B congratulate Lodovico Scarampo Mezzarota, Patriarch of Aquileia, on his victory for the Church forces at Anghiari on 29th June 1440. These letters not only show that he was keeping track of events in the war, but may also have been written partly at least to remove any lingering doubts as to his loyalty to the allied forces in their struggle against Milan. Letters 763 and 764 may also have had this purpose partly in mind, for they congratulate Francesco Barbaro on his defence of Brescia in 1439, which culminated in two brilliantly organized sorties on 13th and 14th December which routed the Milanese besiegers under Piccinino. Barbaro's unusually long three year term as podestà of Brescia ended 13th November 1440, after which he returned in triumph to Venice, having truly exemplified the Ciceronian dictum so beloved of his fellow humanists that "omnis virtus
in actione consistit." Finally, we should note Letter 766 of 29th November, in which Guarino asks Carlo Brugnaro, a pupil of Vittorino at Mantua, to remind his master to reply to a "recent" letter (now lost) in which Guarino had enquired about a "commentary on Homer." Sabbadini (Scoperte [1905] p. 46) thinks that the reference must be to the two codices of Homer with the commentary attributed to Aristarchus, once owned by Aurispa and now codd. Marc. gr. 453 and 454.

214. Guarino's first extant letter from 1441 is 774 of 23rd October, to Martino Rizzon, who had written outlining his intention of returning to Verona (He had been in Venice with the Nogarola family during the hostilities). The Peace of Cremona had been signed on 20th November, but Guarino expressed doubts as to its permanence. Since he was writing to one of his closest friends, and the letter was private, we may be reasonably sure that it reflects his true thoughts about the peace. Contrast this with the more lyrical note of Letter 775 of 2nd November to Angelo Simonetta, a Calabrian friend of his who had served under Francesco Sforza. In it Guarino rhapsodizes over the wedding of Sforza and Bianca Visconti, which took place on 20th October, and expresses his expectation that this union would secure a lasting peace. Doubtless he knew that this letter would be passed through many hands, so he was careful to praise Sforza, who might be said to symbolize the allied powers of Venice, Florence, and the Church, and to an equal degree Bianca and her family. He was pursuing a safe line. The truth, however, is that Sforza's conduct in the war had been neither as heroic nor as consistent as Guarino's letter would have us believe, and its praises of the Visconti seem like a shameless volte face from opinions
he had expressed earlier during the hostilities. On the other hand, yesterday's enemy has always been today's friend, and it was a well established principle that exaggeration and convenient deviations from the truth were mandatory in any laudation. As Guarino himself frequently stated (notably in Letter 796) there is a difference between the poetic impulse (under which laudation may be subsumed, even if it is written in prose) and historical writing, which calls for objective and impartial analysis.

215. His joy over the cessation of the war was offset by his grief at the death in September of Battista Zendrata (Letter 772). Marquis Niccolò d'Este also died on 26th December at Milan, to which he had been invited by Filippo Maria Visconti to help restore order to the duchy. In his will, made on the day he died, Niccolò named the order of succession — Leonello, Borso, Ercole, Sigismondo. This surprised no one, since Leonello had long been regarded as his heir, and had in fact been left in charge of Ferrara during his father's absence, but the will was the first document in which Leonello was specifically named as the next marquis. I venture to suggest, although I know of no documented evidence to support my contention, that this was a good illustration of Niccolò's clever political management, for by declining to make his choice absolute until the last minute he had made sure than even such a dutiful son as Leonello would never pre-empt authority, and by playing upon any secret hopes than his other sons — particularly the ambitious Borso — might have nurtured about the succession, he had kept them loyal to himself by dividing them to a safe degree among themselves,
Niccolò's body was brought home to Ferrara and interred on 1st January 1442 in the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Guarino composed three epitaphs, which are published, together with many others in Niccolò's honour, in Borsetti, *Historia almi Ferrariae Gymnasii* I, p. 41-46. The best known of Guarino's three (the incipits of which are given in Sabbadini, *la scuola e gli studi di G.*, p. 231-232) is that which appears in Borsetti, p. 41, and in the recently discovered MS. 100.42 in the Cathedral Library at Toledo, where it occupies f.173v.

216. The Toledo MS. also contains (f.157v) a hitherto unknown poem attributed to Guarino. The incipit and descendit are given by Sesto Frete in his description of the MS. (*Studi e Testi* 230 [1964] p. 33), but since the text has never been published, it will be convenient to give my transcription of it here, with the spelling, line order, and punctuation as they appear in the MS.

> Versus a praeclarissimo oratore Guarino veronense ad Laudem d. Leonelli Marchionis ferrariensis editi quom in imperio successit pro quodam presbytero.

> Alma dies oritur? Ferraria laeta triumphal  
> Nam tibi stelliferō missus Leonellus olympo  
> Ut pre desertas gentes dicione gubernet.  
> Prima dei pietas cura et sanctissima legum  
> Pacis amor fervens et apertis otia portae.  
> Omnibus alta fīxes, plebis spes una patrumque  
> Certaque de dubiis regni sententia rebus.  
> Quae mihi laetitia! Quae tanti causa triumphi?  
> Cur deus hanc recipit praestertim hoc tempore curam?

A word should be said about the text, which is clearly in an unsatisfactory state. As they stand, lines 2-3 do not constitute a sentence, unless *missus* is taken as equivalent to *missus est*, which is awkward. Further, *pre*, if this is merely a mediaeval spelling for *prae*, could govern only *dicione*; which would yield no sense. The writer of the MS. seems to have been aware of the difficulty, for he wrote the sign ~ after *olympo* and *dei*, and placed a score over the words *pre desertas*. Exactly opposite in the margin there is an elaborate scrawl, the only marginal encrustation in the whole MS. I suspect the scribe had started to write in some marginal emendation, but changed his mind, and to save the appearance of his MS. converted it into an ornate doodle, leaving the text as he found it in his exemplar. Possibly Guarino wrote:

Nam tibi stellifero missus Leonellus Olympo est
Ut per desertas gentes dicione gubernet.

The *est* could have dropped out because of the similar ending of *gubernet* in the line directly beneath, giving rise to a kind of proleptic haplography. *Pre* for *per* would have been a simple transposition of letters of the kind common in MSS. I would also transpose lines 4-5 to follow immediately after line 10, where they make far better sense.

As Prete points out (ibid. p. 33, n. 39) this poem is mentioned by Carlo dei Rosmini (Vita e disciplina di Guarino II, p. 150) and G. Giuliani (Della letteratura Veronese al cadere del secolo XV [Bologna, 1876] p. 300,
n. 3) but does not appear in the list of Guarino's poems given by Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di G. p. 231-233. But Guarino's authorship is confirmed by the style and sentiments, including a characteristic Vergilian echo in the last line.

The poem may securely be dated January 1442, since it was written "when (Leonello) succeeded to power" as marquis. Identification of the priest for whom it was written is less easy. He must have wished for some reason to ingratiating himself with Leonello; he must have been known to Guarino; and he must have lacked the literary gifts which would have enabled him to compose the verses himself. The only priest known to have been a friend of Guarino, and who would fit the other conditions, is the musician Gioacchino dei Cancellieri**, for whom Guarino had written a letter of recommendation (389) to Giacomo Zilioli in 1427, and a poem (390) which looks like an extra testimonial. Since Zilioli, as referendarius at that time, was in charge of court appointments, it seems likely that Gioacchino had desired the position of court organist or some other favour. I would therefore suggest that when Leonello became marquis, Gioacchino desired to ensure continued court favour and to this end applied once again for Guarino's assistance and received it in the form of a congratulatory poem which was bound to ingratitude the donor with the new marquis.

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*Of Aeneid 1, 609, which has tum for summ. But it was Guarino's practice to adapt quotations from ancient authors in this way; see Style and orthography of the Letters.

**Cf. G. Bertoni, Guarino fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara p. 52.
217. The poem at any rate reflects the mood of popular confidence which prevailed at Leonello's succession. It could not have been accomplished more smoothly, for Borso prudently secured the loyalty of Reggio and Modena for his brother, and the Marchesana Ricciarda did not attempt to press the claims of her sons Ercole and Sigismondo, but retired gracefully to her father's court at Saluzzo. Amid the rejoicing, Guarino did not forget to make an appropriate gift — a translation of Isocrates' *Ad Nicoclem* (Letter 778), intended to remind Leonello of his duties as a benevolent despot. On 6th February he also presented Leonello with a formal consolation on the death of his father (Letter 777).

218. The University of Ferrara had existed in the time of Niccolò, but only as a "shadow", as it was described by some of the professors (Borsetti, I, p.148). Probably at Guarino's suggestion, Leonello gave it a new constitution in 1442 and by the end of the next year had replaced a number of incompetent teachers and enlarged the faculty (Borsetti, I, p.147-54). The Feast of S. Luca on 18th October — the day usually consecrated to the opening of the academic year in schools and universities in northern Italy — began the new session, with Guarino delivering an inaugural lecture on the Liberal Arts. As the subjects to be taught that year he listed grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics, natural philosophy, medicine, and civil and canon law. This speech is extant (cf. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di G.*, p.67) together with another protreptic address delivered in 1447 to mark the quinquennial anniversary of the new institution. The text of the 1447 lecture is published by Sabbadini in *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane* VII (1897), p. 33-37. John of Pannonia,
who came that year to Ferrara, attended, and refers to the lecture thus in
his *Sylva panegyrica ad Guarinum* 708-711:

> Qualem te ingenuas laudentem audivimus artes
> Cum pridem octobres studiorum exordia nobis
> Restituere ius et misso in dolia mutto
> Carrula solliciti rediere ad scamna comati.

By then, Ferrara had acquired the services of Theodore Gaza, who had come in 1444 to teach Greek (Sabbadini, *Biografia documentata di Aurispa*, p. 96), but whether he was employed by the university or by Guarino as a collaborator in his private *contubernium* cannot be determined by any document I have been able to find. Gaza was certainly Rector of the Faculty of Arts 1448-1449 (A. Segarizzi *Della vita e delle opere di Michele Savonarola* [Padua, 1900] pp. 22, 67), but I can find no evidence that either he or Guarino for that matter ever held university chairs. In Guarino's case, the last extant document of any kind of appointment whatever is a decree of 22nd May 1441 (Borsetti, I, p. 48) which confirmed his appointment as *public* professor or rhetoric for a further five years at the same salary as before. One presumes that his contract was renewed automatically in 1446. But in 1451, when the next quinquennium would normally have started, Guarino was, as we shall see, in considerable doubt as to his future and even considered returning to Verona. This suggests that his contract had remained a quinquennial arrangement between himself and the city, and that, strictly speaking, he did not come under university jurisdiction. Similarly, I suspect that Gaza was never more than an assistant teacher under Guarino. Thus to call Guarino professor or rhetoric and Gaza professor of Greek at the university is misleading. Since, however, Guarino delivered public lectures and was called upon to
deliver inaugural addresses at the university, he was to all intents and purposes the professor of rhetoric at Ferrara; and his status was unquestionably higher than any of his colleagues whose appointments are known to have been made by the university.

219. The eight years of Leonello's marquisate was a golden age of humanism; but another cultural revival was simultaneously taking place in the Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily, who had made good by conquest his claim to Naples and entered the city on 2nd June 1442. Beccadelli, who had been in his service since 1435, accompanied him and shortly afterwards arranged for the arrival of Valla. Round these two men there soon began to gather many other humanists attracted by Alfonso's reputation as a patron of letters. Among those who went to Naples, at different times and for varying lengths of stay, were Guiniforte Barzizza, Francesco Filelfo, Bartolomeo Facio, George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Giannozzo Manetti, and Giovanni Pontano, the last of whom with Beccadelli founded the Accademia Pontaniana in the 1460's. Under Alfonso (d. 1458) and his successor, Ferrante, Naples was to enjoy 52 years of relatively stable government and a flourishing of the arts which ended with the French invasion of 1494.

220. On 1st October 1442 Guarino addressed a eulogy to Alfonso, followed by another, in both of which he sought the king's aid in recovering his Plautus from Beccadelli (Letters 779, 780). He wrote Beccadelli also, but in rather conciliatory tones (781), possibly because Girolamo Guarino may already have been thinking of seeking his fortune in the south. This ambition had
crystallized by late summer 1443, when he set out to take employment with Giovanni Olzana, Alfonso's chief secretary. Guarino commended his son, now 22 and promising well as a scholar, to the protection of Beccadelli and Valla. In his letter to Beccadelli (783) he tactfully said nothing about the Plautus. No reply from Beccadelli is on record, but Valla welcomed Girolamo and in his reply to Guarino (784) asked for a copy of Pliny's panegyric on Nerva and promised to send a copy of his attack on the Donation of Constantine.

221. Alfonso had celebrated an official triumph on 26th February, and on 14th June formally announced his support of Pope Eugenius IV (G. Mancini, Vita di Valla, p. 166). By now he was a key figure in the balance of political power. The Este family, ever sensitive to opportunities for aggrandizement, sought a marriage alliance between Leonello and Alfonso's illegitimate daughter, Maria. Borso, the guiding spirit in this and later diplomacy with Naples, travelled with his brother Meliduce via Venice and Ortona and then overland to Naples to arrange the wedding. The princess left for Ferrara at the beginning of April, sped on her way by an epithalamium from Girolamo Guarino (Epistolario di G. III, p. 384). The nuptials were celebrated on the 24th and graced by an oration from the elder Guarino.

222. Among the guests was Rodolfo di Camerino, brother of Costanza Varano, one of the more famous female humanists of the century.\footnote{See B. Feliciangeli, "Notizie sulla vita e sugli scritti di Costanza Varano-Sforza," Giomale storico di letteratura italiana XXIII, p. 1-75.} In 1442 at the age of 14 she had delivered an oration at the wedding of Francesco Sforza
and Bianca Visconti, and thereafter corresponded with such notabilities as Filippo Maria Visconti, Isotta Nogarola, and Guiniforte Barzizza.

Some time in 1444 after his meeting with Rodolfo, Guarino wrote Costanza praising her lineage and writings, but more specifically to enlist her aid in obtaining a copy of "Cornutus' commentary on Juvenal", which he had heard was at Camerino in the hands of two physicians, Mario and Venanzio (The latter was rector of the Faculty of Arts at Padua in 1420 and for some years thereafter taught moral philosophy). This notice raises two questions: first, whether Guarino ever wrote a commentary on Juvenal; second, whether he received the Cornutus.

223. Rosmini (Guarino II, p. 147) mentions a commentary on Juvenal by Guarino. Sabbadini searched many years for this commentary, but finally concluded that it never existed, and that the tradition had arisen from the appearance in many MSS. dating from 1456 to the end of the fifteenth century of a set of verse arguments by Guarino to Juvenal's Satires. (La scuola e gli studi di G. p. 96-97). The whole question, however, has been reviewed in an important article on Renaissance commentaries on Juvenal by Eva Sanford in Kristeller's Catalogus translatissim et commentariorum I (1960), p. 175-238. Sanford believes (p. 205) that she has identified 4 MSS. which seem clearly based on a commentary by Guarino (Venice, Marc. lat. XII 19; Milan, Ambrosianus A 121 inf; Pesaro, Bib. Oliveriana 50; Vatican, Ottob. lat.; 1146) as well as a fifth (Paris, B.N. lat. 16696) which seems broadly based on a commentary by Guarino but which contains a number of notes in which the writer takes issue with Guarino's interpretation.
It should be noted that Sabbadini (La scuola e gli studi, p. 96) had consulted the Ambrosianus, for he gives this one extract from the note contained in that MS. on Sat. 1, 120: "Fumus hoc est res pertinentes ad coquinam, sicut carnes ligna etc. Vel, ut Guarino Veronensi placet, pecuniae ad emenda ligna, quae interdum propter necessitatem ita viridia et humida sunt, ut plus fumi quam ignis emittant." Sabbadini rightly maintains that this proves only that Guarino had at some time delivered himself of some such explanation of fumus in this particular passage. He then rejects the theory that the Ambrosianus as a whole contains or represents a commentary on Juvenal by Guarino. Sanford, however, believes that the Ambrosianus does in fact contain what is substantially Guarino's commentary. On p. 205-206 she gives a series of extracts from Marcianus lat. XII 19 (written in 1456 and the earliest of the 5 MSS. she adduces) noting that virtually the same text is contained in all the other MSS. with the exception of the Parisinus. Having studied these extracts, and a microfilm of the Marcianus, I am satisfied that Sanford is right, and that the MSS. she adduces (with the possible exception of the Parisinus, which I have not seen) reflect notes given in lectures by Guarino. I base this on the fact that Guarino’s name frequently occurs and that occasionally one finds what look like verbatim quotations of some of his favourite expressions; for example, one such expression, "aut bibe aut abi", occurs in the Marcianus note giving the argument of Satire 1. One is bound to conclude that Sabbadini had not examined the Ambrosianus with his customary thoroughness, and that Guarino had indeed compiled a commentary on Juvenal.
However, it was not a formal commentary written out for public dissemination, but like his other commentaries, except those on Cicero's Pro Sexto Roscio and Persius (Life sec. 225), must be reconstructed from the recollectae (lecture notes written up in the form of a fair copy) of his more conscientious students.

224. It remains to ask whether Guarino received the "Cornutus" from Camerino. The name "Cornutus" was already by the twelfth century established as that of a commentator on Juvenal (Sanford, p. 177), but it was really a general rubric for various scholia on Juvenal then in circulation. According to Sabbadini (Epistolario de G. III, p. 387), Guarino's Letter 789 contains the first reference to "Cornutus" as though it were a collection in a single volume. Sanford points out that what she calls the "Cornutus type" commentary on Juvenal was less commonly used in the fifteenth century than another which she calls "Commentary 2" (described in p. 188-192).

There is a copy of Commentary 2 in a MS. (Bologna, Univ. 876) written by Giovanni Garzoni, which bears this inscription: "Audivi hunc librum ego a disertissimo omnium Veronensium Guarino praeceptore meo, solle [sic] vertente sub anno domini 1449" (Sanford, p. 205). Guarino's lectures on Juvenal in 1449 were therefore based on Commentary 2. Sanford believes that this indicates a strong possibility that Guarino had never received the Cornutus. It is tempting to suggest that the Camerino MS. never existed, but this would be hazardous in view of the fact that Sanford (p. 182-188) lists a great many MSS. of Cornutus and admits (p. 178) that even they are only characteristic examples. The Camerino MS. may therefore
be extant somewhere and turn up by chance. Meanwhile it is not important enough to warrant the labour necessary to find it by deliberate search, especially since we know from examination of all extant recollectae that Guarino's lectures on Juvenal were based on Commentary 2.

225. A word should be said about Guarino's commentary on Persius. Sanford states (p. 205) that Letter 789 was written "shortly after the composition of his commentary on Persius", but I can find no evidence for this dating. But 1444 would be a good guess, since Guarino might well have prepared commentaries on both authors about the same time for a general course on Roman satire. But the earliest extant copy of the Persius commentary is that in cod. Estensis VI F 20 dating from 1458. From cod. Marc. lat XII 21 of 1465 we know that it was a polished work by Guarino intended by public dissemination, for there it is entitled: "Commentariol Persii volaterani editi per Guarinum nostrum Veronensem." Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi p. 94-95 praises this commentary for Guarino's ability to keep to the point while displaying a vast stock of erudition, his keen understanding of the text, and his objectivity.

226. Little else can be surmised about Guarino's life in 1444: in July Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua asked for his advice about texts of Josephus and for information as to where his agent could obtain them in Constantinople (Letter 786); in October Guarino wrote Tito Vespasiano Strozzi requesting the return of a volume of Plutarch's Lives (Letter 787); and in December Francesco Barbaro wrote (Letter 790) asking for a copy of certain selections from Plutarch's treatise (On distinguishing between a
friend and a flatterer which Guarino had compiled around 1437 (Letter 676). Similarly only 5 letters (2 of them being of doubtful date) are extant from 1445. Of these only Letter 791 of 8th February is of any significance. It was written to Alberico Maletta, who had been professor of civil law at Pavia 1432-1435 and an adviser to Leonello since 1443. In early 1445 he went to Milan on a diplomatic mission, almost certainly in connexion with the efforts of Borso, who was in Naples from October 1444 to the end of 1445, to unite Italy under Alfonso of Aragon. But Guarino's interests were not political: he saw Maletta's visit as an opportunity to obtain a copy of Donatus' commentary on Terence, which had been discovered by Aurispa at Moganza in 1433 (Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini p. 206 ff.). This suggests that Guarino, with whom Terence was a favourite author, had not seen the Donatus, and that this text was not in common circulation.

In 1446 there was war between Filippo Maria Visconti and the allied forces of Venice and Florence, backed by Francesco Sforza. Leonello d'Este and Borso, consistent with their hopes of securing Milan for Alfonso of Aragon after Filippo Maria's death, favoured the duke. Against this background,

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*There is a remarkable document published by C. Foucard, "Proposta fatta dalla Corte Estense ad Alfonso I, Re di Napoli," Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napolitane (Naples, 1879), p. 708-741, in which Erosio and Leonello in 1445 urge Alfonso to make peace with all the major powers in Italy, especially the Pope, and prepare to make himself master of Lombardy after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti. Borso returned to Ferrara having gained Alfonso's agreement that the Este family would arrange matters with the duke. Filippo Maria proved amenable, but died on 12th August 1447 before Borso's plans had sufficiently ripened.*
Guarino wrote his famous Letter 796 on historiography (See Guarino's attitude to history and historiography). In it, however, he does not refer directly to the war, remarking only in his introduction that Italy was fortunate to have such a wealth of military talent, but unfortunate in that constant internal wars were keeping her divided against herself. One may surmise that he, too, desired a Milanese victory and the eventual unification of Italy under Alfonso; but it can be only a surmise, since Guarino was cautious as ever about talking about politics. Perhaps for the same reason he nowhere mentions the events of summer 1447 when a congress was called at Ferrara by Nicholas V to settle the war between Venice and Milan. The talks broke down when Filippo Maria Visconti died on 12th August, and the Aragonese troops who were in possession of the Castello at Milan proved unable to seize power for Alfonso. Thus at one stroke were shattered the hopes of Leonello, Borso, and Guarino for a united Italy.

228. Guarino's other extant letters from 1446 are all on innocuous private matters: in June (Letter 797) he thanked an unknown correspondent called Cencio for sending him a copy of the Psalms in Greek; in October (Letter 798) he consoled Feltrino Boiardo on the death of his son Pirro; and in November (Letter 799A) he wrote the preacher Alberto da Sarzana to express his eager anticipation of the latter's arrival in Ferrara. One event unrecorded in his extant correspondence was the death on 10th November of his old friend Leonardo Giustinian.
The men who had been instrumental in inviting Alberto da Sarzana were Giovanni da Tussignano, Bishop of Ferrara, who died on 24th July 1446, and his successor, the Paduan Francesco de Legnamine. Francesco took up his new position on 8th August 1446. At the end of March 1447 Guarino dedicated a translation of St. Cyril of Alexandria to him (Letter 801). Earlier, he had written to congratulate an even greater patron of letters; the humanist Tommaso Parentucelli, who became Pope Nicholas V on 6th March (Letter 803). This contact with the Pope was later to prove most fruitful, but Guarino’s prime consideration at this time was perhaps to establish contacts which would serve the interests of his son Manuel, who had entered the Church in 1437. (Cf. Letters 740, 790, 802, 814, 815, 875)

Alberto da Sarzana arrived in March 1447 and on 7th May preached a four hour long sermon on the value of study (Letter 804). This address pleased Guarino immensely, not only because (as Carbone tells us) he had taught Alberto how to preach “artistically”, but because such a pillar of evangelism had given a powerful sanction to the usefulness of classical studies in a Christian education. How different was the Lenten sermon preached three years later by Giovanni da Prato, a fanatic entirely opposed to studia humanitatis as the basis of education (See Guarino as a figure in controversy).

On 1st August (Letter 806) Guarino re-opened his correspondence with Poggio by praising his translation of Xenophon’s Cyropaedia, which had been completed at the end of 1446. According to Walser

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Sabbadini, Epistolario di Guarino III, p. 361 disagrees with the date 1431 given by Cittadella, Guarini I, p. 39.
Florentinus p. 230), this translation, done by a man who had learned Greek late in life (cf. Letter 805), was a poor production; but Guarino, besides being charitably disposed to an old friend, must have been aware that Poggio could help his son Girolamo if he ever went to Rome. And in fact Girolamo, now very active in the service of Alfonso of Aragon (Letter 805), had accompanied the king to Tivoli, and was there in August. Poggio promised to promote Girolamo's interests (Letter 807), but there is no evidence that Girolamo visited Rome. In December, however, we know that Girolamo, Valla, and others left the king's expeditionary force to return to Naples, but on the road to Siena were captured and maltreated by enemy Florentine troops (Mancini, Vita di Lorenzo Valla p. 224-225). Stunned by the news, Guarino used his influence with Carlo Marsuppini, chancellor of Florence, to secure his son's release and in his letter of thanks (807A) blessed the Florentines for their clemency. It was fortunate indeed that Florence had a humanist as chancellor, with whom the name and prestige of Guarino probably weighed far more than the ransom of one prisoner.

232. The year 1447 should not be left without mention of the commission given by Leonello to the artist Agnolo da Siena (who was active at Ferrara 1447-1455) for the decoration of his study in the palace of Belfiore with paintings of the nine muses. Guarino contributed to the project by writing

*Inexplicably, Sabbadini gives September 1447 as the date of Letter 807A in Epistolario II, p. 498, yet in Epistolario III, p. 405 he suggests dating it between December 1447 and January 1448.*
a disquisition (Letter 808) on the muses and their functions, together
with two poems containing thumb nail descriptions of these functions
and some imaginative suggestions as to how each muse should be represented.
Since of all the Estense palaces only the Schifanoia is still standing,
we do not know how closely Agnolo da Siena followed Guarino's suggestions,
but that he did so exactly in the case of Clio we know from Ciriaco d' Ancona, who visited Ferrara in 1449 and viewed the finished portraits of
Clio and Melpomene. In a letter to the Pope, Ciriaco describes Clio
as Guarino had imagined her in 1447, and he also quotes the verse inscribed
beneath as "Historiis famamque et facta vetusta reservat", which is Guarino's.
But Ciriaco's description of Melpomene playing the lyre and looking up to
heaven does not fit Guarino's in Letter 808. Sabbadini (Epistolario di G. III, p. 406) suggests that Guarino may have changed his mind later;
alternatively, that Leonello may have followed a suggestion from Theodore
Gaza, who also composed verses on the muses. Possibly, however, the
different conception of Melpomene was the artist's own, for it is stultifying
to any artist to work to the exact specifications of others.

233. Only 3 complete letters (814, 815, 816) have survived from 1448.
The incipit of a fourth (809) is preserved in a variety of sources (see
Epistolario II, p. 501). The following fragment of the text is preserved
in cod. Marc. it. f. 255: "Vide autem quoddam carmen quod Christophorus
Lafranchinus noster edidit. Adhuc tenet veram venam illam pristini
studii. Mirum est in tantis rerum occupationibus posse canere." The poem
Cristoforo Lafranchino had written was in praise of Lodovico Sambonifacio.
Lafranchino was born around 1430 and died in 1504; he is known to have taught civil and canon law at the University of Ferrara even before he took his doctorate in civil law on 17th May 1455 (A. Segarizzi in N. Arch. Ven. XX [1910] p. 102-103, 107-111; G. Pardi, Titoli dottorali conferiti dello Studio di Ferrara p. 28). Since Guarino in the fragment of Letter 809 calls him "noster" and refers to the quality of his early studies, we may fairly assume that Cristoforo had been his student. He does not, however, seem to have been studying under Guarino in January 1448 (the date of 809), because it was the function of a student to produce verses and Guarino would not have expressed surprise that he had been able to do so "in tantis rerum occupationibus," if these had been the normal occupations of a student. At any rate, Cristoforo seems to have been a university teacher by October 1448, for among his extant works is a speech entitled "Oratio pro suae lecturae primordio in felici Ferrariae gymnasio de mense octobris 1448" (cited by Sabbadini, Epistolario di G. III, p. 407), which was the introductory address to a course on rhetoric. This notice is interesting because in cod. Ferrar. NA 5 f. 6r there is a speech entitled "Guarini subsequens responsio post habitum a Christophoro de rhetorica collaudationem", which takes up and expands Cristoforo's arguments. It seems certain that Cristoforo gave a course in rhetoric before beginning his doctoral studies in law; but the existence of Guarino's "responsio" does not prove that Guarino was simultaneously teaching a similar course at the university. The speech may have been a purely literary piece not intended for actual delivery.
Alternatively, it may have been delivered by Guarino in his capacity as public professor (cf. Life sec. 218)

234. Letters 814 and 815 to John Lassocky, nephew of the Polish canon, Nicholas Lassocky, are mainly concerned with the appointment of Guarino's son Manuel to a canonry at Vicenza. Pope Eugenius IV on 23rd August 1440 had actually assigned a canonry to Manuel, but such appointments could be filled only as suitable vacancies occurred, and often only if one had friends in the curia prepared to press one's claims. Manuel's appointment was made on 9th March, largely through his father's influence with Nicholas and John Lassocky and Antonio Maria da Pavia, and not, it would seem, without some chicanery (Letter 815); but to what extent Guarino was himself aware of this chicanery is impossible to say. Manuel's claim seems, at any rate, to have been tenuous, for the canonry was taken from him before the end of the year. Some time after August 1449 (Letter 817) he was compensated by receiving a canonry at Verona, which he held until at least 1463.

*For a fuller discussion of these canonries see Cittadella, I Guarini p. 39-41. Manuel himself touches upon his difficulties at Vicenza in a letter to Nicholas Lassocky published by Sabbadini (Epistolario di G. III, p. 413-414) and dated by him in the first half of 1449. Manuel reminds Lassocky that in the previous year (1448) there had been two vacancies at Vicenza, neither of which he had been able to hold, because (to quote his words) "bullae meae in forma communi confectae fuerunt"; he also says he has written Antonio Maria asking "ut... eas (i.e. the bulls) in forma speciali fieri tentaret"; later, he remarks, "Cuperem siquidem ut per viam occultam et secretam bullae ipsae in speciali forma conficerentur; occultam inquam viam ne aliquis forsitan casu occurrente obesset in posterum." He had not, therefore given up hope of recovering the canonry and was not above asking his friends at Rome to perpetrate some kind of fraud. As I understand the above passages, the "bullae" were the original one of Eugenius IV promising him a canonry and the bull of Nicholas V granting him one. His difficulty seems to have arisen from the fact that these bulls came under a subdivision of the so-called lesser bulls called "litterae communes" and did not name him to a specific post. Hence his request that the documents be secretly forged "in forma speciali"; that is, to make it seem that he had been specifically named to one of the vacant canonries at Vicenza.
The first part of 1449 seems to have been uneventful for Guarino. In May he had the satisfaction of being able to use his good offices with Leonello d'Este to obtain some favour for the city of Verona (Letter 812), and in July he wrote Leonello the controversial Letter 813 on the nature of the Latin language (See Guarino as a figure in controversy). Relations continued good with Nicholas Lassocky, who in August sent him two new pupils of high social position, one of them being Zavissius Operowsky, nephew of Ladislai Operowsky, Archbishop of Gniezno. But from about July Guarino began to find himself in progressively straitened financial conditions. His first major expense was for books and the doctoral insignia — at the minimum a gold ring and a new robe — needed by his son Gregorio, who graduated as a Doctor Artium at Ferrara on 17th July (Pardi, Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo Studio di Ferrara p. 24). Then about August practically all of his household were stricken with fever; at one time seventeen of them were being treated by a physician named Tadeo. And of course there was the continuing expense of feeding, clothing, and providing educational materials for his student boarders and large family. Little wonder, then, that he found it necessary to dun Nicholas Lassocky — tactfully but insistently — for his nephews' fees, which seem not to have been paid for over two years (Letters 818, 819, 820, 821). Lassocky seems to have been to some extent culpable; in August (Letter 817) he claimed to have sent money to Ferrara, but it must have been rather a long time in arriving, and one is bound to suspect that he had in fact sent nothing. But it was not Guarino's way to complain. Almost invariably when
he had something unpleasant to say, he pretended to disbelieve that the offending party could possibly fall from grace (as in Letter 819). Perhaps a truer reflection of his feelings at this time emerges from a letter of Zavissius Operowsky to Nicholas Lassocky, printed in Epistolario di G., p. 416-417. Translations of the relevant extracts are as follows:

"...I am so worried about this lack of funds that I don't know what to do. Daily, or rather hourly, my teacher, Guarino, keeps demanding what I owe him and dinning it into my ears, and I don't know what answer I'm going to give him... I beg you to help me. If I can't get the money for my teacher, whose help can I call on... what answer shall I give Guarino?"

Guarino's conduct in thus badgering his student seems reprehensible; but we do not know the full circumstances, or even if Zavissius was telling the truth, whereas we do know that Guarino was desperately short of money and only asking to be paid what was due to him. Presumably, Lassocky responded in decent time to these cries for help, for we hear no more of them. The death of Giovanni Lamola (Letter 832) in December 1449 was only the prelude to other vexations during the year 1450. The first was the attack launched upon Guarino and classical studies by Giovanni da Prato during his Easter sermon in the cathedral. With only a few days to frame a defence, Guarino on 4th April produced his remarkable Letter 823 (See Guarino as a figure in controversy).

In 1450 also he was involved in a legal battle with the Boiardo family, from whom he had purchased property in 1437. Now they were contesting the legality of the sale on the grounds that the will of the quondam Salvatico Boiardo had contained a provision that none of his
heritable property was to be disposed of. Since Guarino does not mention this tussle in any extant correspondence, we know the circumstances only from a bull of Nicholas V (published in Rosmini, Guarino II, p. 194-198) dated 13th February 1451, from which it emerges that the Boiardo family had sold the property because of financial difficulties, that Guarino had spent 4000 lire di bolognini in restoring the buildings, and that he had known nothing about the clause in Salvatico's will. For the last reason, the Pope granted him the verdict.

But far the most grievous blow was the death of Leonello d'Este. Only 43 years of age, he had shown no sign of failing health in the summer of 1450 when he acted as arbitrator between Alfonso of Aragon and the Republic of Venice. As a result, peace was signed on 2nd July; but this was to be Leonello's last political act, for soon afterwards he fell sick. According to Guarino, the citizens were thrown into a near panic and the Archbishop ordered public prayers for Leonello's recovery. On 8th September came an official reassurance that he was better, which called forth on the 12th a letter of congratulation (825) from Guarino. But it was only a temporary rally; Leonello died on 1st October in his palace of Belriguardo. Guarino has left no extant letter about his passing, but he delivered an eloquent and touching oration at his funeral, which is extant in many MSS.

Leonello left one bastard, Francesco, and a 14 year old legitimate son, Niccolò. Francesco had years before gone to serve in the army of the Duke of Burgundy, and Niccolò presented no challenge to Borso, whom Leonello had wisely named as the next marquis, asking only that he secure
the eventual succession of Niccolò. The leading citizens are said to have held a meeting in the Palazzo della Ragione to debate the succession, but the outcome was never in doubt, despite the presence in Ferrara of Lodovico Gonzaga, who favoured Niccolò. Borso assumed the marquisate with a decent show of reluctance, but was careful to make sure that Ercole and Sigismondo, then in Naples, should hear nothing of his succession until it was an accomplished fact. The next year he ruthlessly suppressed a conspiracy of the Veleschi, supporters of Niccolò so called from the sail which was his emblem. From then until his death in 1471 Borso ruled as undisputed master. A vain and pretentious man, he purchased in 1452 the title of Duke of Modena and just before his death achieved his over-riding ambition to be named Duke of Ferrara. Ruthless in his drives, he had all the political flair of his father, pursued a policy of peace and justice, and was undoubtedly the idol of his subjects. He had great personal magnetism and a certain cavalier gaiety which disarmed criticism. Even Pius II, who detested him personally, admitted to his charm; and none could deny that his court was one of the most magnificent in Europe. The arts flourished there, yet mainly as the willing handmaids of Borso's glory. Lacking the refinement and scholarly instincts of Leonello — though he shared his love of the chase — and without classical learning himself, he appreciated the value of scholars, but tended to favour vernacular

*For a description of this debate and the circumstances of Borso's accession see Gardner, Dukes and poets in Ferrara p. 68-69.*
writers rather than the humanists who still crowded Ferrara to hear Guarino. Paradoxically, the early years of Borso's reign represented the flowering of humanism in Ferrara, as they also contained the seeds of its decline.

Similarly, Guarino's national and international reputation was never higher than in the last ten years of his life, but this period marked a decline in his personal fortunes. Although still vigorous physically and mentally, he seems to have lost the verve that was his under Leonello. His letters begin to read more and more like those of a very old man, who has sought refuge in scholarship, teaching, and religion. No longer the confidant of the prince, he assumes the figure of an ancient and venerable oak tended by a small band of devoted and gentle spirits.

One of Borso's first acts before the academic year 1450-1451 began on 18th October was to lower Guarino's salary from 300 to a mere 75 lire marchesane (Borsetti, Historia alma Ferrariae gymnasi I, p. 56). Why this crippling humiliation? Certainly he needed money for the gorgeous celebrations he planned to mark his accession, and perhaps, like many other comparatively untutored politicians, his first consideration in a general drive for economy was to cut the cost of education. This would be in line with the lack of interest he is known to have had in promoting education, especially in the first three years of his reign, and with a strange quirk in his character which caused him to combine phenomenal generosity with mean penny-pinching (cf. Gardner, Dukes and poets in Ferrara p. 80-82). But the drop in Guarino's salary was no steep and sudden that one is bound to suspect some animus on Borso's part towards him in particular. Could he
have wished to make it clear that the old humanist, who had guided Leonello, could no longer expect special treatment and court favour? Did he suspect Guarino's loyalty, because he had been the tutor of Leonello's son, Niccolò (Letters 831, 831A), and might conceivably favour the Velaschi faction? One thing seems certain: Guarino felt himself on dangerous ground, for not once in any extant letter does he utter a word of complaint about his treatment, and not once until the day he died does Guarino so much as mention the name of Borso in his correspondence. Such silence is eloquent. The year 1451 was not wholly miserable for Guarino. His son Gregorio went to Venice, met Francesco Barbaro, and returned with a bride (Letters 841, 843, 844, 845). Early in the year Guarino met Antonio Beccadelli for the first time (Letters 847, 848). Nothing else of note occurred until December, when the council of Verona, no doubt apprised of Guarino's misfortunes in Ferrara, voted to invite him to return as public professor at a salary of 150 ducats. Francesco della Torre was sent with the offer to Guarino and he accepted. In January 1452 the council showed their pleasure by voting Guarino a further 50 ducats, and on the 8th sent him a letter (855) to this effect. Both documents relating to the council's deliberations are published in Rosmini, Guarino I, p. 104-106. At the same time a poem of 56 lines (Letter 857) was sent from Verona extolling the advantages and delights of living there and press[ing] Guarino to come speedily. Again Guarino acted quickly, sending a verse reply on 26th January (856), in which he accepted the higher offer, promised to serve Verona well, and indicated
that he was making every preparation to leave. This means either that he
did not expect his contract with Ferrara, due for reconsideration in March,
would be renewed, or that he did not intend to accept it, if it was.

Since his other letters from 1452 betray nothing of Guarino's
thoughts in this crisis, we must resort to the valuable testimony of
Giorgio Valagussa, his student from 1448-1455. Extracts from 5 of
Valagussa's letters, all to Antonio da Pesaro, are published in Epistolario
di G. III, p. 456-458; they are worth translating here.

(A) The departure of Guarino seems to me... like a weight heavier
than Etna, since I too have to depart; and do not ever believe that
if Guarino goes, Ferrara could hold Giorgio... I do not know on what
day Guarino is going to leave; but I know this, that his luggage is
being packed straight away. I think that as soon as he can knock his
money out of the prince, he will say goodbye to this city and take
wing to Verona...

(B) Guarino has not yet decided on what day to move camp; he is
frantically chasing after the money from his salary, for if he does
not get it while he is here, it will be more difficult to get it
when he is away... How I wish, as you say in your letter, that this
idea of Guarino's would vanish away and he were willing to live in
the place where he has spent twenty years in great honour and
extraordinary glory, and amassed considerable wealth...

(C) Recently I set out to take a walk with Guarino to a certain
pleasure garden which he bought in the outskirts of town. I began
to ask this kindest of men to confide his thoughts to me about
leaving. He replied that he had every intention of going to Verona,
that he wanted to give the rest of his life to his homeland... He
said that he had been prevented from doing so before by Prince
Leonello, that when he was Leonello's tutor he had never been able
to wring permission to leave from his pupil... who among princes ever
loved and respected scholars more and paid them more? If he were
still enjoying the clear upper air, he would sooner tolerate the
destruction of Ferrara than the absence of Guarino. Tears began
flowing down Guarino's cheeks at the memory of such a great prince.
But after the cruel Fates cut short the threads of Leonello's life,
Guarino absolutely made up his mind to go to Verona... so I fear he
needs must be off and away within a few days.
(D) You write that nothing can make you believe that Guarino is going to Verona, since it would be his loss and the prince's shame. I shall say nothing about the prince. But I do not hesitate to affirm what I have resolved to see very clearly, that the departure of this man will be more advantageous to Verona than to Ferrara. The Veronese envoys are here with public dispatches promising two hundred gold ducats per year for life to Guarino whether he lectures or not, provided only that they may enjoy his presence. But if he does lecture, he will receive in addition the profit from his students, so that he can amass more money. They are frequenting the court daily and continually pressing Duke Borso, to snatch the man from his jaws; but he is procrastinating; and foxing the envoys with words. Guarino is murmuring (fremit). I think the departure of such a great man would, as you say in your letter, be a mark against the duke. And so the decision is in the balance and it is not quite clear what is going to happen. But Guarino has already put his house up for sale; he is asking 3,000 ducats and there are many bidders around. I shall inform you of the outcome.

(E) When the nobles and leading men of Ferrara heard the news about Guarino leaving, they came to the palace in huge numbers, beseeching the prince insistently not to allow such a monstrous thing to happen, which would be no small loss to the people of Ferrara and a great disgrace to him. They forced the prince to hesitate; time is being wasted, and the envoys are going off the idea of hiring Guarino, since they perceive that the marquis is deceiving them daily. But Guarino is pressing the matter and working hard to get his way. But to tell you what I think about this, I am afraid that his attempts will come to nothing. For if the prince does not want him to go, he will have to make his home in Ferrara; and if that is to be the case, it will be quite to the satisfaction of both of us.

These extracts tell their own story. In the end Borso was shrewd enough to yield to popular demand, and refused Guarino permission to leave. But the demonstration of 1452 seems to have made Borso realize that his own prestige and that of Ferrara was bound up largely with the maintenance of academic standards. Probably from political rather than altruistic motives he took the university conspicuously under his wing in 1453. When it reassembled on 18th October of that year, Battista Guarino,
then only 15, delivered the inaugural address ("Oratio Guarini Baptistae
de septem artibus liberalibus in incohando felici Ferrariensi Gymnasio
habita anno Christi MCCCCLIII" published by K. Mällner in Wiener Studien
XIX (1897) p. 126-143). Its closing words, though steeped in flattery,
reflect improved conditions: "For (Borso) has undertaken the support
of the university at his own expense. With honourable salaries he has
enticed and invited to this most flourishing city of his, to be your
instructors, those outstanding scholars whom you see in this most praiseworthy
assembly. And lest we be burdened by any imposition, lest warfare
impede the dedication of our minds to literary pursuits, he has brought
peace to his dominions, although on all sides we see Italy ablaze with
wars, and in his wisdom is personally governing this gracious city and
his other subjects, who abound in the good arts and other things necessary
for life." In Leonello's time the professors' salaries had been paid
by the Commune (Gardner, Dukes and poets in Ferrara p. 58, n.1), but under
Borso they were disbursed from the ducal treasury — although to what
extent by then these were distinct fiscal units is not clear. An entry
in the ducal accounts for 1454 (Archivio di Stato di Modena, Memor.
Cam. duc. 1454 AA f.86) proves that Guarino's salary had been restored
to 300 lire.

244. His friends in Verona made one last effort to repatriate him, but
their motion to bid again for his services was defeated in a council meeting

245. Comparatively few letters have survived from the last eight years
of Guarino's life, which were given over completely to his family, his students, the few real friends he had left, and his books. The outside world seems to have interested him less and less; he does not, for example, record his thoughts — and how poignant they must have been — when Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453.

\[246\] But memories of the old days and of Manuel Chrysoloras in particular must have been flooding his mind about this time, for in 1452 (Letter 861) he began to collect a miscellany of written documents intended to immortalize his old teacher. He already possessed a nucleus of five old letters of his own (7, 25, 27, 47, 54) and one by Poggio (49), two short reminiscences about Chrysoloras in the form of commentarioli, and Andrea Zulian's funeral speech of 1415. To these he added four new letters of his own (861, 862, 864, 892) and four others solicited from Poggio (893) and from his sons Battista (863), Girolamo (865), and Manuel (866). (Originally there may have been two others, one from Gregorio, the other from Niccolò). Finally, there was a poem (867) of 82 lines solicited from his pupil Raffaele Zovenzoni. As a literary memorial the *Chrysolorina* was a partial failure. Guarino seems to have been unable to collect enough really good material, probably because Chrysoloras had been dead some 37 years, most of the documents relating to him were either lost or inaccessible, and most of those who had known him or been his pupils were already dead. As Poggio sadly remarked in Letter 902 of 1456 only he and Guarino of the first generation humanists were left. Even Poggio, who had not been, strictly speaking, a pupil of Chrysoloras, responded to Guarino's appeal
in a manner verging on the perfunctory (Letter 893), and the fact that Guarino had to pad out his collection with letters from second generation humanists, none of whom could have known Chrysoloras, is indication enough of his difficulties. Sibbadini's suggestion that Guarino would have done better to write a biography of his hero is much to the point. On the other hand, one cannot fault the pious impulse which led Guarino to pass on the praises of Chrysoloras to his own numerous pupils and to attempt his apotheosis in the Chrysolorina. The fact that tralatitious praise of Chrysoloras is not uncommon in the writings of Guarino's pupils, and the very existence of the Chrysolorina, undoubtedly helped to keep alive the memory of the great Byzantine as one of the founders of the humanistic movement. Historical perspective, has enabled us to see more clearly than Guarino, to whom Chrysoloras seemed like a colossus ushering in a new and greater age, that Chrysoloras was only one of a number of great men, not the least being Guarino himself, who made humanism possible. But without Guarino's efforts to immortalize his teacher, it would be harder to assess Chrysoloras' true importance.

247. The last great scholarly labour of Guarino's life was his translation of the Greek geographer Strabo. The circumstances are complicated, but of considerable interest. The humanist Pope Nicholas V was elected on 6th March 1447. In the same month Guarino wrote him a letter of congratulation (803), at the end of which he commended to his Holiness his sons Girolamo and Manuel, and his pupil Antonio Maria da Pavia. One result of the good relations so established was the grant of the canonry to Manuel Guarino in
1448 (Life sec. 234). Another was that Nicholas took Guarino into his plan to sponsor a series of translations of Greek works into Latin.

We do not know exactly when the Pope began to sponsor Guarino's translation. Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di G. p. 126 suggests 1453, for only in March of that year did Guarino send to Rome (Letter 871), as a sample of his work, the first of a series of translations from Strabo.* But in Letter 871 Guarino refers to two letters, the latest dated 13th January, which the Pope and his librarian Giovanni Tortello had already sent to him; he also says that he is dissatisfied with the Strabo from which he has been translating, and indicates that he is expecting another and better exemplar from Tortello. I therefore incline to place the date of the Pope's active sponsorship at least as early as 1452, and possibly as early as 1448, because in that year Guarino was already searching for a MS. or MSS. of Strabo. This we know from a letter of Filelfo (810 in Epistolario di G.) dated 3rd August 1448 from Milan, which is the reply to a letter of Guarino now lost. Filelfo explains that he cannot lend Guarino his Strabo, since it had been among

*Burney MS. 107 in the British Museum contains a series of translations from Strabo which may be some of the installments sent by Guarino to Rome in 1453 and 1454. The fact that the MS. bears the arms of Pius II indicates that it was once his, and strengthens the suspicion that it contains Guarino's installments. But so far I have been unable to investigate this possibility at first hand.
a number of books once mortgaged to Leonardo Giustinian, and that after Leonardo's death (1446) these books had passed to Bernardo Giustinian, who would not allow him to redeem them. One would think that Guarino's next step would be to write to his ex-pupil, Bernardo, but there is no evidence that he did so. Moreover, it has been established, for reasons which will later be discussed, that Guarino never used Filelfo's Strabo, the history of which is largely unknown. We know that it was written at Constantinople in 1423 for Filelfo by Georgius Chrysococca, and that it was an apograph of a Strabo now in Moscow (of which more will be said), but its history is a blank from the time Filelfo parted with it about 1428 to its re-appearance in 1572 at Venice, when it was sold with 21 other codices by the bookseller Niccolò Barelli to the Escorial library, in which it still remains.

It has been established so far that Guarino had a Strabo before March 1453. But there are three pieces of evidence that he had one by 1450 at the latest. The first is a letter of Filelfo of 26th February 1451 to Flavio Biondo (Filelfo Epistulæ, Venice, 1502, f. 63v) in which he says: "De Strabone nihil est quod laboremus... Isto (i.e. at Ferrara) est apud Aurispan eiusmodi Strabo geographus et ut audivi apud Guarinum..." The second is another letter of Filelfo of 22nd November 1451 (853 in Epistolario di G.) in which he requests from Guarino copies of Aristotle's Ethics and a Strabo, which he has heard are in Guarino's possession. The third is the fact that in Book III of his Italia illustrata Flavio Biondo,
who knew no Greek, cites a number of passages from Strabo's Book V. Since Biondo spent much time in 1449 and 1450 at Ferrara, and there are indications that he was writing Book III in June 1450, it is reasonable to suppose that the information from Strabo had been supplied to him by Guarino. It may be objected that if Guarino had a Strabo by 1450, and had by then decided to produce a translation, why was it that by March 1453 (Letter 871) all he had done was a few specimen passages? This does seem a small output for three years. Guarino, however, was at all times heavily committed to his teaching duties, and besides, his mind had been greatly unsettled by the death of Leonello and subsequent anxieties over his future (Life secs. 240-243). Under such circumstances, it would have been surprising if he had produced more than he did. Similarly, the accelerated pace of his

*In Italia illustrata (Venice, 1503) D 1 there is a reference to the Jubilee Year 1450 and the pestilence at Rome in June: "Isque qui quartus praesenti anno celebratur iubilaeus maiorem multo caeteris hucusque habuit populum multitudinem, melius in dies, ut videbatur, processurus, nisi exardescere incipientis praeenti invicem pestilentiae et multos absumpsisset et curiam abire absississet et populos ab adventu deteruisset".

**B. Nogara in Studi e testi 48 (1927) p. CXXXVII raises the question of how Biondo managed to use Strabo, since Guarino's translation of Books I-X (Europe) was not finished until 1455, two years before the completion of Italia illustrata. The solution is surely no mystery: even if Guarino had not started his actual translation by 1450 he would certainly have read through the Greek text, and it would not have been difficult for him to pin-point references useful to Biondo.
work in 1453 is consistent with his improved state of mind resulting from Borso's change of policy (Life sec. 243), and, possibly, with an increase of interest in the translation on the part of the Pope.

249. Letter 871 reveals that the Strabo from which Guarino was working was deficient in many places, that he was expecting the arrival of another Strabo from Rome, and that meanwhile he was pressing on "hoping to supply what is missing from another source (aliunde)". This raises three questions. What Strabo did he already have? What Strabo was he expecting from Rome? What did he mean by "another source"?

250. The key to the first of these questions lies in an examination of the holograph of the complete translation. The MS. (Canonic, lat. 301), preserved in the Bodleian, is subscribed: "Strabonis de situ orbis terraeque descriptione liber XVII et ultimus in latinam conversus lingum absolutus est anno Christi MCCLVIII terti idus iulias Ferrariae". There are two copies of this MS., Phillipps of Cheltenham 6645 (now in Minnesota) and Cod. 4 of Albi in France. In 1934 Aubrey Diller examined the Bodleian holograph for the purpose of identifying the Greek MSS. from which Guarino worked. He found* that for Books 1-X Guarino used a Greek Strabo now in

the library of Eton College, and for Books XI-XVII a Greek
Strabo now in Moscow. Both the Eton and Moscow Strabo, accord-
ing to Diller, contain annotations in Guarino's hand. The
Moscow Strabo is a calligraphic MS. written in Constantinople
by Georgius Chrysococcas. Professor Diller has kindly shown
me photographs of it, and I agree with him that the annotations
are in Guarino's writing.

It is now generally agreed that the Eton Strabo was the
first volume of a two-volume set written at Constantinople in
1446 for Ciriaco d'Ancona. The text is poor and contains many
gaps, some of which Ciriaco had attempted to fill in. He
brought the two volumes to Italy in late 1448. Diller has
suggested to me that when Ciriaco visited Ferrara in July 1449
he may have given or sold the set to Theodore Gaza, and that
when Gaza left for Rome late in 1449 he left the first volume
(Europe) with Guarino, and took the other (Asia and Africa) to
Rome, where it was made available to Gregorio Tifernate, who
went on to translate it. What role the Pope played is not
clear, but it is a reasonable surmise that he approved the
arrangement that Guarino should translate Books I-X, and
Tifernate Books XI-XVII. Gaza, however, may well have been
the first to suggest the translation; as well as having supplied
Guarino and Tifernate with their MSS.

251. What MSS., then, was Guarino expecting in 1453? It had
still not arrived by April (Letter 872), but it must have come
before 12th September, the date of Letter 878, in which
Guarino excuses himself for having taken so long in sending
his latest installment on the grounds that the MS. sent by
Tortello had itself arrived late: "debibis causas assignare
exemplari vestro tardius facienti iter". His use of the
plural vestro indicates that he had more than one person in
mind, almost certainly Tortello and the Pope. Strictly, this
MS. seems to have been the Pope's property and must be identi-
fied with the "exemplar pontificios" referred to in Guarino's
holograph translation, and none other than Vatic. gr. 174,
which seems originally to have belonged to the Russian Cardinal
Isodorus Ruthenus. This MS. is referred to in one of the three
dedications (cf. Life sec. 253) contained in Canonico, lat. 301,
specifically the one in which Giacomo Antonio Marcello re-
dedicated the entire translation to King Rene d'Anjou: "So
when (the Pope) learned that a Strabo was lying, as it were,
asleep in the possession of Cardinal Ruthenus, he could not
allow it to be silent and unknown to our countrymen; and chose
Guarino ... to translate this great work into Latin." Marcello's
statement that this was the MS. which prompted the Pope to
initiate the translation need not be taken at its face value.
The role of Vatic. gr. 174 in Guarino's translation is demons-
trably secondary. Both it and the Eton Strabo were apographs
of Codex A of Strabo and both exhibit rather poor texts. In
fact, Guarino states in Letter 878 that the Pope's Strabo had
disappointed him ("expectationem refellit meam"), since he had
found it much inferior to the one he already had ("meo longe
In Letter 880 of 22nd June 1454 he states: "Realize that frequently there are many parts missing from your codex, which I have searched for and found in the other one, and so made a richer translation". Even as late as February 1455 (Letter 888) when the translation of Books I-X was nearing completion, he wished that Tortello could send him a better copy ("perfectius volumen").

252. We must now ask what Guarino meant in Letter 871 by "another source". If, as I suspect, he had another specific MS. in mind, it could only have been one of two which originally belonged to Aurispa. We know that Aurispa brought one back from Constantinople in 1423 (A. Traversarii Epistulas, XXIV, 53), and that he possessed another in 1431, as we learn from a letter of Filelfo to Toscanella: "quem (Strabonem) Aurispa noster duplicatum habet" (Agostinelli-Benaducci, Lettere di F. Filelfo volgarizzate (Tolentino, 1899) p. 10). These MSS., which are not related, are now, respectively, in Moscow and the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Ambrosian Strabo may be discounted, since there is no evidence that Guarino ever used or even saw it. The Moscow Strabo, however, which Guarino used after 1455 for his translation of Books XI-XVII, may have been the unnamed Greek MS. which appears in the catalogue of Niccolò d'Este's books in 1436 (Life sec. 172). Since Aurispa entered Niccolò's service in 1427, it is not unreasonable to suppose that his Strabo passed into the library of the marquis. Further,
we know that in 1470 Borso d'Este wrote his librarian, Scipione Fortuna, requesting "il Strabone in greco", and Fortuna replied that the book was not in the Torre di Rigobello, but suggested that another librarian, Marco di Galotto, might have it (G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense e la Cultura Ferrarese* p. 259). Obviously, Borso would not have requested a book from his library by name unless he thought that it was there. In fact, however, it was on loan to the Gonzaga family at Mantua (Bertoni in *Archivum Romanicum* II (1918) p. 37). Moreover, they appear to have had it in 1456; for on the 27th September of that year, Francesco Sforza wrote to Mantua stating that Gregorio Tifernate, who had already translated Strabo on Asia and Africa (Books XI-XVII), now wished to tackle Europe (Books I-X), and requesting a loan of the Strabo which was said to be in the library of the Gonzaga (E. Motta in *Bibliofilo* VII, p. 129). Now, if the Gonzaga family had the Este Strabo in 1456, they could have had it for some years before that. If I am right, this would explain why Guarino, although he knew of its existence as his possible "other source" in 1453, did not use it for his translation of Books I-X; and if Diller is right in thinking that it was the Moscow Strabo, Guarino must have been able to obtain the use of it between 1456 and 1458 for his translation of Books XI-XVII. 259. It is clear from Letter 888 of February 1455 that Guarino had completed virtually all he could do from the imperfect Greek texts at his disposal, but that he was dissatisfied
with the result. Nevertheless, he wrote a dedication to the Pope (Letter 889) and sent it to Rome in March. Unfortunately, however, the Pope died sometime during the night between 24th and 25th March. He had for some time been in failing health, and perhaps Guarino wished him to see the finished work before his death. Less piously, however, his real motive may have been to make sure that his work should not arrive too late to elicit some financial reward from the dying pontiff. Vespasiano da Bisticci in his short biography of Guarino states: "Pregato di poi da Papa Nichola che egli traducessi Istrabone De situ orbis e per che gl'era diviso in tre parti, l'Asia, l'Africa e l'Europa, gli dava per la sua fatica d'ogni parte cinquecento fiorini. Tradussene dua inanzi che il pontefice morissi et ebbene ducati mille. Morto papa Nichola tradusse la terza parte e voleva mandarlo a qualche huomo che gli donasse premio della sua fatica, perche avendo più figliuoli e non molte sustanze, bisognava che si valessi colla sua faticha Cercato in Firenze di mandarlo a uno de' principali di quelli tempi, trovandolo non disposto a dargli nulla della sua fatica, lo mando a uno gentile huomo vinitiano, che ebbe grandissimo animo a sodisfallo della sua fatica. Avutolo il vinitiano gli fece uno premio e mandollo al re Rineri." Vespasiano, never reliable in details, is clearly wrong in saying that Guarino translated "two" of the "three parts" of Strabo during the Pope's lifetime, but since his is the only authority for the sum of 500 florins which the Pope is said to have offered
for each of the parts dealing with Asia, Africa, and Europe, it must be considered. However, the prices quoted are disproportionate, since Africa is disposed of by Strabo in one book. The rumor that the Pope had offered large sums to the translators may have originated from Lodovico Carbone in his funeral oration on Guarino, who says that the Pope paid Guarino the equivalent of 500 talents! None of this means, however, that Guarino actually was paid. In Letter 880 of 22nd June 1454 he states that he is working on Book VI, but would be unable to finish it, since he was not a rich man: "usque in finem ὑποθετέων οὐχ ὁδον τ' ἄν εἰ Ὑ μοι ἀνδρεῖ μη πλοῦσιν η". This is clearly a call for a subsidy, but there is no record that he received one. In fact, if he was paid for the translation of Books I-X, it would surely have been ungracious and avaricious to re-dedicate these books, together with Books XI-XVII which he went on to translate, to Giacomo Antonio Marcello in 1458 (Letter 890). To support this contention, there is Vespasiano's evidence that Guarino searched first in Florence for someone who would pay him for his labour before finding such a patron at Venice in the person of Marcello, who went on to re-dedicate the translation to King René. For this purpose, Marcello had an apograph made of Guarino's holograph. This apograph is the calligraphic Cod. 4 at Albi in France. It is headed by a dedication to King René:

254. Guarino's holograph in the Bodleian contains all three dedications in a hand other than his own, but all of them
contain corrections in his writing. Sabbadini suggests (Epistolario di G., III, p. 485) that Guarino first sent the text to Venice, and the dedications afterwards; but it seems unlikely that he would send the text without at least the dedication to Marcellus. Possibly he sent the dedication to the Pope later, and that, together with his dedication to Marcellus and Marcellus's dedication to René, was copied out by someone at Venice and sent back to Ferrara for correction by Guarino. The matter remains something of a mystery.

255. A word should finally be said about Gregorio Tifernate and the quality of his work in comparison with Guarino's.

Tifernate was born in 1414, and studied as a young man in Greece. In 1447 he was at Naples and in 1449 at Rome where he remained under the patronage of Pope Nicholas V until 1455 and for one year after the Pope's death. In 1456 he went to Milan, from which city he moved to France at the end of the year. He remained there for three years. In 1460 he was at Mantua, and in 1462 at Venice, where he died soon afterwards (L. Delaruelle in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire XIX (1899) p. 9-33). We do not know when he completed his translation of Books XI-XVII, except that it must have been before 27th September 1456, when Francesco Sforza, as has already been noted, wrote to Mantua stating that Tifernate had completed Asia and Africa and now wished to tackle Europe. Two letters of Giorgio Valagussa, published in Epistolario di G., III, p. 485-486, refer to Tifernate. In the first,
dated June 1456, Valagussa mentions that he himself, the poet Porcellio, and Tifernate have all been hired by Francesco Sforza; in the same letter he requests a copy of Guarino's translation of Strabo. In the second he states: "Some people (i.e., Tifernate) profess to be translating Strabo and dedicating it to ... Sforza. Consider the impudence of people! I know for a fact that Strabo has been translated once and for all by you in a most elegant style. Let your pupil ... know whether you have published it yet, so that armed with your letter ... I may fearlessly and safely receive the blows of (your) detractors". The date of this second letter is unknown, but it must have been around September 1456. The fact that Tifernate never translated Books I-X may therefore have been due to Valagussa's willingness to champion Guarino's version at Milan.

256. Any comparison between Tifernate's work and Guarino's must be made within the context of Books XI-XVII. Sabbadini in La scuola e gli studi di G., p. 127-129 has done this briefly, using Cod. Laurent. 30.7 for Tifernate's translation and Cod. Nazion. di Napoli V F. 30 for Guarino's. His conclusions (p. 129) are that both translations are literal, but that while Guarino's adheres very closely to the wording of Strabo, Tifernate's departs slightly from it in an attempt to write more idiomatic Latin. I have myself compared large portions
of Guarino's translation with random samplings from the Eton Strabo. In these instances I found Guarino's versions accurate, but the style bare and austere, as if his aim had been to inform rather than delight. Giovanni Andrea Bussi, editor of the 1469 *editio princeps* of the Latin translation of Strabo, printed Guarino's version of Books I-X, Tifernate's of Books XI-XVII. 256. According to H. Omont ("Portrait de Guarino de Verone", *Bulletin de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1904) p. 323-326), MS. Canonici Lat. 301 once contained a portrait of Guarino, which went missing after 1817, in which year the Bodleian acquired the MS. Fortunately, however, MS. Phillipps 6645 contains what Omont believed was a copy of the portrait missing from the Bodleian MS. Since Phillipps 6645 was an apograph of the Bodleian MS., Omont was almost certainly right. Now in the library of the University of Minneapolis, which bought Phillipps 6645 in 1950, this copy is unsigned and undated, but inscribed with Guarino's name. It shows him as a very old man; the eyes are large, the nose aquiline and prominent, the head covered with a hat.

Letter 874 of 18th June 1453 may provide a clue to the provenience of the original portrait. In it Guarino refers to the intention of his Veronese friend Damiano dal Borgo of immortalizing him in a monument. He does not specify its nature, but a painting would have been appropriate. Any such painting must have been done after 18th June 1453, by which time Guarino was
already 78 or 79. There is therefore persuasive circumstantial evidence that the portrait in Phillipps 6645 was a copy of an original commissioned by Damiano dal Borgo. Further, one can easily believe that Guarino considered the holograph of his translation of Strabo an appropriate place to put the finished work. It is even possible (although supported by no evidence) that Guarino kept the original and inserted a copy of it into his holograph. In that case the original has been lost and the portrait missing from the Bodleian MS. was itself a copy.

257. Sabbadini in Epistolario di G. III, p. 472 suggests that Damiano's gift to Guarino may have been a portrait, which he further says may have been one for which Cristoforo Lafranchino wrote the following inscription:

Et latiae et graiae linguae laus ampla Guarninus
Ille Veronensis pictus hit emicuit,
Qui lauro illustris cinctus sua tempora vates
Clarus et orator notus in orbe fuit.

(A. Sagarizzi in N. Arch. Ven. XX (1910) p. 110).

In view, however, of the arguments already offered in favour of identifying Damiano's gift with the portrait missing from the Bodleian MS., I suspect that the portrait referred to by Lafranchino was an entirely different one, of which all trace has been lost. Certainly it could not be the one in Phillipps

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#79, if my arguments (Life sec. 2) are correct that he was born 15th June 1374. Letter 874 would in that case have been written on Guarino's birthday, and I am encouraged in that belief by the fact that in the letter Guarino acknowledges a gift.
6645 or its original, because that shows Guarino wearing a hat, not laurels. It is highly unlikely that the laurels referred to by Lafranchino were metaphorical.

As an alternative, Sabbadini suggests that Lafranchino may have been referring to the medal of Guarino cast by the Veronese artist, Matteo Pasti. This medal, now in the British Museum, was reproduced by Scipione Maffei in his Verona illustrata of 1732, and recently by Roberto Weiss in The Age of the Renaissance ed. D. Hay (London, 1967) p. 123. Sabbadini, however, must be wrong, because Lafranchino’s use of the word "pictus" almost precludes a medal, and Pasti’s medal shows Guarino bare-headed, without laurels.

258. Pasti’s beautiful medal shows Guarino as a thick-set vigorous-looking man with a fine head of hair, perhaps in his early sixties. The dating c. 1440-1446 given to it in the British Museum catalogue seems to be correct. There is a definite resemblance between the features of Guarino as shown by Pasti and those shown in the portrait from the Biblioteca Trivulziana reproduced opposite p. 66 of this study. If that portrait is genuine, we are fortunate in possessing three likenesses of Guarino at the ages of about 34, 64, and 79.

259. In a poem of Basilio da Parma to Pisanello (F. Ferri, La giovinesse di un poeta p. 26) there is mention of a likeness of Guarino ("Guarini effigies") in a medal by that artist. This medal has disappeared, but Sabbadini believed that there was a copy of it. His evidence is a letter of John of Pannonia to his uncle, Bishop Vites, from Cod. Monacensis 8482 f. 24. The entire letter, which Sabbadini dates tentatively 1449,
is quoted in Epistolario di G. III, p. 440-441. I translate the relevant extract: "I am not sending any books at the moment, especially since the messenger found me unprepared; but I have done what I could and given him a likeness in bronze of our friend Guarino to take to you... so that your lordship (pateréitas tua) may now know by his form and features the man whom you have long known by his reputation and writings. He himself gave this likeness to me a long time ago, specifically so that it might get there (istuc, i.e., to Viterbo) eventually." Although Sabbadini thinks that the medal was a copy of the one by Pisanello mentioned by Basino, it could have been the original. But in either case it would be an interesting addition to art history if it could be traced.⁶

260. The last we hear of Guarino’s wife Thaddea is in Letter 778 of 1446. She must have died sometime between 1447 and 1453, because John of Pannonia studied under Guarino during that period and met her. While still a student he wrote this epitaph for her (Poemata, Epig. I, 135):

Nic tumulata iacet magni Thaddeae Guarini
Sero secuturum laeta praecipue virum.
Mullum se tanto inactabit nomine marmori.
Artibus haece viince Pallada, prole Rhenum.

Her age at death was probably about 52, because she married Guarino in 1419 and bore her youngest son, Battista, in 1438. Since there is no evidence

⁶I suspect it is in private hands in Yugoslavia and am presently pursuing the matter with the aid of Professor Dr. Daje Rendić-Mločević in Zagreb.
that she was a learned woman, the arts in which the poet says she excelled 
Athena were probably those of spinning and other domestic virtues.

261. Guarino himself died 4th December 1460. Both Carbone and his son 
Manuel (Life sec. 1) say that he suffered from fever and pains in the lungs, 
yet in his will (Cittadella, I Guarini p. 33 f.), made on the day he died, 
he is said to have been sound in mind and bodily senses ("cum mens ipsa 
sensusque corporei bene valent"). Carbone also testifies that his faculties, 
physical and mental, were unimpaired.

In the will he mentions four daughters and five sons. A baby girl, 
who died at birth, and two sons, Girolamo and Niccolò, had predeceased him. 
Another daughter had taken the veil, and is not mentioned in the will. To 
his married daughters, Fiordimiglia and Libera, he left doweries already 
agreed upon (the amounts are not specified); to his unmarried daughters, 
Margherita and Lodovica, and to Girolamo's orphaned son, he left 800 lire 
each; to Agostino, the family house in Verona and some pieces of land; to 
Manuel, part of the house in Ferrara; to Gregorio, the villa in Montorio, 
some land, and a mill; to Leonello, the villa in Val Policella; and to 
Battista, the large house and property in Ferrara. For the comfort of 
his own soul, he made provision for 7 masses for remission of the Seven 
Deadly Sins, 9 in honour of the 9 orders of angels, 30 in expiation of sins 
against the Ten Commandments and the Trinity, 40 in restitution for badly 
performed masses, 50 for the Pope's intention in the Jubilees: in all, 136. 
It is obvious from these bequests that he died in comparative affluence, 
as Carbone also says. In ready cash he could not have had less than 4,000 
lire, not counting the amounts left for the performance of masses. One
can only guess at the value of the property, but it must have amounted to more than the ready cash given to his daughters and Girolamo's son. A conservative estimate of Guarino's estate might be 18,000 lire, or 60 times his annual salary as a professor.

262. His passing was comforted by the last rites and the presence of his children. The scene as described by Carbone is moving; yet one of the last acts of Guarino's life perhaps touches one more, for after dictating his will in suitably legalistic terms he found the strength to read it over and make a number of corrections and stylistic improvements—one of them an inserted "tamæ"—in his own handwriting. First and last, he was a scholar.

263. The funeral, attended by all the dignitaries of Ferrara, was marred by a squalid incident. The rectors of the university, designated as pall bearers, began a heated dispute during the procession over the order in which they had already been placed, and finally laid the casket down. The aged Lodovico Casella, referendarius to the duke, then made a noble gesture. Briefly reprimanding the rectors, he claimed the right, as one of Guarino's students, to bear his body, and assisted by Pietro Costabili, Niccolo Strozzi, Annibale Gonsaga, Francesco Accolti, Pietro Marocelli, and Francesco Forzati—all of them old students of Guarino—bore his master to his last rest.

264. On 6th December 1460, Guarino's son Battista was chosen to succeed his father and continue the traditions of his teaching. In November of the next year, Guarino's sons petitioned Duke Borso for the erection of a monument to their father. Permission was granted in the same month, and the Consiglio dei Savi voted for the construction of a monument at public expense in the Church of San Paolo. Battista communicated the decision
to his brother Leonello, charging him to obtain marble from the quarries at Val Policella. The monument, which later was destroyed in an earthquake, was constructed in 1466 to the left of the high altar.