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

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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
The guiding principle has been to give the substance of each letter, and something of the flavour of each, so far as that is possible in a summary. Separate topics are appropriately numbered. Explanatory notes have been kept to a minimum.

Letters from Constantinople (1403-1408)

Letter 1 to Marcellus

I am attempting the impossible, but I want to keep the promise I made to Carlo Lottino, that I would write you - even at the risk of bringing derision on myself. Hence this invitation from a novice to a past master in Greek, to exchange daily letters in the language. In this way, we may gain your friendship and improve our mastery of Greek.

Carlo Lottino and Guarino were beginners. Marcellus, a fellow student living in Constantinople, was more advanced. Nothing more is known of Lottino or Marcellus.

Letter 2 to Floro Valerio

1. In response to your repeated requests, here is my translation of Isocrates' Ad Demonicum. I can already hear the snarls of sundry critics who will label me presumptious in tackling this work; so suppress the authorship. Any skill I may show is due to the Chrysolorae, who have done so much for Greek and Latin literature. 2. Do not blame Isocrates if his
Latin is none too elegant. How can an old man be expected to produce a polished style, when he learned Latin in his old age? I have mingled a few Greek words with the Latin. They will add variety, and perhaps enrich the language. Quintilian authorizes the practice. The words are philocalos, democratia, monarchia, philoponia.

1. The translation remained anonymous as it is not listed in Letter 47.
2. Floro Valerio was a friend of Guarino.

3. Line 26 of the Latin text reads: "si sermonis ornatum fortasse non explicantur, ut prisci nostrates factitavere, nihil admirabere:" Guarino seems to be contrasting his translation, possibly in ironic vein, with the mediaeval one (for which see K. Emminger, Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspielen II, Die Spätmittelalterliche Übersetzung der Demonicea. [Münich 1913] p. 14 sqq.). The "prisci nostrates" were therefore scholars of the Middle Ages, whose pre-humanistic prose is contrasted with Guarino's nascent humanistic style.

Letter 3 to Giovanni Quirino [c. 1405-1406]

1. I know the danger in which your reputation stood because of that invective against you; but you avoided contumely, thanks to the great prince who safeguarded your innocence. Perhaps you will consider that a certain fine piece by Lucian that I have translated inveighs against your detractor. Any merit in the translation is due to the Chrysolorae, from whom has come any knowledge of Greek literature our countrymen possess. 2. I think you will be pleased, because you used to encourage my studies, and praise is a great spur to merit.

Quirino may be the same man who governed the islands of Tico and Micone for four years and returned to Venice in 1417. (C. N. Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge III p. 144) The translation in question was of Lucians περὶ τὸ μὴ ἐκδικῆσαι πιστεύειν διαβολῆ.
Letter 4 to Francesco Barbaro

12th June [1408]

1. You say you are delighted when you receive what you call my "letters" - no wonder, since they are yours as well. Mutual affection makes all things in common to friends. But love is blind! It distorts our judgment. 2. Do not be deterred from going ahead with your studies by those men of the world who depreciate learning, and claim that virtue and literary studies are nowadays a starveling's pursuit. Leave them in ignorance and the belief that this 'Golden Age' means a time for making money. One cannot argue with them. What they need is imprisonment! Remember that learning is the only thing we can truly call ours forever. They are poor souls who do not understand the true nature of virtue and vice. The face of Virtue is severe, and round it flow rivers of sweat, but the rewards are great; so ignore those vulgar people who urge you away from study. Baias told his son, who was setting out for Egypt, to acquire his "passage money to old age," meaning thereby virtue and wisdom, which nothing can take away. 3. I am pleased to get your poems, which show your warm friendship for me. 4. I am returning home, and am looking forward to seeing you; but I am impoverished and will need your assistance to mend the holes in my pocket. 4. You ask me for my humorous pieces. You are misled if you think there is any merit in them. Do not drag into the open things that would best be left in obscurity. 5. I hope to see your brother Zaccaria when the next ships come in.

1. Francesco Barbaro was a Venetian nobleman, later distinguished as a man of letters. He held many high political appointments. His name recurs many times in the correspondence.

2. This is one of the rare occasions when Guarino does not use the classical formula of salutation (s.p.d.); cf. Letter 742 where he takes Leonello d'Este to task for subscribing his name to a letter.
3. The meaning of "virtus" is not very clear in this letter. The dominant meaning, however, seems to be the typically humanistic one of intrinsic merit. There is also a suggestion, hardly expressed, that Virtue is equivalent to knowledge. It seems a reminiscence of the famous Platonic dictum.

4. Guarino claims poverty and seeks to enlist the aid of the influential Barbari to secure him a congenial post on his return. But it is hard to credit that he was so utterly poor, because he returned with manuscripts, which were as good as currency, and if he had been able to satisfy the Barbari of his alleged poverty they would surely have done something for him. There is no evidence that they did.

Letter 4A to P. Emiliani

[Venice? 1409-1410]

Latin text of this dedication of Guarino's translation of Isocrates' Laus Helenae:

Non sum immemor, suavissime P. Emiliani, teque probe commeninisse arbitor, cum olim in litterarum ac eruditionis sermonem, qui multus ac perpetuus ferme tibi est, incidissetus, post multa, te nostri saeculi conditionem lugubri quadam lamentatione prosemum, quod eo calamitatis perventum sit, ut solus avaritiae bellorum ac intestina dissensionis amor effervent; quo effectum est ut nobiles et in nostram aetatem florentissimae civitates factae praeda militibus, sua diruta solo tecta, desolata colonis arva, suos nefarie trucidatos erectosque principes viderint. Quas quidem ad res cum a virtute proclivis in vitium mortalium natura deducat, tum vero ad ea unus quisque sese applicat exercitia, quibus cum praemii, tum honoris ac existimationis plurimum adhibetur. Ea propter, huc prorecta res est, ut disciplinae humanitatis ac bonarum artium studia, quae sempiternum hominibus ornamentum, vitae solatium, lenimen animorum, portum requiem laborum comparant, nihili pendant aspernentur oderint. Hinc librorum interitus, semitrumca volumina, depravati codices, sepulta priscorum opera, graecarum calcata gymnasia litterarum, quibus apud maiores nostros tanta auctoritas, tanta veneratio, tantumque discendi desiderium ac necessitas habita est, ut Mario, viro alioquin excellentissimo,
graecae ignorantio litterarum sit exprobrata, quasi ad sumum excellentiae cumulum ac decorum id lumen absesset. Nec vero nostri diffidentur, et ii quidem, qui graecos assidue carpero non desinunt, disciplines a graecis esse captandas, a quibus nostras fluxisse litteras constat. Quae cum ita sint, magnas laudes et gratias deberi si qui temporis nostri ad eas perdiscendas curam operamque contulissent. Cumque multa non minus sapienter quam facunde disputasses, me aliquin ardente ac avidissimum tuis admonitionibus praeceptisque ad eorum fontes delibandos impulisti, e quibus quantulumcumque sitibundus hauserim, maximas habeo Chrysolorae gratias, viro aetatis nostra sapientissimo ac integerrimo et nemini certe doctrina secundo. Ex cuius humanitatem pariter ac diligentia derivasse puta quicquid graecarum hisce temporibus litterarum fluxit ad Italos. Tibi vero, qui mihi ad id audendum tam egregium facinus adiutor hortatoreque fuisti, pro tua in me summa benivolentia et singulari caritate, proquo mea in te fido, no tibi vehementissime confessus obnoxium, aliqua ex parte gratias referre saepernumero cogito, tuas amplissimas ac tuorum laudes, "si quid mea carmina possunt," meditatus animo. Verum cum antiquissimam stripis originem, Emiliorumque, vel, ut minores vocant, Emilianorum res domi forisque gestas mecum verso, sub pondere dicendorum imbellices labant humeri. Arduum mehercule opus est, nec quod tam parvis conveniat viribus, generosam familiae tuae seriem ac generis ordinem ad Marcum Lucium Paulum Scipionem Emilios, Romae principes, deduceres! A quibus tu sanguinis principium esse et fama praedicat et universi credunt, tum cum nobilissimae quondam Romae familiae, seu ob civiles, ut aiunt, discordias, seu aliam ob causam, in urbem Venetam secundis iam tunc crescentem auspiciis velut tranquillissimum in portum sese receperunt. Cuius rei certissimum perhibent indicium adhuc in nostram aetatem extare Aemilios Cornelios Marcellos
aliosque compluris olim splendidissimos Romanae urbis, nunc vero patricios

Venetiarum civis. Quid agam igitur? Patere me, obsecro, Aemiliane carissime,
paulisper mediocribus insudantem ut longa minorum consuetudine vegetus stilus
se posthac maioribus agrediendis liberius credat. Utque iam nunc laudare
assuescat et facta nobilium praedicare, Isocratis orationem de laudibus
Helenae, ubi et magnorum gesta virorum memorantur, latine verti. Quam id-
circo at te nisi, ut quid in posterum de me ipso sperem tuo gravissimo ac
prudentissimo iudicio confirmatus intelligam. Quod non minus accurate quam
mature perpendes scio. Est enim commune amborum opus, cu tua pariter ac
mea res agatur.

Extant nonnulli qui magnae sibi iactantiae vendicant, si absurdam quamquam
inopinabilemque....

1. The spelling given above is mine, being consistent with the usual
practice of Guarino. The MS. readings (from MS. Bywater 38 in the Bodleian,
Oxford) where they differ from mine are as follows: te que (line 1);
avariciae (line 4); etatem (line 6); erectosque (line 7), which should per-
haps be ereptosquo; vicium (line 8); premii (line 10); nichili (line 13);
etatis (line 26); mici (line 29); seppenemero (line 32); romae (line 38);
venetam (line 41); etatem (line 45); romane and venetiarum (line 45);
agrediendis (line 48).

Translation:

"My dearest P. Emiliani, I have not forgotten, and I think you, too, well
remember, how once we fell talking about learning and literature - a topic
which is often, if not always on your lips - and that, after much discussion,
you somewhat sadly deplored the misfortune of our Age, in that things have
come to such a disastrous pass, that its sole seething passion is for greed,
war-mongering and squabbling amongst ourselves. The result has been that
noble cities, still flourishing into our era, have become a prey for soldiers,
and seen their buildings torn to the ground, their fields stripped of settlers, and their leading men torn away [reading "ereptos"] and wickedly butchered. Human nature, prone to slip from virtue to vice, leads on to these excesses; and besides, every man-jack is applying his energies to what brings in the most reward, honour and personal repute. Things have, as a result, gone so far that people loathe, scorn and count as nothing those studies in Humanity, learning and the good arts, which confer on mankind an everlasting distinction, a comfort in life, a soothing remedy for the soul and a haven of rest from toil. Hence the destruction of books, the mutilation of volumes, the shortage of manuscripts, the burying of the works of the ancients, and the trampling underfoot of the schools of Greek learning, which enjoyed such prestige and veneration amongst our ancestors and was considered such a vital and desirable accomplishment, that Marius, a most outstanding man in other respects, was reproached with his ignorance of Greek literature, as though that were the light he lacked to attain the glorious peak of excellence. But our countrymen, and the very ones, mark you, who are forever miscalling the Greeks, do not deny that learning must be sought in Greek literature, from which, it is agreed, our own Latin one has derived. This being so, they admit that much honour and thanks are due to such of our contemporaries as worked hard to master the Greek. When you had produced many arguments, with no less wisdom than eloquence, you spurred me on with your precepts and admonitions - although I was burning in any event with great eagerness - to sip of their fountains. Whatever little I thirstily drank from them, I owe the greatest thanks to Chrysoloras, the wisest and purest man of our time, and, in learning at least, second to none. Take it as read that any dint of Greek literature which has come to
the Italians in this day and age is the result of his humane learning and hard work. In acknowledgement of the vast debt I owe you, who helped and encouraged me to essay that splendid deed, in view of the supreme good will and remarkable affection you bear me and the faith I put in you, many a time I think of returning thanks in some measure, and have considered a lordly tribute of praise to you and yours, "if my songs have any power."

But when I ponder the extreme antiquity of your lineage and the deeds at home and abroad of the Emilii, or, as their descendants say, the "Emiliani," my weak shoulders sink beneath the weight of describing them. By Hercules, it is a hard task and not a suitable one for such meagre strength, that you trace the blue blood of your line back to Lucius, Paulus and Scipio, Emilians and prices of Rome! Popular belief proclaims it and the whole world believes that your blood springs from theirs, at the time when the one-time noblest families of Rome, either, as the story goes, because of civil discords, or for some other reason, withdrew to Venice, even then growing great under favourable auspices, as though to a haven of deepest peace. People say that the surest evidence for this lies in the fact that Aemilii and Cornelii and Marcelli are alive to this day, and several other once splendid families of Rome, now citizens and patricians of Venice. What am I to do, then? Please let me, dearest Aemilianus, toil away for a little on ordinary themes, so that my pen, invigorated by a long acquaintance with lesser things, may more freely believe itself capable in time of tackling greater: and that it may grow accustomed even now to give praise and herald the deeds of noble persons, I have translated into Latin Isocrates' encomium of Helen, where the deeds of mighty men are also told. I have sent it to you, so that, strengthened by your most grave and most wise criticism, I may know what my
future prospects are. I know you will weigh your judgment with experience and precision.

1. The only authority for the text of this letter is MS. Bywater 38 in the Bodleian, Oxford. It was unknown to Sabbadini.

2. The letter cannot be dated with certainty. P. Emiliani does not appear again in the Epistolatory and the only solid clue to the date would be the date of the Isocrates translation. Unfortunately, however, this work is undated also, and is found only in MS. Bywater 38. It is not mentioned, either, in Letter 47, of 5th February 1416, where Guarino lists all his translations to date. This fact does not prove that Letter 4A is posterior to 1416, because Letter 47 makes no mention of the translation of the "Ad Demonicum," which was done anonymously (cf. Letter 2), and the translation of the "Laus Helenae" may have been omitted from Guarino's list for the same reason, although he makes no request that his authorship be suppressed. It is, again, possible that he considered it a youthful bagatelle, unfit to be brought to light, like those referred to in Letter 4, sec. 4, I suggest that it is an early letter, dating between 1405 and 1411, because:
   (a) Guarino's first attempt at translation seems to have been the Ad Demonicum of c. 1405 (Letter 2)
   (b) There is no mention of any such work after he went to Florence in 1410
   (c) The letter is addressed to a Venetian, obviously to impress him and help establish Guarino's reputation (It is known that he hoped to find employment in Venice in 1409)
   (d) There is a tone of diffidence inconceivable in a mature scholar. Only a young man as yet unestablished would ask an opinion of his prospects in this way.

On the whole, I am inclined to date the letter during the period 1409-1410, when Guarino was casting about in Italy for employment.

3. It pleased the leading families of the great Italian cities to trace their ancestry back to the most illustrious blood of ancient Rome, although such claims were very flimsy. Burckhardt makes this point in his Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, (translation in Phaidon Press, London 1955). p. 111.

Letters from Florence 1410-1414

Letter 5 to Angelo Corbinello, citizen of Florence [Florence c. 1411]

1. I cannot but admire the greatness and determination of our ancient ancestors who found time for public and private business and leisure as well. They used their time judiciously, and wasted none. I praise you for modelling yourself on that pattern. You discharge your public duties to
the full, yet do not neglect your domestic affairs. Particularly laudable
is the fine moral education you are giving your sons, and the way you adapt
the level of their education to the abilities of the children's minds. 2.
I have therefore dedicated my translation of Plutarch's book on the educa-
tion of children to you. The style may be rough, but the content is excellent.
I beg you to thank Chrysoloras who has been responsible for restoring Greek
literature to our countrymen who had long been in darkness because of their
ignorance of it.

1. Angelo Corbinello, son of Tommaso Corbinello. Other sons were Bartolomeo,
Antonio, Giovanni, Parigi and Piero.

2. In line 29 "honestos mores" is clearly postulated as the end of education.
Guarino had been influenced here by the Plutarchan treatise and Vergério's
famous tract, De ingenuis moribus. It is well also to recall Guarino's
early training under Marzagala, the "moralizing" historian and expert on
Valerius Maximus. Guarino treated history mainly as a series of moral
anecdotes and in this shows a typically mediaeval cast of mind, although
by the year 1428 (cf. Letter 439) he is referring to history in Cicero's
words as the "lux veritatis" and claims that it must be accurate, and objec-
tive in the handling of evidence. This shows an interesting development.
In much of Guarino's thinking there exists a compromise between the older
and the newer thinking, although the account is progressively greater on the
latter.

Letter 6 [to Robert del Rossi] [Florence c. 1411]

1. In the recent leisure I was compelled to take, I translated Plutarch's
Life of Flaminius [sic]. What better use could I make of my time? I send it to
you, as a scholar versed in Latin and Greek, for you critical appraisal.
Who is better qualified than you, who have made the prince of philosophers,
Aristotle, a pleasure to read in all the educational centres of Italy? I
do not expect praise or glory, for Ulysses could never say that Thersites
was beautiful, when Homer called him the ugliest fellow who ever went to
Troy! But I will accept your judgment, and from that I may know what to
expect of posterity. 2. You will not refuse my request because of our friendship with that glorious man, Manuel Chrysoloras, from whom our countrymen have derived all they know of Greek literature. We are, in that sense, his children. But let Plutarch speak.

1. Roberto dei Rossi, born c. 1355, was one of the circle that surrounded Luigi de'Marsigli. With the coming of Chrysoloras, of whom he was one of the chief sponsors, he turned to the study of Greek. He collected Greek MSS. (Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici, [1905] pp. 51, 63.) and was a friend of all the Florentine humanists. He figures in Bruni's Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum. In 1415 he was tutor of Lorenzo de'Medici (Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini, pp. 31, 35-36, 38). Of the translations of Aristotle made by Rossi we have the Analytica Posteriora. In the dedication of this work Rossi promises to translate what remains of the Platonic corpus untranslated into Latin either by himself or others and to tackle Thucydides and "other most worthy authors."

2. It is not clear what Guarino means by his "recent spell of leisure." Probably it refers to a period of unemployment after his return from the East. "Nuper" could bear this meaning and would refer to the years just after 1408. It is possible that he was not yet reconciled to a teaching career, and there are some indications that in his early years he hoped for something more exalted.

3. In 1. 30 "ut quid de me ipso expectem in posterum. . . . intelligen.": This may be asking what his prospects would be with after-ages, or simply what his prospects in life as a scholar were likely to be.

Letter 7 to Manuel Chrysoloras

Florence 6th October [1411]

1. I received one letter from you. It was much too short to satisfy my affection for you. I am like a glutton who is always wanting more to feast upon. But as in other things, so in your letters to me, you show great kindness and forbearance. You could have complained of my failure to write, but instead you actually found excuses for my negligence. I must imitate your diligence in writing, in which you surpass all mankind, as in everything else. Though I am a trifle slow to write, I love you more than anyone else could, since you became the guide of my studies and my life. 2. I am forever searching for any literary work by you to enrich my knowledge,
for example, your recent laudation of Rome and Byzantium, which has all
the attributes of great oratory. If only I had heard you deliver it!
But in reading it, I seem to behold you and the city of Byzantium, with
her superb buildings, temples, arenas, aqueducts, pillars and obelisks, her
harbour and surrounding countryside, and the hanging garden with its cypress
trees where I sometimes studied. It only remained that you, who have brought
Greek to Italy, should sing the praises of Rome. Italy thanks you; for, as
my countryman, Pliny, says, it is just good manners to admit who our bene-
factors are. Since you have imported so many fruits of learning into Italy,
they ought to be called "Chrysolorina," just as apples are called "Appiana"
or "Manliana" etc. according to their variety.

1. The dating 1408 of this letter in a Harleian manuscript gave rise to
much confusion over the chronology of Guarino and Chrysoloras, notably in
Rosmini. Sabbadini has established this chronology beyond question (cf.

2. In lines 54-55 "hortum pensilem" conjures up a delightful vignette
of studious seclusion in this quiet garden, referred to in a letter of
Chrysoloras to his nephew, John: Καὶ τὸν ἐν ὑμετέραις κυτταρίταις (Scriptores historiae

3. In the Middle Ages it was commonly thought the two Plinys were one and
the same person (cf. Letter 265). Guarino would probably have read the
Adnotatic de duobus Pliniis by the Voronese beneficed priest, John, who,
however, made the mistake of thinking that both Plinys were from Verona.

Letter 8 to Lodovico (Cattaneo) Florence 22nd December [1411]

A few days ago, I wrote with the news that you have been designated as
"officialis mercantiae" in this state; but I was in such a state of excite-
ment due to my pleasure and the haste of the courier, who was waiting for
the letter, that I wrote a rather incoherent and incoherent epistle. But now
I must congratulate you on your appointment, which even before you have entered office, has brought you no small fame, in view of the competition you had to face. But your innate merit and learning is so great that you won the necessary votes. You were helped by Niccolò Avanzati and Antonio Corbinello, who went round canvassing on your behalf. They stood in front of the doors of the Council House and talked to everyone as he went in, according to his dignity; for some they besought to vote for you, others they threatened. May your worth and wisdom shine forth in this seat of learning. 2. Look after yourself. My regards to the protonotary, to Floro Valerio, and Barbaro, who is a friend in deed rather than in word, considering he has not replied to a single one of my letters!

1. Lodovico Cattaneo was then at the University of Padua, where he took his doctorate in Feb. 1412. There is nothing known of Avanzati.

2. The protonotary referred to in the text was Pietro Donato, a Venetian nobleman. In April 1415 he was named as Archbishop of Crete. In 1423 he presided with three others at the Council of Siena and was afterwards Bishop of Castello, Bishop of Padua, governor of Perugia and legate at the Council of Basle. He collected and discovered manuscripts (See Sabbadini, Storia e critica. pp. 43, 165, 172-6; Scoperte, pp. 219-220.)

Letter 9 to Guarino from Manuel Chrysoloras (in Greek) Rome 25th January [1412]
I took great pleasure in your letter (Letter 7) . . . You do well to praise those who have instructed you. . . You have added skill in Greek to your mastery of Latin. . . . Thank you for your praise of my Σύνταξις Της τεκλους και βικς Ρωμης It is good that you are disseminating in Italy what you learned in Greece.

Letter 10 to D. (an unidentified correspondent) Florence, 20th May [1412]
1. In addition to all my other vexations, I have been unable to trace your
whereabouts. I have always found consolation in you, whom I have loved from my early youth and respected as a father. But having received your letter, my anxieties over your welfare have been lulled. 2. Congratulations on your reception into the household of such a prince, whose restraint, wisdom, bravery and fairness are famous. The splendour of his physique is perhaps greater than that of the heroes of Antiquity. Once it was as rare as the phoenix to find kings and princes who were uneducated; but now we have reached such a state of apathy that their like is very uncommon. Therefore, when, in this vicious and pleasure-seeking century, one arises and shows an interest in those studies which Cicero says "delight old age, adorn success and provide a refuge and solace in adversity" should we not obey and support him? I am so devoted to this prince that I would count it a privilege to do anything for him. If he requires a copy of Ptolemy's *Chorographia*, or *Cosmographia*, as others call it, I shall work so hard to complete it that you will see the force of your influence upon me and my affection for him. We have here certain fine historical and other works which I can have copied for him, although scribes are both hard to come by and expensive. Send me the inventory of his library. I have translated some Lives of Plutarch and would send them, as you request, if only I could find a reliable courier.

Letter 11: Manuel Chrysoloras to Guarino  
Rome, 10th July [1412]  
Answers several questions of Guarino, and refers to a meeting with him (probably in April 1411, when the Curia was in Bologna). Refers also to a letter to, or conversation with Palla Strozzi.
Letter 12 to Ognibene Scola                       Florence, 9th August 1412

1. Lodovico (Cattaneo) and I were worried when we heard you were travelling through districts "pregnant with arms," and especially since there is now so much suspicion in the air that even a nod of the head, or silence, for that matter, can mean death. No place is safe. In the dearth of information, we feared the worst, a course natural to those who love an absent friend. Your letter to Lodovico has reassured us. I have read it so often that I have almost come to believe it was written to me. Some will praise its elegant style, others your wisdom, fairness and modesty, still others will be elated at your escape from death: but I particularly commend your defiant attitude to the vicissitudes of Fortune. One would never guess from your words what dangers you have been through. Riches and dominion are the prizes of Fortune but only innate merit can give a man a superior mind and the faculty to use it. Although you have lost all your material possessions, you have not lost your fine qualities, and Fortune can never take away your inviolate good faith, your personal dignity and your constancy. What else does your name mean, παγκόλον or πανδιάθον in Greek? You are like Ulysses or Aeneas, protected by every virtue and perfect honour, and emerging whole from all the storms of life. 2. I see you are very similar to me in one respect, and that is misfortune. Everything I do or attempt to do goes wrong. I wander from place to place but only change my location, never my luck. I have had a celestial origin because I am like the sky, always on the move!
But I surpass the sky, which has a unique motion, according to astronomers, because I move in different ways and always remain poor. Your example of fortitude is a comfort to me. 3. Antonio Corbinello sends his regards. I have a snappy tale about our acquaintance Iliarius, Caesar to us, as he claims, but more appropriately called "Olearius Cicer!"

1. Ognibene Scola (died 1429) probably studied under Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna (Sabbadini, La Scuola e gli studi di Guarino, p. 5-6). In 1406 he obtained a chair in the University of Padua. He took an active part in the political life of his age, siding first with the Carrarese of Padua, then, after their fall, with the Venetians. Later in 1409, after marrying Giusta Faella, of Verona, he backed the Veronese faction of Brunoro della Scala against the Venetians. This could have been the reason for his flight.

2. For the general sentiments of Letter 12, the best commentary is in Burckhardt The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (tr. in Phaidon Press) p. 83-84 where he develops the thesis that banishment was one of the factors which developed the highest degree of individuality.

Letter 13 Ognibene Scola to Guarino Cremona, 1st September 1412

During my wanderings I received letters from you and Lodovico Cattaneo at Cremona. They have both put new spirit in me, being full of learning, wisdom, good humour, advice and "all good"!

And, being delivered at a time of trial, they did me good, for I like nothing better than to see or hear from a friend, especially one who is more learned than most people and more affectionate than any. I thank both you and Lodovico for your cheerful letters.

2. I will not break down through adversity. A courageous and high spirit is the best weapon we have against Fate. He who does not possess patience and strength of mind is no true man.

3. Regards to Corbinello. I shall write him, if possible.
1. Scola went from Verona and Padua to Lombardy where he continued his political agitations. He helped the heirs of Bernabo Visconti in establishing their claims in opposition to the two sons of Giangaleazzo, Giovanni and Filippo Maria Visconti. Giovanni was murdered 16th May 1412, but on 20th June 1412, Filippo Maria became Lord of Milan and Scola fled to Cabrino Fondulo at Cremona, where he stayed until the end of December. In October 1413 we know from a letter of Poggio (Walser, Poggiius Florentinus pp. 435-36) that he was at Florence, where Guarino would certainly see him.

2. In line 4 Guarino writes "Cataneus Ludovicus". The position of the surname before the Christian name is very uncommon in humanistic literature. Two famous exceptions are "Billia Andreas" and "Tuscus Antonius."

Letter 14 Ognibene Scola to Guarino Cremona 1st September 1412

1. I had forgotten about that wonderful fellow, the Chief Magistrate's assessor (Giuliano Cesare; see Letter 12), probably because I have been in no frame of mind for jokes, which in Lombardy are dangerous. But I return to Giuliano's magistracy, perhaps because November is as warm as July here, or I have recovered my balance. I am surprised that he is using the sword to enforce discipline; if I know the fellow, and the hills he came from, he is more fitted to throw stones than wield a blade. What would he do if he were chief magistrate (podestà), a consul or dictator? Use engines of war? His conduct is enough to destroy all the credit Verona has gained from you and Lodovico Cattaneo. But when he holds office in Modena or returns to his native parts, our friend will be taught a lesson, for Modena or Verona puts right things than even the wiser Florentines cannot mend. 2. But I send you a letter of Giovanni Nogarola, a patrician of Verona and a man to whom I am justifiably devoted, so that you
may see some good can come from Verona. 3. If I relay no jokes
and do not write often, put it down to my busy life; but even
so, I love you both.

1. Giuliano was probably of peasant origin, as is suggested
by the pun "Olearius Cicer" in Letter 12.

2. Giovanni Nogarola was a sonnet writer in the volgare,
whose works have survived. He was beheaded in 1413 for complicity
in a plot of Brunoro della Scda's to overthrow the Venetian
suzerainty. For full discussion see Sabbadini, G. Epistolario

Letter 15 Ognibene Scola to Guarino Cremona 12th December 1412

Your letter, with its witty jests, pleased me immensely. I am
only sorry that you are so vexed about the desolation of your
native city, the flights and the exiles, and what I think is the
worst indignity, its occupation by foreigners. My native town
is in the same plight. But the gods will not allow this to go on.

Letter 16 Guglielmo della Pigna to Guarino [Verona 1413]

Translation: I do not know where you are, since I have had no
news of you for so long; but wherever you are, if you are in
good health, then so am I. I think, however, that you are staying
in Florence, so I am writing you there. You may well find fault
with my tardiness, seeing that I am finally seeking you out for
personal advantage; and I cannot deny that I have fallen into
a common error in never having written you. We have been the
victims, however, of very great troubles, which we have now
escaped by the help of the almighty Thunderer, and are living
peacefully in great tranquillity. I want you to know, Guarino my friend, that you once had a pupil who now has the title of doctor, for I have obtained the doctoral insignia in law. So I who am unlearned in letters am now called doctor by people. I am telling you this for your satisfaction, knowing you will be delighted by it, since even from the time I was a boy you have shown remarkable friendship to me, and that I have always been high in your favour. I earnestly beg that I may be equally favoured now. For if we could obtain some advantageous post, I would like to move to those parts. I do not doubt that you, who have the ear and friendship of the nobles of that city, could easily expedite this. So if you can obtain some good post for me there or elsewhere, please give the matter your attention; and if you have any success, write to me. I am very eager to see you. Farewell, and love me.
Letter 17  The Invective against Niccolò Niccoli (1413)

Translation of the second, and definitive, version:

On the poet "Auripellis", by Guarino of Verona

I have often wanted to write to you in full about the character of a peevish fellow, which I have generally felt so hard to bear that I thought I was carrying the weight of Etna on my back: for when the heart pours out its sorrow to friends; it is as though the burden were shared and it alleviates our sighing and groaning. But I was afraid that what was very hard to put up with would be just as offensive to listen to; and I held back. You see, I have always been anxious to pay him deference and respect, because I had conceived of him as a virtuous man; and I thought it unworthy that I could not stand his cutting manners, which he cannot even tolerate himself, in case our friendship should be spoken of as disloyal and really child's play. But in the affairs of men, you will surely find nothing more deceptive than a reputation.

This evil, however, is getting worse every day; so that I can no longer hold my peace, especially when I see that my forbearance has made his slanders wilder and more vicious, and that as long as I keep quiet, some people suspect that he has suffered some signal injustice at my hands. What was essentially respect they put down to a bad conscience. So please listen, not to everything, but to a few points out of many: since it is not right to pour too many details into your learned ears. You know us both, and if anything in the account happens to offend your ears, I ask your indulgence all the more, so that you do not get annoyed with me, but with him. He was the first
to resort to such scurrilous language: I was driven to the
point of replying. First he gave me the most undeserved treat-
ment, and now, not to miss even this species of abuse, he chal-
 lenges me, although I have kept quietly in the background, with
insulting letters really worthy of himself. I think it is im-
pudent and arrogant to pass insulting and nasty remarks, but I
also believe it is right and proper to pay a person back in his
own coin. I shall, however, take care that this reply will amuse
and delight you, just providing that you re-appraise the "laugh-
able" philosopher of our times—what did I say?—no, this ape
of philosophers. For as the Greek proverb has it, what is more
diverting than making monkeys out of men?

To keep to the point, I know that you have read a certain
letter aimed at me, that emerged of late from his scholarly head,
and that you marvelled at it as if it were a modern Minerva
sprung from the head of Jove. In contemplating therein its milky
eloquence and the remarkable modesty of the fellow, one would
be hard driven to say whether it reads with more wit than

"epistulis"

"remaledicerc civilis faeque iudico": An echo of Suetonius:
Vespasian 9, "... ita pronuntievit, non oportere maleedici sena-
toribus, remaledici civilis faeque esse" (...) his decision was,
that senators should not be insulted, but that it is proper and
legally permissible to return insults from them).

"ridiculosum nostri temporis philosophum": Democritus was
often called "the laughing philosopher." Guarino neatly substi-
tutes "ridiculosum" for "ridentem." He is inviting a comparison
between Democritus and Niccoli.
elegance or vice versa. These are the things he has absorbed by the age of fifty, after long, hard study. Is it not true every time what they say: "Old men go through a second childhood"? Or when you read it, did you feel annoyed with the man, because all you saw him doing was erupting against the teachings of philosophy, although he wants to be thought of as the host of philosophy, whose bitterest enemy he is? There, if I be not mistaken, the insolence of his language is an index to his life and character; for the past is declared by the present and what lies beneath is betrayed by what is on the surface. Further, anyone who uses such foul language must be vile; because, as Isocrates says, "speech is the mirror of the soul." You perceived an outburst of rage, jealousy, greed and madness frothing from the lips of one in a boiling temper. It must have been very distressing to you. For although the name of learning and literature is generally hateful to the ignorant, it is becoming more and more detestable to those who associate the shortcomings of men with their scholarly pursuits. Because of the example of this dog-philosopher of ours, who is no Diogenes, and others like him, the common herd suspects that far

*Cf. Diogeniamus iv. 18.

**Cf. Isocrates: Nicocles 7: "... καὶ λόγος ἀληθής καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δύκας ὑπήρχει ἀληθῆς καὶ πιστῆς εἰς χάλκων ἂπτόν" ("a true, lawful and just word is the reflection of a noble and trustworthy soul")

***huius nostrī non Diogenis sed Cynici ... exemplo": An ingenious play on words which cannot be rendered exactly in English. The Cynic philosophers, typified by Diogenes (cf. Juvenal 14, 309), were called Κυνικοὶ in Greek, and the word was associated in ridicule with the adjective Κυνικός, "dog-like." The name "Cynics" may originally have come from the gymnasium (Κυνόσαργυς) where their founder Antisthenes taught (cf. Diogenes Laertius 6, 13), or from their resemblance to dogs in certain respects (cf. L.S.J. under Κυνικός).
from the wickednesses and faults in men being curbed or eliminated by the aid of learning, they got worse and more numerous; and by this token it sees certain individuals who are given to study arrogating to themselves the right to do wrong. Surely you see how this monster of a fellow wants his every false and unworthy word or deed to appear in a good light and win approval, and to be welcomed with applause like an utterance of Plato? That is the reason why the common people thinks of learning not as an adornment of life, not as the parent of honour, but rather cries aloud that it is the bogey of mankind, the companion of pride, the nursling of obloquy and the enemy of truth. You see, then, how dangerous is this species of mankind. Although they are not appreciably different from the untutored mob, they assume a false mantle of knowledge and authority; by means of which that creature persuades himself that everything he utters is fit for bronze, and that any remark he happens to have spewed up is a rose, when all the time he is making a laughing-stock of himself. He is praised to his face, but joked about behind his back; there are sidelong glances and "the stork pecks with its bill." For it happens that those who want to seem learned to fools are discovered to be fools to

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*a"novercam potius hominibus comparatan": "Noverca" is properly a step-mother; but the word in Latin, as in English, came to have connotations of evil and surliness. Cf. Horace: Epodes 5,9: "quid ut noverca me intueris?"

**"rostro ciconia pinsit": An echo of Persius 1, 58. "O Iane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit": According to the scholiast on this passage, the finger was tapped against the hand to simulate the pocking of a stork's bill, a sign of derision.
the learned. You remember, I think, amidst what derision from bystanders he often tries to rant about any subject, however paltry, to give the common people the impression that he is saying something worthwhile.

That Amaffanius of Cicero, "who used to argue in plain, untechnical language,"* carefully weighs syllables, the quantity of which, however, he does not know, and like an established master in his own field, plucks at the letters -- this one is distorted, that one uncouth, yet another graceful, here a superfluous, there an omission -- forgetting that "It is the habit of spiders, not eagles, to catch at flies."* Hence it is agreed that Caesar Augustus, one of the most learned of men, did not always strictly observe orthography, that is to say, the formal theory of spelling laid down by the grammarians.*

When little goats cannot taste the juicy parts, they nibble at the barks.

Let others understand and grasp the sense; for him it is enough to feed upon the pictures. Of what profession shall we deem that fellow worthy? Please, what name shall we give him? A man of books or a copyist? One steeped in learning or one besotted by it?* And yet why do I beat about the bush and not

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*Cicero: Academica Posteriora 5.

*cf. Aristophanes: The Birds 1110-13


*"librorum virum an librarium? litteris imbutum an imbrutum?"
give him his right name and the designation of his art? I am not afraid of
calling him a superficial geometrician for since the business of his art revolves
round points and lines and surfaces and other things of this kind, I should
maintain that that discipline cannot be awarded to anyone but that very pleasant
— or "peaceful"— pupil, who has put aside as unnecessary all the other parts
of books and claims as his right the skill and knowledge to determine the
punctuation marks in a manuscript. But it is worth while hearing how carefully,
copiously and earnestly he argues, like Theodorus or Ptolemy, about lines, then
he demonstrates how they should be drawn with great sharpness not with a lead
instrument but an iron one, and just as Coro co glories in the discovery of
corn, and Cidron and Theodorus alike in that of medicine, so he glories in this
his own invention. His wonder about paper, that is to say, surfaces, is
considerable, and he displays his eloquence in praising or denouncing them.
That a foolish waste of such a long lifetime, the final fruit of which is
argument about the shapes of letters, the colour of paper and the different
kinds of ink: This is really what Horace says: "The mountains will be in
labour, and an absurd little mouse will be born."

There has just come into my hands — little work put out by him, which
he has compiled for the instruction of the young.

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1. The "lead instrument" comes to refer to the pliixyn, a small circular
lead plate used with a ruler to draw guide lines for the scribe's hand (cf.
Fortune: Catullus, Oxford, 1961, p. 120-9 on Form 22 l. 6). The iron one
should be a stilus; but Quirino probably had a quill pen in mind. The lines
would refer to the strokes of letters, themselves, not the guide lines.

2. D. L. Ulmann's stimulating Origin and Development of Linearistic Script
makes out a good case for Ptolema as the Inventor of Linearistic Script. Linnell
is described as the inventor of a rival system, some examples of which are
given by Ulmann, plates 29-39 at the end of his book. Its dominant quality
comes to no that of legibility.
Its title is "Orthography", although it could with more truth by called "Unorthography." For when he desires to educate boys by means of a kind of empty ostentation, he exposes himself as an untutored child. So many words in it are described contrary to the teachings of art that he is not ashamed to mark vowels short by nature as diphthongs. Nor will he, a man with gray hair, blush to cite the evidence of Greek manuscripts and a gold or silver coin, although there is no dispute over a word. No -- such is the sickness of these people -- that creature of ours quite stubbornly opposes those who would correct him, scorns to give in to advice, sneers at a learner, and in his jealousy reviles scholars; but he tears them to pieces when they are not around and keeps up vendettas with them. Let that Solon say, if he can, what men of learning in his time he has not criticized and scoffed at in that windy style of his. What a pillager -- "pillar" I mean of learning, what a champion of the revival of Letters! I pass over his sense of

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*"Orbographia" -- a hybrid concoction meaning something like "a work bereft of style." No "Orthographia" is extant by Niccoli. Sabbadini denies that he ever wrote one (Epistolario III p. 25). Various suggestions by Zippel as to possible mss. of it were checked by B. L. Ullman and "found incorrect" (Orig. and Dev. of Hum. Script p. 71 n. 34). There is, however, some evidence that Niccoli was interested in diphthongs (Ullman; ibid p. 71-2).

*Guarino does not mean that mss. or coins are not legitimate sources of evidence, but that Niccoli plays safe by quoting only evidence which no-one would dispute.

*"ventoso": A complicated play on words. Guarino derives "aureus" from "aura" (breeze) rather than from "aurum" (gold), but only in jest, of course.

*"colubrum, column volui dicere": The device is modelled on Cicero: Pro Caelio 32 ... cum istius mulieris viro -- fratre volui dicere; semper hic erro."
duty to his friends, and his friendship and affection for all. His taste is assuredly delicate; he loves his friends as he loves fish. If they are not fresh, he spurns them from his path and assails them with criticism. And the more readily to comfort myself, innumerable letters are publicly accessible, composed in his distinctive way, a stylistic hitch-potch, in which he vilifies his older and closer friends, and brands their lives and morals with marks of the deepest shame.

And yet, what is there to be surprised at in his snapping? His continual aim is to bite at everything at random, so that if he cannot win glory for his good deeds, he may at least become famous for his slanders, just like the man who is said to have burned down the temple of Diana at Ephesus; for when he despaired of becoming famous for his own virtue, he wanted to win a name for himself for some outstanding crime. Whom will he spare, who never stops cursing and reviling Florence, the most prosperous city on earth and his own native land? An utterly wicked and ungrateful citizen, he condemns the republic and criticizes the wisest councils of state. Although the state is flourishing with all manner of glory, she has this one sorrow, that she has (all unwillingly) spawned such a citizen, who festers with spite, no matter what he sees or hears. To find a cure for this evil, only one course remains; for him to pray God that he become deaf and blind, so that he may cease

at any rate to be continually tormented by things from which he is unable to get any pleasure. Who could keep from bursting out laughing when, to be considered an exponent of architecture also, he thrusts out his arms and commends buildings surveys city walls and discourses at length on the ruins of fallen cities and half-demolished arches, on how many steps there are in dilapidated theatres, how many columns in the squares are lying fallen or standing up, how many feet a foundation measures, and how many obelisks have their tops intact? With what darkness are the minds of men benighted! He thinks he is popular and has deserved to be the by-word of the people; things which give rise everywhere to jesting and merriment about him.

Certainly, if you inspect this fellow's appearance more closely, you will cease to be surprised at the depths of irresponsibility and idiocy in him. Notice the size of his ears. Unless you doubt the veracity of the most grave and truthful Trogus, that is a sign of garrulousness and stupidity, just as Pliny says.*

He is quite often given to boasting that, as the custodian and doorkeeper of fame, he awards distinction in varying degrees on whom he cares to, according to who they are, just as the horn of plenty is variously said to give riches in full or moderate measure. If, therefore, there is to be any dispute about matters of history or literature, he will be the chosen arbiter, that he may declare his favourites the winners, like

*Pliny: Nat. History XI, 276.
the shepherd Alexander, and bestow upon them the golden apple. Why should I pretend any more? If there is any hope left of a cure for this sickness, the medicine of truth must be administered forthwith: chastisement still comes timely, even at a very mature age and in the decline of one's years: it is never too late to take the path to goodness. We read that Solon was accustomed to boast that "he was growing old and learning all the time."* Believe me, this excrescence has grown so tough because having always found flatterers, who have made a madman out of a fool, he has allowed himself to be dragged along too much by the nose.

Do you want him to like you and love you? Tell him to his face that he is the embodiment of not just Attic, but all Greek and Latin eloquence as well; and he will not object if you throw in Hebrew as well.

But in order that he may learn sometime to take stock of himself, an appropriate remark to be constantly made to him is the answer that is given in Persius: "You are a fool, baldpate, with that pot-belly of yours sticking out a foot and a half in front of you."*

Perhaps for some time you have been eagerly waiting for the reasons for his fierce outburst against me, and seeking an explanation. What need is there for an explanation in the case of this Orestes? For an explanation, there is his madness,

*Plutarch: Solon 31 and Cicero: De senectute 26
*Persius I, 57.
suspicion, malice and envy, and his ill-considered, violent and dictatorial whims.

When he saw a certain fellow-pupil, who was certainly very fond of him, making such progress within a few months, that there was no doubt that he himself would be surpassed, despite his start of fourteen years' work in this branch of learning -- in fact, because of his stupidity, his thick skull and his natural ill-will, he could get a taste of nothing but the characters -- well, goaded on by an old jealousy, he imperiously decreed that the man should be expelled at once, adding threats and his natural high-and-mighty talk, which are his strong points in attacking strangers and people who are helpless or absent. In other respects, however, that remark of Homer's could appropriately be made of him: "He has the face of a dog and the heart of a deer."

Then he cast greedy eyes on some manuscripts of mine, and seeking by right of patronage to return my tiny property to his treasury, he demanded that they be handed over to him; nor, for that matter, most modest fellow that he is, did he hesitate habitually to call me his slave in crowded gatherings of the noblest citizens.

But it is not surprising that he does not know I am a free man, when he is unaware that he is a slave, I shall not say of lusts, appetite, peevishness, vainglory, arrogance, envy and other blots upon the soul, an infinite number of which he

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*The study of Greek.

*See Note 3 at end of this letter.
serves, but of an utterly iniquitous serving wench and filthy little slut, whose orders he carries out, so that nothing has more influence with him than the judgement and passion of this idiotic woman. * One would not say she was a flunkey, but a mistress: she shouts, and he has to be quiet; she demands, no, she actually snatches, and the demand has to be met; she hates any friends or family he has, and they have to be thrown out. I am relating what is common knowledge and gossiped about on every street with laughter, ridicule and scorn.

Why say more? He has been reduced to such a state of madness that rumour has it she has been made heiress to a large part of his estate; and if by chance she bears a male child, all his property must be expected to go to him. I judge such people to be not just servants but utterly wicked servants. But let the discussion return to the point at which it digressed.

When I did not obey his command in the matter of these manuscripts, what insults, what rows, what quarrels and what reproaches there were! You know the man; and you would say that he had in no way failed to live up to himself.

And do not imagine that he dunned me for the manuscripts because he expected they would be of any use or assistance to him, since as far as they were concerned, he is, or was going to be, "a donkey at the lyre," and just as in the old proverb, "he would lose his oil and outlay," unless he preserves not a five year silence like the Pythagoreans, but an eternal one,

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*See Note 4.*
over knowledge gained. But he wanted them to adorn his library, or to put it better, his book-shop. Oh, the empty frivolity and amazing display of the fellow! He demands an ornament, ever the more to expose his ignorance. For if anyone takes notice when he is handling these manuscripts -- it happens rather a lot -- and were to ask what one or the other may be, he will not answer before first looking at the inscription, and none too surely at that; then if he were asked to explain some passage or another, I know for a fact that he will fall silent or admit with a red face that he is ignorant of the items he has sought so hard to acquire.

Instances of this would not be far to seek. At a learned meeting, when he was painstakingly pronouncing his way through a really big page in a Latin manuscript, he was asked to tell the meaning of what he was reading, and carelessly betrayed his ignorance in two respects. For in casting about for excuses, he replied that he thought he had been reading Greek--unthinkingly compelled in a few words to betray the truth. For what did his remark imply other than that he knew not a bit of Latin, and as little Greek?

He says that some teacher, whom he sent for "in his daydreams," will be coming from Athens; he eagerly awaits Aristarchus, Apollonius, and Aristophanes, because he says that no-one can be educated save by these men. But the truth is that if I saw that learning is got with the mere acquisition of a lot of books, I would say that libraries themselves, above all, should
be called learned, and I would exhort this most winsome sham
-- sorry, I meant "man" -- not only to keep several at home,
but to make clothes out of commentaries and gad about dressed
in them, to be thought not just "bookish" but "book-laden."
But what need is there for pretence? His follies are every-
where in evidence. For it anyone gets hold of the pipes of
Timotheus, but does not know how to play as the art prescribes,
one will not for that reason say he is a fluteplayer; no, in
fact, if he tries to play or demonstrate any piece, "The Roman
knights and people will raise a giggle."

It will not be amiss to remember a very witty joke that
was made at his expense. This Amaffanins, of whom I speak,
was once rather persistently using abuse to oppose a certain
man, with the intention of refuting him by insults, where he
had failed with reason, and he said in a loud voice: "O
philosopher without books!" The barb was then turned back on
him with the riposte: "O books without a philosopher!" For
the replier knew that this man, like a beast of burden, procures
as many manuscripts as possible, not even one syllable of
which is going to be any use to him. I for my part know the
source of this nervous collecting of books and scheming to get
them; in despair that they will ever be a help to him, because
his mind is unteachable, he thinks he has done something
splendid in equipping a library, so that posterity may gaze
upon it and think of him as a scholar. But he is as wrong as
he could be; since true glory strikes deep, strong and enduring
roots, but the sham variety vanishes like smoke faster than it takes to tell. Nevertheless, whatever the outcome may be, let us inscribe an epitaph of this kind: "Thus did the ass with wine on his back drink up the chill waters."

Enough of this, in case I seem willing or able to unfold everything in one letter. When I have said a very great deal about him, a very great deal will still be left to say, especially since I have a mind to spread myself at great length on a reply. I shall see to it that he who attacked me in writing will know his own foul abuse in writing, lest he think that "he has told his story to a deaf man." I have written this in the meantime, desiring that you tell me what manner of men they are whom we are generously accustomed to call scholars. Rather is it fitting to pity them, since the humanity they carry hardly extends beyond their limbs, and we ought to pray for an improvement in their thinking.
1. There are two versions of this invective. The shorter one takes the form of a letter to Biagio Guasconi; the longer one is headed "De Auripelle poeta per Guarinum Veronensen" and is translated above. It shows a number of syntactical corrections and stylistic improvements (for which, see the Epistolario Vol. I, Letter 17, where Sabbadini prints both texts). This suggests that it is the later version. It also appears to have become the better-known text, for the name "Auripellis" made an impression in Humanistic ranks. (Med. Latin "auripellum" = "gilding," from "aurum" = "gold" and "pellum" = a robe or ornamental covering; hence "auripellis" = "gilded over", i.e. "sham." c.f. appropriate articles in Glossarium Medice et Infimae Latinitatis. The modern Italian "orpello" = "tinsel") For example, Bartolomeo Facio wrote in 1427 to Jacopo Lavagnola at Verona, requesting what seems to have been regarded as the definitive version of Guarino's invective: "Tunc invectionem illam in Auripellem poetam .... a Venezia in Scritti vari in memoria del professore G. Monticolo p. 34). Also, Bruni's invective against Poggio, (which is No 4 in Vol. 5 of L. Mehus' edition of Bruni's correspondence, published Florence 1741) although usually entitled "Oratio in nebulonem maledicum," bears this inscription in Codex Vaticanus 4510 f. 53: "Leonardi Aretini in Auripellem poetam." Whether Bruni himself had ever used this as an alternative title or not, the identification of Niccoli with "Auripellis poeta" was established in the mind of whoever wrote the manuscript.
2. The significant additions in the later version, apart
from the title, concern Niccoli's interest in "points, lines,
and surfaces" (i.e. punctuation, penmanship, and paper), his
supposed authorship of a book on orthography, his written
attacks on others, his personal appearance and sort-of liaison
with a servant, his vanity, his ignorance of Latin and Greek,
the witty joke "Oh books without a philosopher!" and the reasons
for his "nervous collecting of books." The one significant
omission is the following passage from Version I: "And that
he might neglect no duty or kindness, he filches from me,
against all justice and propriety, my stipulated payment (mercede).
The power greed has over him may be gathered from the fact that
he has trampled on his word and the sacred name of justice and
is cheating and robbing me. There exists a signed and written
contract between us (conventorum et datae inter nos dexterae
chirographum) drawn up with our common consent by the hand of
a very learned and certainly very humane person. But what heed
would he pay to witnesses and paper, when he despises his
reputation, his honour, his faith, mankind and God Himself

The omission of this passage suggests that it had lost
its point by the time the second version was written. Guarino
was appointed to lecture on Greek at the University of Florence
for the academic year 1413-1414. The date of his appointment
was probably around October. This would make him independent
of Niccoli, whatever the terms of his dependence may have been,
and he could call himself "liberum" in the fullest sense.
The earlier version, therefore, seems to have come out before October 1413, and the definitive one after that date.

The datings may be further narrowed down by the words: "These are the things he has absorbed by the age of fifty" ("Quas res ... ad quinquagesinum aetatis annum hæusit"), which, however, appear in both versions. Niccoli was born about 1364; so he was around the fifty mark in 1413 -- actually 49, if we accept 1364 as the date of his birth. Even if Guarino knew or cared about Niccoli's exact age it is probable that he considered the round figure of 50 more effective rhetorically. He did not bother to change it in the second version. This may indicate that the invectives were written within a comparatively few months of one another; but it is by no means certain. The best we can say is that Version I was written in 1413 sometime before October, and that Version 2 came out probably late in the same year (or early in 1414?) and certainly before Guarino moved to Venice in 1414.

3. "peculiolum meum suo fisco patronatus iure repetens:"
The "ius patronatus" is a term found in the Judicial Corpus meaning the right of a patron over his freedman, in the Roman sense of the words. "Peculium" was a slave's private property, which was in law, however, the property of his master. Niccoli may have called Guarino his "mancipium" ("slave") but he could not have had any legal right to do so, or to claim any of
Guarino's personal possessions, whether as the "erus" ("master") of a slave or the "patronus" of a freedman. All Guarino is saying is that Niccoli was trying to use moral blackmail, in consideration of past "patronage," in the loose sense, to obtain the manuscripts.

4. Apart from Guarino's invective, there were three others that we know of. Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti wrote one in 1420 (See Giuseppe Zippel: L'invettiva di Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti contro Niccolo Niccoli in Giornale storico della letteratura italiana 24, of 1894, p. 166-186): and Bruni wrote his prose invective "In Nebulonen maledicum," which should be dated 1424 (See Hans Baron: The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, Princeton 1955, Vol. I p. 528 no. 18). Both of these are mentioned in Vittorio Rossi: Il Quattrocento (Milan 1953) 31. The third invective is a verse one by Bruni, only recently discovered and printed from Codex Barberinianus Latinus 42, ff. 311v-312r and Codex Toletanus Latinus 100. 42, ff. 94v-r, by Sesto Prete in The Classical World No. 56 of June 1963 p. 280-283. Prete dates it, I think rightly, in 1424 and subsequent to Bruni's prose invective of the same year. Although it contains only 32 lines, there are some interesting echoes of Guarino's invective: lines 9-10,

"Ira leonis inost, apri truculentia frendens,
Sed corda in timido pectore damma regit"

echo Guarino's lines 299-301, "cum alioquin in eum merito id Homericum referri queat, hic canis hic oculos carvinaque pectora-
gestat: "11. 15 ("est asini species, asinus tu nempe videris")
and 19-20, "... nec si iam scire labores,
Plus tibi sit asino, cum lyra dulce sonat"
are an echo of Guarino, l. 355-6, "cum ad illos (i.e. manuscripts)
velut asinus ad lyram existat" -- an echo in its turn of A.
Gellius III, 16, 13. This suggests that Bruni had studied
Cuarino's invective in preparing his own. There are the same
charges of ignorance, gluttony, and vice. The latter is particu-
larly interesting. Bruni was fulminating against Niccoli's
sordid liaison with Benvenuta di Paganò, who had been Niccoli's
brother's mistress (Prete, p. 281-282). The affair began in
1420, according to Prete: so there is little likelihood that
Benvenuta was the same woman -- the "nequissima ancilla" --
mentioned in l. 314 of Cuarino's invective. There seems to have
been at least some substance in the charge of lechery; although,
of course, we must allow for considerable exaggeration in any
invective.
Letter 18 *** to Guarino (in elegiacs)  

1. I read the letter you wrote to Guasco. How pleasing it was, and how worthy of that spiteful man! Thanks to you and the gods our prayers were answered. I shall tell you what these prayers were. 2. If any nymph attracts you, may she be amenable to your desires. May you live a hundred happy years and die without her mourning you. When you breathe your last, let the willow lie light upon your ashes, and the odour of violets and anona abound. Let the Pierian sisters sing and Phoebus soothe your bones. May the rest of your life be easy and your shade rest in Elysium. Let a river with sweet-smelling herbs flow round your urn to the sweet songs of birds.

1. The codices give: “Panormita Guarino Veronensi s.p.d.,” but the name of Panormita is only a copyist’s conjecture, possibly because four lines of the Hermaphroditus (Ep. II. 32) are practically identical to 11. 13-14 and 17-18.

2. The reference is plainly to the Invective against Niccoli, in the version addressed to Guasconi. The poem is very poor and one line (1. 12) makes no sense to me as it stands: “Nec nymphae al gerusius funera triste luant.” Sabbadini suggests “lugeant” for “luant” but this is metrically impossible. It seems hardly worthwhile amending such rubbish.

Letter 19 to Paolo, chancellor of Florence  

1. Our ancestors’ purpose in holding games was to promote physical health and morality, combined with a lust for action, amongst the citizens. They provided not only chaplets but also songs in praise of the victors, who might thereby hope for some measure of immortal fame. Such was the purpose of Pindar and Vergil, who desired to incite others to deeds of merit, because “merit increases when it is praised.” 2. I thought our young men deserved this service and have therefore written a poem on the games that were celebrated a few days ago. It may inspire our youth. Please accept
it, since, as my countryman Catullus says "you used to think my triflings
had some merit."

The poem, of some 75 lines, follows, and mentions the following Florentines:
Francesco Soderini, Benedetto Strozzi, Cambrozzi and Lorenzo de'Medici,
Bardo de'Bardi, Jacopo di Maso, Giovanni Ricci, Lorenzo and Antonio Adimari,
Jacopo Rimaccini and Domenico Sapiti.

Paolo di Lando Fortini (Born 1381) was chancellor of Florence from 7 April
1411 to 27 November 1427, when he was removed for his anti-Medicean sympathies.

Letter 20 to Valesio Florence 26th February 1414

1. You have kept that poem of mine, of which I said I had no copy, and even
make the excuse that Barbaro has it now. It is easier to wring words from
him than manuscripts! I do not think this is greed on your part, but because
you think so highly of my literary work. Return it, and I shall give you
others. 2. You say you are going to dine with Pietro Donato. I think that
neither Cicero nor Favius nor Macrobius would be there, but Perdiccas or the
priests of the mother of the gods. So pleasant would both host and banquet
be, that it would be a wonder if you remembered me before the feast. It would
be advantageous to remember yourself during it. But I wonder who you remembered
after it? I guess that Father Bacchus was your fellow-drinker, and without
Thetis at that? 3. Other cities celebrate a feast of their chosen deity
only once a year, but Padua celebrates feasts of Bacchus all the year round.
The orgies go on all day long. At dawn the shrill-voiced, red-faced, watery-
eyed wine vendors appear, with their huge but magnificent noses, and press
their wares on the public. In the Platonic Academy, "disputations" went on,
here it is "potations!" The Academicians concerned themselves with "the One," the
Truth," and "Notion"; these our countrymen concern themselves with the "Wino,"
the "Drouth" and "Potion." You know their notorious reputation as drunks.
3. But enough of these jests! Let me have a copy of my poem if you can
wrest it from the harpy's talons. 4. Roberto (Rossi) has been in the country
for three months, so I have been unable to make your excuses to him for the
plundering of that dialogue. 5. Antonio Corbino gloves his regards. Con-
voy nine to Pietro Donato and your brother.

1. Vascoli and his brother Alfonso were Portuguese, who had been recently
in Florence. Alfonso wrote letters to Niccoli in 1414 from Padua, where he
was attending the school of Barzizza.

2. The letter is light-hearted and full of puns, some of which I have
attempted to render. The Latin puns are almost as poor as the English ren-
derings, ex. 11. 56-57: "Non cum academici de uno de vero de noto disserant,
hi nostri de vivo de vero de potu dissonant." Such puns are common in Guarino.

Letters from Venice 1414-1419
Letter 21 to Francesco Barbaro [Venice, end of 1417]

1. As I handled your copy of Plutarch, I began to think of the extent of his
genius, his brilliant and all-embracing knowledge of history and antiquity
in general, whether Greek, Roman or barbarian ("peregrina"). When I look at
your princely gift, I imagine you have taken thought for your own honour
more than for mine, because you may reasonably expect me to return the ap-
propriate thanks. It is the honest gesture of a prince, not a usurper, and
reminds one of Alexander the Great, who did the same. You may be richer in
wealth than I, but I have a fortune in affection for you. 2. I thought it
appropriate to return a Latin version of the Plutarch. I also started a
translation of the "Brutus," but heard from a friend that it had already been
translated.
Letter 22 to Bartolomeo

Venice, 5th February [1415]

1. Your brother Pietro's letter shows the affection between him and me, since the more he exaggerates my abilities, the more he obviously loves me. It is the duty of a good man and a friend to praise those he loves. There is nothing I desire more than the approbation of good men who are themselves the object of praise. I do not hesitate to ask for your friendship, since I am sure Pietro will put in a good word for me. You may surpass me in everything else, but not in sincerity of affection. 2. Convey my respects to Pier Paolo. Barbaro sends his to you.

1. The addressee is unknown, but he was obviously at Constance with Vergerio.

2. 1. 29 "Pietro Paolo" Vergerio, who was with the Papal court at Constance. His famous work "De ingensia moribus" is translated by H. H. Woodward in Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators.

Letter 23 to (Pietro) Tommasi

[Venice, May 1415]

1. I have long wanted to write to you to prove my affection, which has grown over the years, and to renew our acquaintance through correspondence. At first I was diffident because I know that men as learned as you dislike an unpolished and common style, but I was exalted by the aim of this letter, which is only to disclose my good-will and affection. 2. But the pressing departure of the messenger makes it possible only for me to urge you to continue our mutual esteem.

1. Pietro Tommasi was a Venetian, who studied at Padua at the beginning of 1391. In 1396 he went to Pavia and alternated between the two cities until he took his doctorate at Padua in 1402, when he secured the Chair of Medicine there. He preferred, however, to join the army of the famous Carlo Zeno and fought in the Battle of Vodona, 9th October 1403, in which he was wounded. He returned to Venice at the end of 1403 and in 1407 and 1408 we find him again teaching at Padua. From 1415-1418 he was living at Candia, where in 1415 he met Rinascimento Arzino. In that year also Cristofo da' Bandelmoni went to Candia (Voigt, Wiederbelobung II p. 906). He married three times,
the first in 1395 when he espoused the daughter of Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazzi, the famous Paduan Jurist. Guarino and he must have met before 1403 at Venice, since (1. 3) their friendship was "ab incerto ferro aetate coepit."

Letter 24  Pietro Tomasi to Guarino

Ca fia, 2nd June, 1415

1. The distance between us made your letter all the more welcome. Our friendship will take on a new lease of life. 2. No doubt you thought fit to renew it, because of the opportunities I have here to search for Greek manuscripts. I keep enquiring for them. But Antonio, who came to no as your friend, and departs as mine also, will give you more news. 3. By regards to our friends, particularly P. Barbaro, to whom I sent a small work of Brutus. Tell me if he received it.

Letter 35  to John Chrysoloras

Venice [25th July 1415]

Complete translation:

"Guarino of Verona to the most brilliant John Chrysoloras, his beloved teacher, greetings.

When the very sad news was brought from Constance a few days ago of your beloved father's death, my first concern was to ascertain the truth of the report, because I thought this was an event of great importance so far as you were concerned. It is a debt I owe to your well-being and happiness, with all the resources I command, and even more, because of the incredible affection and imperishable kindnesses you have shown me. At that time, however, I wrote not a single word of formal consolation, so very bitter was the blow. In case it is thought that I acted inconsiderately, accept this
as the explanation for what I did. I kept thinking to myself that a most
beloved father and a most respected gentleman had been snatched from us by
an untimely death. Certainly, past ages have seldom seen his like, and even
more seldom will generations yet to come. Immortal God! What manner of praise
does one find lacking in this brilliant man? What of his native land? It
is Byzantium, "an ancient city, once powerful in war and the richness of its
soil," thereafter the capital of the Roman Empire and the dwelling-place of
august majesty, which boasts that it give birth to such a citizen, from whom,
it knows, it has obtained a very large measure of its glory. What of his
lineage? He shone forth like some star from the most noble and honourable
family of the Chrysolorae, which, abounding though it may be in outstanding
men of the highest wisdom, counts as its chief distinction that practically
all its scions are educated in the best studies and the most liberal arts.
The shining quality of his character and his command of important knowledge,
bear witness to the kind of teachers who guided his life and education;
his entire life constitutes a most laudable proof of their quality. Although
he counted riches of little importance for himself, nevertheless he sought
them, but in a way that turned them to honourable uses and benefitted all good
men. Need I mention the other merits of this man, merits which he imbibed, so
to speak, with his mother's milk and almost from first infancy? And the
virtuous life he led through all its stages, so that, whenever Manuel Chrys-
soloras is remembered, a venerable ideal of virtue is presented to the minds
of men? I pass over his restraint and diligence in private life, his brilliance
and authority in public, his piety and veneration of immortal god (in which he
was the inferior of no zealot, and the strictest at that), his self-control,
purity, munificence, his liberality, attention to his friends, affection for his family, his goodwill towards mankind, his greatness of spirit, and his endurance of anger and persistent toil for the good of his country. The earth bears wise witness to the many wanderings and foreign journeys he undertook, watchful and anxious for his country's welfare. What surpassing sharpness of intellect! What brilliant learning in the finest studies and in all subjects! What rich knowledge of the whole of antiquity! What conversation! What teaching in how to lead "the good and blessed life!" On the latter topic, there are extant many copious, wise and shrewd essays from his pen; but he provided a multitude of examples in action, almost from the cradle to the grave, and in these he either equalled or surpassed almost all philosophers before him; for you will find very few whose words are consistent with their conduct in life and who practised what they preached, as Manuel did. A number of princes and kings, as well as Roman pontiffs, appear to be well aware of this. In their judgment, they have derived no small measure of happiness and glory, simply because it was their privilege to be contemporaries of the renowned Manuel. In the same way, history records that Dionysius was indebted to Plato, and Alexander to Aristotle, and, if the story is true, Pythagoras was once tutor to Ruma Pompilius.

As I was pondering the loss of this remarkable man, or rather the extinction of this heavenly light, such a deep gloom enshrouded my spirit, "so shrewdly was the blow struck home," that I was caught up in grief and struck dumb, "my hair stood on end and my voice caught in my throat," so that I could not, despite repeated attempts, compose a word of comfort or relief to you; and even had I succeeded, it was not a seasonable moment for
condolence. What would have been more absurd, foolish, or ill-advised than to launch out on an address designed to drive away or alleviate a most bitter sorrow at a time when your senses were numbed, when reason and council were its vassals, and it held everything in its triumphant clutches? In my opinion it had to run its course; you had to give way to it while it was still in its more savage throes, a breathing space had to be granted until the initial severity of your grief could ease off, and the need arose to associate a friend's tears and sorrow with your own. This recourse normally brings no small degree of comfort in the deepest distress. I thought it better to imitate skilled physicians, who, when they start treating some watery cyst, are not quick to seize upon scalpel and fire, especially when the sore is fresh and still ragged. But now that enough time has elapsed for the bitterness of your grief - the means by which harsh blows are softened, wild grief is tamed and cruel fortune mitigated - that sorrow and vexation of your spirit seem to need the consolation of friends, and certain healing agents. For the voices of wise men, arising from the midst of Philosophy's teaching, act as a medicine for a sorrowing heart. As Cicero says, "The man who obeys philosophy can live his whole life free from pain." In fact, the cure of the soul is easier than the cure of the body, because remedies for the body must be externally applied; but you, with your remarkable good sense, will undoubtedly cure the soul for yourself (if only you put your mind to it) by drawing healing arts from your own inner worth. Of these arts, I should certainly have said nothing, had not the sudden onslaught of deep grief driven them for a little time into the background; for in other circumstances, your discernment, even when you are dreaming, is much better and keener than mine.
when I am wide awake. In every action, you know "what is fitting and what
is not, and whither virtue or error lead."

In the first place, I am not the sort of man to blame you for mourning
your father's passing with tears and sighs, as though with solemn offerings;
for that is the natural tendency of mankind. It is in no way within our power
to prevent its happening. I have certainly never agreed with certain harsh
and uncouth individuals, who do their best to divest us of every shred of
emotion, as though they want us to have no human feelings. Since this is a
total impossibility, the doctrine is absolutely useless for human society,
for it removes the goodwill, the affection, the friendship and the sympathy
men feel for each other. Nothing crueler, nothing more monstrous, nothing
more hostile to human co-existence than this doctrine could be devised by
the mind. Better is the opinion of Chremes in Terence's play, who "thought
that nothing that was human was foreign to him." Nor is it a matter of chance
that Aeneas, in the divine poet Vergil, grieves for the dead Anchises, as
though offering us proof of his in-born humanity. So, just as up to now I
have approved of the bitter grief you felt and expressed for your father's
death (for that was a son's duty), so I shall presume to reproach you, if
you persist too long in mourning and fail to observe a sense of proportion;
for that kind of conduct is obviously born of weakness, not of the dignity
of a most learned scholar. In my judgment, it would be greatly in your intests
if you, who are expert in every branch of learning and a light to our language
as well as the Greek, gave some outstanding practical proof of yourself, which
was worthy of these great studies. Observing propriety in all things, be
the same man in adversity as we know in happier circumstances, and whatever
harsh, sad or vexatious fate assail you, let your expression, your spirit
and your determination remained unaltered; and if any sudden storm of grief
shakes that determination, let it perish before it overpowers you. Let reason,
in your usual way, rally to your aid, strengthening what has been shattered,
re-establishing and supporting with her exhortations, what is tottering. You
will hold fast to the example of Homer, who, after making Achilles rage with
uncontrollable fury and burn with grief, at once brings in Minerva, descending
from the sky to curb his excessive passion and restrain his reckless fits of
anger. The same may be seen from our compatriots; for when Aeneas, overwhelmed
with so many trials, was being storm-tossed on the waves, "and the heavens and
the light of day were being snatched from the eyes of the Trojans," Reason
(that is to say, Neptune) comes on the scene, "routing the massed clouds and
bringing back the sky," so that Aeneas can see properly where he is going.
You see how pre-eminent gold is: it never loses its lustre, but actually
grows brighter, the fiercer the fire in which it is melted. There are two
reasons why you must imitate this property of gold: first, because you have
the golden insignia, in accordance with the dignity of equestrian rank; secondly,
because you have the family surname you do. You must, therefore, do nothing
undignified or base. Just as gold excels other metals, so must you excel
other men, especially at this time, which, amidst the confusion that reigns
in public and private life, demands the noble endurance of a manly soul,
which is one of the achievements of deliberation and common-sense. Good
policy, as I learned from you, a most informed teacher, consists of four
things: either the avoidance of adverse blows, the rectification of what has
gone wrong, the selection of the lesser evil, or the acceptance, in a manly and
unbroken spirit, of that which is inevitable. I recall your frequent warnings
that mortal men should not presume to hope for anything stable or abiding amidst the changing fortunes of earthly things and the unreliability of promised joys. There is nothing more foolish or ill-advised than the belief that uncertainties are certainties, mutability is immutable, and falseness is truth. We know the famous saying of Horace: "We, and all things ours, are due to death." Not only are our possessions, our wealth and our power, fleeting and feeble things, but our mother Nature has borrowed for mankind bodies that are subject to decay, things of a moment. As Pindar says, "Man is the dream of a shadow;" and he could not have expressed more meaningfully, in a few words, the weakness of man's nature. Why "a shadow?" Why, moreover, "the dream of a shadow?" I think he meant "nothing within nothing." Sophocles bears witness to the same idea, when he says, "I see that we, whoever we are living, are nothing but phantoms and unsubstantial shadow." If you think this over, you will not only suffer your present misfortune bravely, but, knowing both good and ill fortune, and being prepared in mind for every event, you will not be surprised at the strange or unexpected, especially in these things you hear about or see happening every day. Such is the theme of these verses of the particularly divine Homer: "O mighty son of Tydeus, why do you enquire of your lineage? Even as are the generations of leaves on the lofty tree, so are those also of man. For when the wind blows, some scatter to the earth; but the forest as it burgeons, brings others to birth at the approach of Spring. So as one generation of men passes away, another bursts into life."

Our Mantuan poet, Vergil, my neighbour, also expressed the terms of our disastrous human lot in a few wise words: "All the best days of life
fly fast away from wretched mortals; diseases succeed and sad old age and pain, and the pitilessness of inexorable death snatches them away." Death, which no prayers can avert, carries each and every thing that has been born, to quick destruction. When, therefore, Anaxagoras learned of his son’s death, he said to the man who brought the report, "Your news is not unexpected or unusual; for I know that my son was bound to die." Consistent with this is what Simonides is supposed to have said to Fausanias, king of the Spartans, when the latter was reminiscing in a somewhat boastful strain about his exploits. Simonides, in order to curb his pride, said, "In the meanwhile, remember that you were born a man." What real man, even of average intelligence, would mourn, bewail or lament the unchangeable and iron laws of Nature? If tears were a sure remedy for these pains and misfortunes, a vast multitude of mankind would have made the offering of its sorrow to you; who is there, indeed, who, for the sake of bringing back this divine man, would not have poured forth his own tears, and bought the tears of others with gold and silver and every precious object he possessed? But tears, the fruits of sorrow, are scattered in vain and to no purpose. I do not remember ever hearing of anyone who would bring himself to weep tears of despair, when he saw rivers coursing along, the winds blowing, light objects floating in the air, and heavy objects falling to the ground. And why? Because it would be absurd. Why, then, do we react so badly to the passing of that which is mortal, and to the corruption of that which is subject to corruption, when these and the former conditions are agreed to be normal and natural transitions? Who is there who doubts that death is hanging over us at all times, at every hour, at every stage of life? It dogs the footsteps of king and subjects alike,
of master and slaves. If, however, one enumerates the cares, discomforts, vexations and agonies of life, one will call Manuel's fate happy, because he has put on immortality and escaped so much distress. What has life in it that is a blessing free from taint? Are not all things bitter and full of emerging evils? Protracted illnesses, exiles, poverty, the cruel deaths of one's kindred, bereavements, disgrace and condemnations! Not to dwell over further evils, one could rightly call life a path of misfortunes.

This being the case, why do you not count your father less to be mourned than blessed, since he has won free from such miserable slavery? Do not cap the ignorant rob, which, more from habit than judgment, mourns its dear departed with restless tears. I think he is to be thought all the happier in his lot, since, by returning to heaven, he has put off the earthly burden of the body and escaped from the prison-house of his limbs, by which, were we to admit the truth, we are reduced to the various slaveries of love, desire, hope and fear, from which, as a by-product, proceed so many wars, seditions and disagreements between mortals. It is particularly regrettable that these things prevent us during life from every kind of quest after truth, a point on which our Virgil brings his testimony to bear:

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\text{[quotes Aen. VI, 730-734]}
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And yet, it would not be altogether right to speak of Manuel himself in this way; for, since he chastened the senses and made them the servants of reason, by means of his love of virtue and his long-continued practice of it, who can doubt that he used the body as the hand-maid of philosophy, just as he had learned from Plato? It must be said that, at the present moment, having cast aside the burden of the body, he is in possession of pure and unrestricted knowledge and vision. Therefore, whoever thought that death is not to be feared,
has obviously been right, especially since death grants an end to tribulations and monstrous evils. It is, indeed, a ready port and safe refuge for all. On record are the testimonies of the immortal gods, as the pagans called them, who, as their finest reward for extraordinary piety and devotion towards them, made the gift of death to many men. It is common knowledge, from the pages of Herodotus, that Cleobis and Bito, the sons of the Argive priestess, obtained death from Juno, after their mother had prayed to the goddess to grant to her sons, in return for their devotion, the best gift that could be made by god to man. Both Pindar and Cicero record that Trophonius and Agamedes, "who after they had built the temple of Apollo at Delphi, besought him for the reward for their labour," made the same request. Apollo promised that he would return to them in seven days' time and exhorted them to begin celebrations at once. Forthwith, they obeyed the commands of the god. When, however, the seventh night had come and they had surrendered themselves to sleep, they were found dead. It seems that the god - and the god at that to whom the other deities had conceded the pre-eminent gift of prophecy - judged that death is the best gift to man. There is also a point in the famous statement of Arcesilaus, who said that "of all things which are considered evils, death is the only one, which, when it is absent and awaited, causes great affliction, but which, when it actually comes, brings no sorrow." Indeed, you must not torture yourself and pine with grief because Manuel made an untimely departure from life, as though he could have lived longer. It is not the longest life that is praised, but the one which has been lived with perfect honour. I see Arion and Timotheus consigned to undying glory, not because of their long lives, but because of the supremacy of their art. Men sing the eternal praises of Cicero, not because
he had a long life, but because "he stood on the pinnacle of eloquence and
virtue." It is not broken-down old age that makes Marcellus, Caesar, and count-
less others, famous, but their war-like qualities and glorious deeds. I have
always thought that the best trees were those which bore an abundant and goodly
crop of apples within a few years. This was Manuel's achievement. To single
out just one of his many great accomplishments - for the man's whole life is
to be written elsewhere - he restored so much splendour and dignity to the
Latin language that as long as humane studies are cultivated in Italy, indeed,
in the whole world, undying thanks will be rendered to him and his name will
live on the lips of scholars. Such statues, by which I mean literary portraits
such as this one, will be dedicated to him, as "the oblivion of time will
never obscure." I instance that outstanding funeral oration which my friend
Andrea Zulian, a man of patrician birth and the highest personal merit, recently
composed, with no less wisdom than elegance of style and pleasing genius. You will
remember that a hostelry, not a home, has been granted to us on earth by Nature,
and that it did not come on the condition that we pass a law entitling us to
remain; that a greater power must be obeyed, from which, it is agreed, we have
received the breath of life, on condition that it is promptly returned, without
complaint or loud regrets, when it is required, like some deposit of money.
Complaining is the way of women, and it does not at all suit strong men and
liberally educated scholars. It was, therefore, a good measure passed by the
famous law-giver of the Lycians, who ordered his citizens not to mourn unless
they were dressed in female garments; in all faith, it was an excellent law,
so that they might see that in both posture and dress they had turned into
women and "put off the man." But in any case, it is so much more becoming to
honour, not with tears, groaning or lament, but with praises and un-ending
commendations, a most brilliant man, who is second to none in personal worth, and for whom that worth and wisdom have assuredly opened a path to the ranks of the blessed and the divine council chamber.

But since these things, and much more important things than these, are well known to you, with your outstanding wisdom and pro-eminent and all-embracing knowledge, I think I must call a halt, lest I talk with you too long. I shall therefore make an end, providing that I obtain this request of you: that you bear this misfortune calmly, as you do all things human, and in a manner befitting a brave and eminent man; and that, through reason, learning and deliberation, you expunge that which you will in any case remove with the passage of time, and free yourself from these vexations. Understand that you must spare yourself, not for your own sake alone; for there are very many to whom that health of yours is important, your mother-land, your wife, your children, your friends and your relations, for whom your preservation must be a mighty bulwark.

From Venice 25th July [1415]

1. Manuel Chrysolorus died on the 15th April, 1415. Although he is referred to throughout as John's "father," this is merely a term of respect. Manuel was John's uncle, on his father's side (cf. Letter 2, 1. 20). The letter has been translated in full, partly because it is a fine piece of rhetoric and partly because it is not typical of the general content of the epistolary. The tone is consistently serious, and one cannot doubt that Guarino was writing out of a deep sense of personal loss.

2. 1. 127, "ratio id est Neptunus adest": Guarino interpreted the Aeneid as an allegory, another instance of the medieval cast of mind we sometimes perceive in him. It is, however, fair to say that the Renaissance did very little to remove allegorical thinking, which in many ways has never died out. The tendency to allegorize springs from the view that the aim of all art is to teach a moral lesson. The notion of art for art's sake is not found in Guarino, to whom it would perhaps have been unintelligible. Where art or nature is described, there is always an implication that their "final cause" is the glorification of the Creator.
3. 1. 227, "Cleobim et Bitonem": The story of Cleobis and Bito is told in Plutarch's Consolatio ad Apollonium, which is the main source and model for Guarino's letter. Plutarch does not mention Herodotus. Guarino names him from Cicero. This does not prove that Guarino did not possess a Herodotus (cf. Letter 43, l. 12 which contains a direct citation). But it was probably a mutilated text (cf. Letter 46, l. 16) containing only Books I and II.

4. For a good note on Andrea Zulian, the writer of Chrysoloras' funeral oration, and on the oration itself see Sabbadini, Guarino, Epistolario, XIII, p. 34.

Letter 26  Gasparino Barzizza to Guarino  Padua, 19th Aug. [1415]

1. I entrusted a letter, addressed to Francesco Barbaro and yourself, on the 15th of July, to a skipper whom I did not know well. I do not think it has been delivered. 2. The main theme was my joy at Francesco's return. I asked him to give me first option on those glorious things he has brought from Etruria. I praised your friendship and consummate style in your letters; nothing could be added to either. 3. I suggested that either I should sail to visit you, or you to me, as you had planned. That was the substance of two previous letters, as I remember it. If the letter has not reached you, pass on my words to Francesco, and use your eloquence to persuade him (about the manuscripts from Etruria).

1. Barzizza was the first scholar to run the system of "contubernium" which Guarino later developed at Verona and Ferrara. The school of Barzizza moved from Padua to Milan in 1420 (cf. Letter 193).

2. On the journey of Barbaro to Florence in 1415 see Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini, pp. 29-43.

Letter 27  to Pier Paolo Vergario  Venice, 27th August [1415]

1. My friend Niccolò, the doctor, recently passed on your regards to me. Although I knew your friendship for me and the high level of your scholarship, it was particularly gratifying that you should have explicitly given a glowing
opinion of me to such a man as Niccolò, who is second to none in character and merit. What finer boast in life than that I am pleasing to excellent men who are the objects of praise? 2. He showed no the letter in which you urge so not to allow the memory of our common teacher to perish. But my slender abilities are not equal to such a task, which demands an eloquent orator, writing, not for himself, but for posterity, so that Chrysoloras can be immortalized and made an ideal of goodness for coming generations. 3. One might praise his august motherland, noble family and so on, but vast volumes could be filled by a great writer about his liberality, constancy, loyalty, purity, religiousness, modesty, sanctity, great-heartedness and conscience! Homer took as his hero a bad-tempered, lecherous and cruel savage, a sacker of cities. Think what he could have done with such a hero as Chrysoloras! 4. I will remain mute, lest I obscure the very memory I would keep bright. A poor writer repels his readers, a great one attracts them, tires them out, but never sates them. The task is up to you, whose learning and genius fit you admirably for it. I forecast that you will add lustro to his fame by celebrating his praises, for crowds flocked to see the Zeus at Olympus largely because it had been executed by Phidias.

But I know you will be eager to do it, because of your gratitude to Manuel.

1. Pier Paolo Vergerio, the famous writer on education, whose treatise "De Inconsolabili Moribus" (1404) advocated so many of the ideas which Guarino and Vittorino later put into practice. He called for a return to the Greek pattern of a liberal education by selecting subjects allied to the traditional Quadrivium, e.g. mathematics, music etc. He recommends physical education and the development of good manners and healthy habits.

2. 1 4 "Nicolaus physicus": Niccolò Leonardi, a physician and man of letters. (cf. Letter 10, 1. 14 and Letter 707, 1. 30) He figures prominently in the letters of Vergerio and Travaranzi. In 1399 and 1390 we know he studied at Bologna, and in 1392 he received his doctorate. He was alive in 1445, and highly respected by men such as Guarino and Barbaro.

3. 14 sqq.: Homer is regarded as unfortunate in his hero, and it is proposed in all seriousness that he would have written a greater poen about Chrysoloras! The thought is monstrous, perhaps even comic, to us and it is tempting
to think that Guarino could not have meant what he said. But as the purpose
of literature was primarily "moral," perhaps this is a forlorn hope. The
Renaissance scholars in general took the doctrine of the moral aim of litera-
ture in certain respects more seriously than the ancients, not one of whom
could have thought Chrysolora a better epic prospect than Achilles. I think
this is one of the places where the difference between modern and Renaissance,
or rather humanistic taste is most manifest.

Letter 23 to Cristoforo (possibly Scarpa)  [Venice, about September 1415]
1. I wrote another letter to you which gave all the little news there is.
Alardo will deliver this one. He is from Verona and is the captain's secretary.
I have also entrusted to him that book of Plutarch's Histories, which you will
get from him 2. I want you to congratulate our friend Andrea Zulian on his
wedding, which recently took place. He took, or perhaps "was taken" is a
better term, by an excellent woman of honourable but not patrician stock.
She is rich, if that matters, and not bad-looking, although Zulian himself
calls her shapeless rather than ugly. But I regard female charms as skin-
deep. Character and virtue are abiding possessions. Her name is the suspi-
cious one of Theodore. The Euboeans will tell you what it means.

The addressee was obviously in Greece, probably in the service of some
Veneitant magistrate, but there is nothing to prove that it was Cristoforo
Scarpa, except possibly the care Guarino takes to describe Theodore's physical
charms. Scarpa had an eye for female allurement (See Letter 73). Letter 33
(1. 74), note 1 may lend support to the identification of the addressee with
Scarpa.

Letter 22 to Floro Valerio  [Venice, c. 1415]
1. I know you have a good reason for wanting to know about diphthongs, for
this is vital to orthography and a great help to the reader. Unless I do as
you ask, I will be convicted of ingratitude, which, Xenophon tells us, was
the worst crime of all to the Persians. 2. Since I see, even in old manuscripts,
short syllables written falsely as diphthongs, or the use of diphthongs alto-
gether done away with, I hardly know any source from which I can extract an account of them, or examples, especially since you are in such a hurry. 3.
I will, however, write down at one hectic sitting all I can remember about diphthongs from my own Latin reading and that little of Greek I learned from Chrysoloras. I start with a definition: a diphthong consists of two vocables, e.g. Troezen, Troezemus.

This letter is the introduction to Guarino's important treatise on the diphthongs. The treatise was published several times (e.g., in 1485, Venice, Bernardinus de Penaliss, Eam 6115, where it is preceded by the "Regulae grammaticae"). It was also attached to the "Vocabularius breviloquus" (Facile, c.d., MCCCLXXI) and this gave rise to the attributions in later editions of the "Breviloquus" to Guarino.

In the Middle Ages the use of diphthongs was abandoned, and their use only gradually returned during the Renaissance. Many of the humanists themselves opposed the practice, or show inconsistency of usage in their own writings, notably Poggio Bracciolini. For a fuller discussion of the Guarinian treatise and for the orthographical studies of the humanists generally, see Sabbadini, In Scuola e cli studi di Guarino pp. 47-52, and also R. L. Ulrich, The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script, Rome 1965, pp. 70-73, and passim. Ulrich makes the point that Chrysoloras who came to Florence in 1395 probably the first to stimulate interest in diphthongs with Salutati, Guarino (and possibly Niccolò). This bears out what Guarino says in Letter 39 and explains in part that Guarino means when he claims such a prominent place for Chrysoloras in the restoration of learning to Italy (cf. Letters 3, 5, 6, 7 and 25 in particular). Had it not been for the practical contributions to humanism made by such men as Chrysoloras and Guarino, with such treatises as this one on the diphthongs, the movement started by Petrarch, Boccaccio and Salutati could not have progressed in such a rapid or spectacular way. Bocca's "Orthographia" (1413) was almost certainly influenced by Guarino's work (cf. Sabbadini, In scuola e cli studi, p. 49).

Letter 30 to Giannoni (Corradino) Venice [1415]

1. I took an intense delight in your letter, and mark the day I received it "with the better stone," as Persius says. It is both eloquent and witty and accords me no small praise, a sign of your high opinion of me. Such praise is all the more impressive in that it proceeds from such an important and wise person as you. Everyone loves to hear their own praises, even if they are
unfounded, but all the same so, if they come from men of good character and refined taste. Themistocles expressed a desire for praise. 2. I do not think you are deceiving me, even if there is a definite place for jesting amongst friends. You are deceiving yourself, because love was appropriately painted as blind by the ancients, and Theocritus says that love often mistakes deformity for beauty. In any case, the splendid way you pronounce and read will cover any ineptitudes in my style. Hortensius, who was second only to Cicero, is said by Quintilian to have spoken so well that speeches of his that sounded splendid in delivery were not so impressive in print. 3. Let us come to an agreement: for as many letters as I send you, repay me with a hen. I will soothe your ears, you my appetite. You will not induce nausea, because you are too good a physician, and anything of yours must be sweet and wholesome. I embrace neither the Stoic nor the Peripatetic philosophy, but that which follows nature for good living. I do not call this the Epicurean or Cynic persuasion and I abhor Cicero, Lentulus and Fabius, Macrobius and Doctius, who are "thick" authors. I like the general Vitellius, Capio (?) Callus, Perdiccas, the priests of Cybales and the younger Cinesiades.

1. Giacomo Corradino, a Venetian physician who practised at Padua. He had sympathies with the Venetian and Paduan humanists. He died 26th August 1416.

2. 65-75 (section 3 above): These humorous touches are typical of Guarino's lighter vein. He does not, of course, mean that he abhors Cicero, etc. or rejects the harsher kinds of philosophy. The meaning is that he likes good food, such as veal (=Vitellius) partridge (=Perdiccas) etc. and rejects chick- pen (=Cicero), beans (=Fabius) etc. The names of authors are puns on Latin words for food. For fuller discussion, see Guarino and Humour. Such puns are not confined to Guarino; and Sabbadini adduces a striking passage from Pier Candido Decembrio's invective against Panomita (1433); which uses much the same puns on foodstuffs; one extract seems to me to give a clue that Panomita was, in fact, a homosexual, and helps to explain Guarino's concern (see Letter ) that he should not be appointed tutor to a boy, for in that letter Guarino declines to be specific: "...qui alias Ciceroine in ore gestitare, te autem Carneades in podicem glorieris admittere...." The pun on Carneades, of course, is from Latin caro, carnis = meat.
Letter 31 to Giannino (Corradino)  

1. Do not call this a "letter" in case you feel obliged to send a gift in return. I cannot thank you enough for the gift you sent, although it was quite unnecessary. I must insist I was joking in that last letter, but you took me literally. 2. Regards to Alfonso.

Letter 32 [Giarino? to Giannino Corradino]  

When I read in Giovanni's letter (Johannes Caucus) that you were ill, I was most upset; but I read on and notice you have recovered, and my sorrow was lifted. But please write personally and re-assure me you are in good health.

Giovanni Cocco was a pupil of Barzizza, so the letter is very likely not Giarino's but Barzizza's, and should perhaps be dated 1413, which was a year of pestilence.

Letter 33 to Andrea Zulian  

Venice 5th November [1415]

1. Recently I had been feeling very lonely after your departure and was missing your good company and discussions on topics of common interest; so I fled to your library and there tried to recapture the memory of our jests, our disputes and our writing there. 2. I read your works in preference to Cicero, because nothing seemed to have the same charm at that time, and I knew just how excellent your productions are. As it was, I came upon a speech which you would have delivered at your uncle's funeral, if his will had not expressly forbidden this. I think the will should be ignored and your uncle given the praise he deserves, for every man loves praise, and it is a characteristic of a great soul not to despise the approbation of famous men. 3. That you are a nobleman is not unique; but your education does raise you above other men in a very real
sense, and here is your opportunity to be an example to young Venetians. 4. I intend, therefore, to circulate the speech in your absence. I am doing this for your own good, so excuse my liberty. 5. Regards to Bartolommeo di Montepulciano and Poggio at Constance. Remind the Bishop of Venice of our friend Cristoforo. The Barbari, Daniele Vitturi, Donato and Flore send their good wishes.

1. 1. 75. Christophorus nostrum This is definitely Cristoforo Scarpa, the schoolmaster who taught in Venice, Vicenza, Padua, Milan and Treviso. He was alive in 1451 and not later than 1458. (See A. Segarizzi, "Cristoforo de Scarpa" in N. Archiv. Veneto n.s. XXIX [1915] pp. 209–220.)

2. Daniele Vitturi was also a pupil of Barzizza, with Zulian. He is frequently mentioned in Barzizza's correspondence.


Letter 34 to Ugo (Mazzolato) Venice 4th November 1415

1. Angelo brought a letter from you from Aquila, with which I was delighted for the affection and good-will it evinces towards me. I shall respond to such love. I am not surprised you ask for my works, because love distorts our critical sense; as Theocritus says, "Love often thinks that ugly things are beautiful." 2. When I met Angelo, it was as if we were old friends. He came with a good opinion of me. Beware of giving people a false sense of my abilities! I was delighted to make his acquaintance but could not spend much time with him, as my literary obligations are heavy. 3. G. Zilioli referred those verses to me on your behalf. I will tell you about them: when I was in Florence, I showed someone how to interpret the Greek and he wrote the literal translation in Latin above the lines. I have been called the author...
of this travesty and it embarrasses me greatly, for it is only a verbal guide. I burn every copy I come by, and will do the same with this copy of yours if you agree. 4. I will do as you ask about those Greek passages. I shall send you something directly that will please you. 5. Thank you for the gift of the quills. 6. I saw a letter of Pietro da Loglio's, but his style is obscure and unattractive. It is un-Ciceronian in its use of rare words and its difficulty. Pietro's "letter" is a misnomer, because letters, by ancient definition, are intended to tell those who are absent what has been going on. Keep what I say about Pietro's barbaric and tortuous style to yourself. 7. The meaning of "hypomnemata" is, I think, "memoranda" but I do not think it is very good Greek. 8. Postscript: After writing this letter, it occurred to me a better plan not to send the Greek passages from Valarius Maximus to you. I can do better. Send me your copy with a trusted courier and I shall insert them personally, as a "pledge of affection." I am also sending you a certain creation, and two letters, in praise of Manuel Chrysoloras. If you like them, I will have copies made for you, but send these ones back, as I have no other exemplar. My regards to Bartolomeo de Mainontis.

1. Ugo Mazzolato was chancellor of the marquis of Ferrara, and Guarino wrote frequent letters to him. For an interesting discussion of Mazzolato see Bertoni, Guarino da Verona, 1921, p. 23, 24.

2. Giacomo Zilioli was secretary of the marquis. He became a patron of letters, and as such is often mentioned in the Letters. It is possible that he gave financial assistance to Guarino, particularly then his own sons were studying at Verona under Guarino. It is probable that he came in contact with Guarino during one of the many visits paid by the Estense court or court officials to Venice, e.g. in April 1415 when celebrations were held in honour of the new doge, Tocno Mocenugo.

3. 1. 29, "camina illa." A specimen of these Greek verses with the literal translation written above is preserved for us, together with short explanatory comments in Latin, by Leonardo Botta, under the title "Ex variis doctissimi viri Guarini Veronensis lectionibus tum sermonibus lecta." They are proverbial
verses drawn from Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, and ps. Phocylides. The same collection, with a few variations, was transmitted by Guarino's pupil, Pandolfo Colonna. They served only as an aid to Guarino's pupils in learning the elements of Greek.

4. 1. 54, "Petri vero dougo: Another ruinous and vituperative pun (scire = to bellow, of cattle) intended to scorn the pro-humanistic prose of Salutati's famous tutor. Such remarks show that Guarino was conscious of a difference between himself and scholars of a previous generation; but the difference is still felt to be one of Latin style. Implicit, however, in the conscious change of to "studia humanitatis" was the notion that one inevitably became more "humanus," a better "man," because possessed of the true wisdom and teachings of the ancients. (cf. also "Life of Guarino", sec. 49).

5. 1. 99, "Bartolomeo de Mainentis": a Ferrarese doctor.

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Letter 35 to Vgo (Mazzolato) Venice 9th November [1415]

1. I rejoice that we are friends, and also that this friendship is well-known, for it has given me a reason to write. Letters are the most pleasant fruits of friendship. A certain nobleman of great attainments has asked me on the strength of my friendship with you, to make sure of the delivery of two letters, one to Bartolomeo de Mainentis, the other bound for Parma. 2. A few days ago I wrote you a letter, which, Giovanni Antonio, the bookseller, is bringing to you. Treat him as a friend, for he has done so many favours. He is also bringing a certain funeral oration on Manuel Chrysoloras. You will admire its refined diction and contents. 3. I hear that you have a carefully drawn plan of Ferrara, and if so I should like to have it, for such a thing is very helpful to our knowledge of history.

1. 35, "Ferrariae situm copiorem quam diligenter": This painting, or drawing, is obviously a ground-plan of the city, rather than an artistic view. Guarino seems to have no interest in painting, as such, and elsewhere refers to literature as the supreme artistic expression (Letter 86). The mentions of art and artists are comparatively rare, and mainly concern classical figures such as Phidias or Praxitelen (Letters 335, 854 & passim) although he does seem to have entertained some respect for Pisanello (See Letters 336, 54 and notes). The use to which he proposes to put this drawing of Ferrara is purely utilitarian, and not decorative.
Letter 36 to Ugo (Mazzolato) Venice 25th November 1415

1. Please do not call me "father" but "friend." The former is a title to which I have no right, since it has traditionally been reserved only for the greatest of men. 2. You ask for a letter a month from me. Before I commit myself I must point out that you must not expect a splendid style, which is the province of those masters of the best studies. But I can offer you many proofs of my friendship. 3. Do not worry about the loss of your letters to me. I never saw the courier; but we shall make up for this in conversation. 4. Reply to all the points in my letter when you have time. 5. You will find a copyist's error in the introduction to that speech, about the second page, where "et ad unius libertatem redacta eximia" should be corrected to "et ad unius voluntatem."

1. The speech is Zulian's oration on Chrysoloras (Letter 35), because the text of that speech gives "voluntatem" in the codices.

2. 1. 44,"delatorum nusquam vidi": There are frequent complaints in the letters about the unreliability of couriers. In the absence of a government postal system, the delivery of letters had to be entrusted to friends, or travellers going in the right direction. Human nature being what it is, many letters were never delivered, either through negligence or greed. Manuscripts of a famous man could sometimes be sold to unscrupulous collectors.

Letter 37 to Ugo Mazzolato Venice, 29th November 1415

1. There is no real news, but a short letter may find a welcome with you. I want you to know I reciprocate your affection, which is easy to do and a characteristic of mankind. 2. I have not forgotten your wishes, which you expressed before I left you. Whenever I get back, I wrote about those Greek sources that should be inserted into the text of Valerius Maximus, and had them sent to me. Do not hesitate to ask any other favour. 3. When you have finished with Plutarch's "De pueris educandis" please return it, as I have only the one copy.
Letter 33 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  

Venice, 23rd December [1415]

1. Before I left Padua for Venice, I heard that you were complaining of my neglect. I am hurt at the accusation that I had forgotten you, for I am always thinking about you. Blame those pestilential couriers who never deliver letters. I know two letters ought to have been delivered; and to these I added another two, a letter of Barbaro's and another of mine. Tell me if you receive them. 2. Post-script: Remember those pictures which you promised to send me; and if you have any Chronicles of Ferrara, I should be glad to see them also.

1. 1. 2, "ex Patavio": There must have been a meeting between Guarino and Ugo at Padua.

2. 1. 24, "illarum picturarum": In Letter 35, Guarino had asked for a ground-plan of Ferrara. This is probably what he means by "those pictures," although it seems that there were more than one. Mazzolato could have given him this information at Padua.

Letter 32 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  

Venice [January 1415]

1. Today I received a letter from you through a Florentine courier, and derived great pleasure from it. 2. I was, however, annoyed that you gave no sign of having received my letters. If you are too busy to tell me, I shall write less, and so avoid hindering you. But if the reason is negligence, I cannot excuse you. I do not demand long letters, or many of them. 3. But I can see the way things have gone: the courier is waiting, you seize pen and paper and forget details in the rush. Write the letter first, then find a courier. 4. Address your letters to me "to the Lord Zaccaria Barbaro," and they will be expeditiously delivered. 5. I want to know that has been done about Zulian's funeral oration on Chrysoloros. Send it back when you have had a copy made. 6. Thank you for the trouble you are taking over searching for the Chronicle of
Letter 40 to Ugo Mazzolato

Venice, 3rd January [1415]

1. Your last letter praised me to the skies, so I have achieved an ambition I have always had, to win the approval of famous men. Continue to praise me; it is the duty of a friend. 2. Love, however, often beholds beauty in ugliness, and I do not deceive myself that the praise you accord me is truly deserved. I know my strengths and limitations. 3. I am delighted that Scarpa, the modern Priscian, has asked kindly for me. He may call me the successor of Cicero; but I am far from Ciceronian excellence. "Cicer" (chickpea) is a more fitting name for me! 4. Hereewith the Greek passages to be inserted in Valerius Maximus. 5. Post-script: I forgot to say that I have kept your Plutarch, and sent you mine, so that we may remember each other more often as we read.

1.35. "Plutarchum": It is not clear what book of Plutarch he means. If it is the "De pueris educandis", we must assume Mazzolato had acquired a copy since 29th November 1415, for in Letter 37 of that date, Guarino requested his copy back, as he had no other exemplar. Mazzolato may have sent the copy back to Guarino who could have had a copy made at Venice. He would therefore have kept the copy intended for Mazzolato, and sent his own original one back. Sábbadini suggests a copy of the Lives may be meant.

Letter 41 to Ugo (Mazzolato)

Venice, 6th January [1416]

1. I recall that you once asked me to send you a letter a month. I could not refuse such an affectionate friend, especially since you enjoy this genre of literature. Besides, I know you do not look for faults in my work. 2. We must thank our friend Giovanni Antonio, who reminded me of my obligation.
and asked me for the payment of one letter. Here is my small offering. Remember that Plato tells us that Zeus loved the offerings of the Spartans not because they were large (for the other Greeks gave more) but because they were made in a spirit of devotion. 3. I asked Giovanni Antonio to take care of certain Greek manuscripts I am hoping to get from Bologna. 4. Then you have secured a copy of Andrea Zulian's speech, send it back, as I have no other copy. 5. Regards to Bartolomeo the physician.

1. Jl, "quos ex Boronia opto": None of the resident scholars at Bologna was likely to have had manuscripts for sale. It is preferable to suppose that Guarino was buying from a wandering humanist, probably Ariesa, who returned a little before this date from the East. In 1417 he sold a Thucydides to Niccoli (Letter 85).

Letter 42 to Ugo (Mazzolato) Venice 28th February [1417]

1. Your love for me has outrun your judgment; but even so the praise you give me in this letter, and to other people, is just what I would expect from a friend. I am not, however, deceived, for I have a just estimate of my own capacities. 2. My letters have been less frequent, but Francesco Barbaro will tell you how very busy I have been with literary work. 3. Recently I began to list the gifts you have sent me, in imitation of the Persians, who never greet their king with empty hands. There is no need to continue in this practice, for all I ever want is pure friendship. 4. Do not hurry with that speech. Copy it at your leisure. 5. Consecond me to Niccolò Perondolo, the lawyer. 6. I have made a friend of that Francesco, whom you may command so much to do. His fine character makes friendship easy, and I shall help him in any way I can. 7. My regards to Bartolomeo de Mainantis. 8. Post-script: I intended to write to Perondolo, but the sudden departure of the courier has compelled me to put off writing. I shall reply to him when I can find time.
Letter 43 [Guarino] to Niccolò Perondolo

[Venice 1416]

1. I realize that I have received a great measure of praise from you, because, being a learned jurist, you do not give anything but just praise. I thank you for making me universally famous as a refined scholar, although I am in fact only a rough and untutored fellow. I thought of the Egyptian king Lycurgus who, as Herodotus tells us, devised a novel and splendid burial for his daughter. He had a wooden cow constructed, placed his daughter's corpse within, and then covered it with gold. 2. According to you, I have something in common with Cicero, but I am as unlike Cicero as night to day. But I venerate and worship him and "follow grovelling in his steps." 3. I take pleasure in your pursuit of Greek studies, for Greek is essential to a true understanding of the Latin tongue. All the liberal arts, all the sciences have Greek names. It is a good precept of Horace's to explore the Greek models night and day. The muse gave the Greeks genius and eloquence. Almost all the ancients knew Greek, so it was considered a great short-coming in Marius that he was ignorant of it. I often heard Chrysoloras say that learned men began to die out in Italy when Greek studies began to languish. You can read of this in Andrea Zulian's funeral speech on Manuel Chrysoloras. (The letter is unfinished.)

1. 12 "etud Herodotum": The story of Lycurgus, so neatly used by Guarino, is found in Herodotus II, 129. See note to Letter 25 l. 227.

2. 1. 23 "vestigia prouus adoro": The quotation is taken from Statius, Thebais XII, 817, the famous passage where Statius disclaims any parity with Virgil, and declares himself content to follow adoringly in the master's footsteps. In the same way, Guarino disclaims any parity with Cicero, but declares himself a disciple and imitator of the ancient orator. The early humanists did not attempt to write purely Cicernian prose, as did the Ciceronianists of the later Renaissance, such as Cardinal Embo who rejected every word and phrase for which there was no authority in Cicero. To Guarino, Latin was a living language and many words and constructions are used which are not found in Cicero.
3. 11. 48-49, "spud nostros defecisse viros, cum greeca defecero studia": The notion is here implicit that the Middle Ages was a rough, uncivilized age. Guarino had little respect for scholarship in the centuries just before his own (see, for instance, Letter 34 note 4, etc.), and therefore could not believe that any "real man" (vir) existed before the restoration of classical learning, which he tends to identify with Chrysoloras' appearance in Italy. He seems unsure of the great proselytizing genius of Petrarca and Boccaccio; and this may be due, in part, to their ignorance of Greek. It would also explain why Chrysoloras is again and again exalted as the chief restorer of learning to Italy. Woodward was of the opinion that Greek was of less importance to Guarino than to Vittorino; but this seems at least questionable in view of such statements as the above (11. 48-49).

Greek studies began to languish in Italy during the later Roman Empire, although they never entirely faded out. Boethius was probably the last scholar who could be called an expert in Greek. During the Middle Ages it was practically non-existent in Western Europe, although we hear of such polyglots as Grossofede. It is unlikely, however, that even Groccofede knew much more than the Greek alphabet. In Italy, there were no experts in Greek before the arrival of Chrysoloras. Leontius Pilatus who translated the Homerica poems into Latin for Boccaccio may be discounted, for he was a Sicilian hirerling, of little colour or character, and incapable of initiating any movement towards spreading Greek language and culture in Italy.

Letter 44 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  
[Venice 1416]

1. I have no news except that I am well. Look after yourself. 2. Please send this enclosed letter to Reggio. It is a reply to a man whose acquaintance I recently made.

Letter 45 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  
[Venice 1417]

1. I see you no longer reply promptly to my letters. Not one of my last three has produced a reply, and you seem "more silent than a fish." This I regret, but do not yet resent; since there may be an explanation. Continued silence, however, will render me careless about writing in future. 2. Francesco Barbaro is writing to Federico Spezina about a certain codex of his. If Spezina gives it to you, please send it on to us as soon as possible. Such were Barbaro's instructions in the event of Spezina failing to find a messenger.
1. There seems to have been a falling off of interest on Ugo's part in the correspondence. Despite the exaggerated compliments each showered upon the other, I suspect that there was no real rapport between the two men. The letters that passed from Guarino to Mazzolato lack the warmth that is so obvious in those to Barbaro or Martino Rizzi, for example. It is possible that the main-spring of Guarino's interest in Mazzolato was a desire for self-advancement. He was forever attempting to win the friendship of influential men. In the case of Mazzolato, no doubt Guarino saw he was achieving very little, and the tone of this letter is consequently blunt and indifferent.

2. 15 "Federicus Speciosa": Specia was a Ferrarese, and an agent of the Marquis d' Este. In 1417 and 1418 he was in service at Florence and travelled frequently between Venice and Florence, as we learn from two letters of Traversari to Barbaro. Specia was something of a literary dilettante. At Florence he met Aria, who wrote to Traversari 26th October, 1424, "I wanted left with you my copy of Quintilian's 'De oratoria institutione,' which I had lent to Federico Specia, who was at that time doing business here (Florence) for the Marquis d'Este" (Traversari Epistolae XXIV, 55). The Quintilian text is the complete version discovered by Foggio in 1416. In July 1425 and thereafter, Specia was in the service of the Visconti, if it is the same Specia who is referred to in the Milanese Archives of that date.

Letter 16 Casparino Darsizza to Guarino Padua 19th December 1451

1. I apologize for being so slow about sending these introductions to the precepts of Cicero. It is really my copyist who is to blame. 2. I have not sent the introduction which deals with samples of humour intended to divert and refresh the jury, because this kind of humour depends more on actions than words, and in any case I am no humorist. I did not want to cut a sorry dash in your eyes, for you are yourself a very witty individual. 3. As for the other examples, I realize they will tell you nothing new to you, and I do not expect a critical appreciation. Do doubt you wanted to borrow some useful treat from me to keep your students busy while you are translating Herodotus. 4. Regards to Barbaro.

1. It is interesting that Darsizza refers to Guarino in the matter of wit, calling him "hominis facetissimi." The importance of this letter is that it suggests Guarino had a reputation amongst the humanists as a wit.
2. l. 2, "exordia illa in praecipua Ciceronis": This work of Parzinno's contains examples, in the Ciceronian manner, of sentences with which a speech could begin. Sabbadini examined it in Cod. 2006 f. 79 of the Biblioteca Governativa di Lucca.

3. l. 16, "in transferenda historiae greca": i.e. Herodotus, because of a fragment of the translation has survived (Book I, 1-71 in cod. Class. di Ravenna 203) and Guarino did not try his hand on any other Greek historian. There is no reason to believe that the translation went even as far as Book II. In 1427 Panormita sent Guarino a Herodotus and there is reason to believe from the remarks in Letter 391, l. 22 that this was the first time Guarino had the whole text at his disposal.

Letter 47 to Bartolomeo da Montepulciano

Venice, 5th February [1415]

1. Your letter, and especially its tribute to Manuel Chrysoloras, gave me much pleasure. I think of Manuel almost every day with emotion, for I find his loss irreparable. There cannot be anyone who has not heard of his wisdom, fairness, restraint, liberality, integrity, compassion etc. Andrea Julian's "noble" oration covers all these points. I would say only that I am not sorry for Manuel, whose virtue has ensured him a place in heaven, but for myself, who have lost him. My grief is sincere. 2. You asked me to have a copy made for you of the work in which, so it is alleged, I expressed adverse opinions about the translations of modern times, and collected the mistakes of the translators. Believe me, I have no call to do such a thing! I do not consider it honourable to rejoice in other men's disgrace, especially if they have been fellow-pupils of mine under Chrysoloras. To take just one example, would you not agree that Leonardo Bruni is not merely an imitator of Cicero, but Cicero in person? I therefore deny the mischievous charge that I collected all the errors into a book, like Philip of Macedon, when he put all his useless troops into a settlement called Νεότιος. I read other men's works, not to find faults, but to eradicate faults in myself, and to profit from their instruction.
Please protect me from such accusations. 3. If you want any of my translations, you have only to ask. I did not prepare them as showpieces, but only as a means of self-improvement. I am like a "goose amongst swans".

The complete list is: Lucian's "Calumnia" (a short piece in which I served my apprenticeship); Plutarch's Lives of Flaminius (sic), Marcellus, Alexander and Caesar, and Coriolanus. Also a polished work on the education of children. After these, I translated Dio of Syracuse's dispute with Brutus, and sent it to Francesco Barbaro, the Latin and Greek scholar of this city. 4. Regards to the cardinal.

1. This letter clearly indicates how Guarino's reputation was spreading in humanistic circles. To be the object of calumny is a sure sign of fame. It also shows that there was a fair amount of jealousy amongst the humanists. It is to Guarino's credit that, like Vittorino, he never yielded to rancour.

2. The list of translations is important. The fact that Guarino interrupts the list of Lives to mention [pseudo] Plutarch's "De liberis educandis" seems to Sabbadini to suggest that the list is chronological. The pseudo-Isocrates' "Ad Democricum" is not mentioned, because it was circulated anonymously (Letter 2).

3. Guarino consistently writes "Flaminius" for "Flamininus".

Letter 48 to Leonardo Teronda Venice, 22nd February [1416]

1. Never believe that our friendship is one of the common stamp, which languishes on both sides when there is a physical separation. I should be much relieved to think that you know my feelings have not diminished during the long gap in our correspondence. It has not impaired our mutual affection, which is indissoluble, since it is founded upon a true assessment of each other's worth. 2. The news you give that my fame is spreading is a divine banquet to me. You may deceive others in praising me (and I encourage you to
continue to do so) but I am not deceived! There is nothing more desirable than
the praise of great men. 3. As for the books you asked me for, I think I
have already covered all you want to know in my letter to our friend Bartolommeo
(Letter 47). I never translated Ptolemy's "Cosmographia." 4. Regards to
my good friend Poggio.

Leonardo Toregna was born in Verona, and was probably the same age, or about
the same age as Guarino. His career began as a notary in Verona, from which
he passed into the papal service and ultimately to that of the Visconti.

Letter 49  Poggio to Guarino  
Constance, 15th March [1415]

1. Three days ago I met Bartolommeo da Montepulciano, who told me he had re-
ceived a letter from you, with the funeral oration on Chrysoloras by Andrea
Zulian enclosed. 2. You wondered in the letter that Bartolommeo should have
believed you capable of collecting all the errors made by modern translators
from Greek (cf. Letter 47). I, too, was incensed at the calumny and asked
him where he heard it. He claims that it originated with a Veronese citizen.
3. I hoped to visit you, but I am at present involved in a lawsuit. 4. Re-
gards to F. Barbaro. I should like a letter from one of you.

Letter 50  to Gian Nicola (Salerno)  
Venice, 15th May [1415]

1. A few days ago I heard that you have been designated chief magistrate of
Naples. I foresee that many will congratulate you in respect of the high
office you have attained, the crowds of lackeys and henchmen, the bousing
and scraping, and the respectful observances of great and humble alike. I
do not discount the importance of all that, but I think it is of secondary
importance to the actual work of a magistrate, and therefore congratulate you
and our state in another way. 2. For you have now obtained a field of action
in which to display your honesty, loyalty, determination, restraint, justice,
common sense, diligence and religiousness. Let your performance exceed expec-
tation. Now you will put into service that treasure house of humane learning
which you have accumulated from boyhood. With the example before you of the achieve-
ments of illustrious men, you will seek virtue and glory, and count the other ap-
purtenances of fame of comparatively no importance. With your learning and
manifold merits, you will bring distinction upon the Salerno family and upon
our state. I am confident the Mantuans will want to prolong your tenure of
office indefinitely; they will praise you in the words of their own hero:
"that happy times brought you to birth? Was great parents bore such a man?
...Your honour, name and fame will forever remain." Go, therefore, into
office happily, "and by your deeds, raise our Verona above the stars." 3.
Barbaro sends his best wishes and congratulations. Please convey my regards
to Aurisalco and Battista (Condrata).

1. Gian Nicola Salerno: The Salerno family came originally from Pistoia.
Salerno carried one Francesco, referred to in Lettera 177 1. 53 and 199, 1. 52.
His full name was Giovanni (or Gian) Nicola Salerno di Dolceo. Raised to
equestrian rank 27th April, 1404 by the Carrara, he was thereafter a leading
figure in politics, both in Verona and elsewhere (cf. Bideggo, In libri e
manoscritti,[Verona 1883]p. 23 sqq.). In 1416 he was elected as podestà of
Mantua, as we see from Letter 50, returning to Verona in 1417. Thereafter,
he was "capitano" at Florence, "podestà" at Bologna and Siena, and finally, a
senator at Rome. His prose compositions consist of the customary speeches
delivered on the assumption and deposition of office. Many manuscripts of
these speeches are extant. He was also author of two sonnets in the vulgare,
and some Latin verse.

2. 49f Auriscalco? Bartolomeo Auriscalco (Recalco). In a document of 1405
he is described as a notary and resident citizen of Verona. In October 1421
he was in charge of supplies for the city.

3. The office of chief magistrate (podestà) was, like that of "captain"
(capitano) normally open only to outsiders. The communes had introduced these
professional executives after the failure of the so-called 'consular' phase. The podesta was elected for a period of six or twelve months to administer justice and the civil service. Many promising young men deliberately trained for such posts, as a type of which Salerno is a notable example. For a clear discussion of the transition from the consular phase to the age of the podesta, with particular reference to Florence see F. Schevill, *History of Florence* (1936), p. 87-93. The office of 'capitano' was somewhat that of a garrison commander, that of podesta rather like a "city manager" (Schevill). For a history of the offices of 'podesta' and 'capitano' see Trevelyan, *A short history of the Italian people* (London 1956), pp. 83, 103-4, 124, 129-30.

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**Letter 51 to Gian Nicola Salerno**  
[Verona, May or June 1416]

you will be amused to hear that I have turned fowler, a somewhat bizarre role for me! Today I was gifted with a beautiful hawk by a close friend. His motive was the same as Alexander's when he sent fifty golden talents to Xenocrates, not because the latter, whose one interest was learning, needed such princely gifts, but to enable him to be liberal towards his friends. When I received this hawk, therefore, I at once thought of you. 2. I do not know how I can have it sent to you, because there is no-one to take it. I should be grateful if you send someone to collect it, because then I will know you do not despise my humble gift. There is as much credit in gracefully receiving gifts as in making them.

1. Sabbadini dates this letter as above, because Guarino fled to Verona at this time because of plague in Venice.

2. Guarino had no use for a hawk. The method by which he disposes of it is clever and tactful, and neatly rounded with a classical story.

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**Letter 52 to Niccolo Leonardo**  
[Padua, 27th June 1416]

1. Recently I came here from my native city, and found your letter written in Greek. Your progress has been remarkable, as I can see from the polished style of the letter. 2. This plague has interfered with
with your Greek studies, but we shall make up for the loss. 3. I thank our friend Pietro (Tommasi) for the gift of that book. If I can find some peace and quiet, I may send him a translation of one of the "Lives", for it is fitting to return the first-fruits to the sower. 4. Postscript: I have told Francesco Barbaro that you may have those Greek manuscripts.

Pietro Tommasi was staying at that time in Candia (Letter 23) from which he sent a codex of Plutarch's Lives through Leonardo to Guarino. In 1420 he also acquired from Candia the Moralia of Plutarch (cf. Letter 24).

Letter 23 Niccolo Leonardo to Guarino Venice 30th June 1416

1. Let this one letter suffice for two, one to Barbaro, the other to you, my Greek teacher. I thank you for your teaching, and Barbaro for his service to me in acquiring these Greek medical codices on my behalf. 2. Thank you for correcting the Greek in my letter, both in grammar and accentuation. I profit from reading your letter and realize the opportunity I am missing due to your absence. You promise to make up what I have missed, but delay is dangerous. 3. I include Manuel Chrysoloras' epitaph. 4. Please send back a copy of that note I wrote in Greek in the margin of Libanius.

Letter 54 to Jacopo de Fabris [Padua, beginning of July 1416]

1. I recall that after our recent conversation about Manuel Chrysoloras,
I left after promising to send you the epitaph of Manuel Chrysoloras which I recently recited before a select gathering of our citizens. I am delighted to comply, because it will provide a good opportunity to write to you, and to discuss Chrysoloras. 

2. I have often tried to write some commemoration of this great man, but I have succumbed to the difficulty of adequately praising his family, his native land, his wisdom, eloquence, etc. I have no wish to diminish his fame by my fumbling. Those who knew him would say I was under-scoring his merits, those who did not know him would call me a liar. 

3. On the other hand, it is better that my abilities should be condemned rather than my wishes and intentions. If I get the time, and decide to write in honour of Chrysoloras, I shall let you know. I know you would be pleased to receive a laudation of Manuel, my teacher and your one-time guest, because of the obvious pleasure you derived from Andrea Zulian's speech. I intend some day to write a complete biography. 

4. Here is the epitaph Pier Paolo Vergerio sent to me from Constance. "Before the altar lies the Lord Manuel Chrysoloras, knight of Constantinople, and descendant of an ancient family of Romans who migrated with the Emperor Constantine:"
most learned, wise and good man who died at the time of the Council of Con-
stance amid such esteem that he was by all men considered worthy of the highest
office of priesthood. He was buried on the 16th of April in the year 1415 of
the Lord made Flesh."

1. Jacopo de Fabris: Doctor of Laws, was the son of Bartolommeo de Fabris,
also a Doctor of Laws. In 1405, he was one of the representatives chosen to
present the Act of Submission to Venice. On 24th February 1408, he was ap-
pointed Public Lawyer of Venice.

2. 69, "hospitio tui": It appears that Chrysoloras was a guest in Jacopo's
home during the move of the Curia to Constance. The papal entourage left
Bologna 1st October 1414 and following the valley of the Adige, passed through
Verona. Since a move like this involved a large amount of equipment and
personnel, it was considered a moral obligation of the citizens to provide
accommodation for the court, commensurate, if possible, with rank. The fact
that Chrysoloras was Jacopo's guest on this occasion does not necessarily
imply friendship between the two men.

3. "vita...explicare mens causet": Despite this pious intention, Guerrino
never wrote a biography of Chrysoloras. The Life of Chrysoloras by Pontico
Virgilio in the first printed edition of the 'Proterata' is a poor affair.
Indeed, it was not until 1941 that an adequate biography was written, by
G. Cencelli; I Dotti Bizantini e le Origini dell'Umanesimo, vol I: Innolo
Crisolora (Florence 1941).

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Letter 52 to Zaccaria Barbaro

[Padua, end of June, 1416]

1. Three days ago on returning from Verona, I received your letter, enabling
me to see and hear you, and reap the fruits of the hard work we have done in
improving your mind. Like farmers, we can take pleasure in all the sweat
expended. 2. To help you perfect these studies, come quickly with your wife
and family to us. That could possibly be keeping you in pestilence-stricken
Venice? It would remove the anxiety your brother and I are feeling for your
safety. 3. Thank you for so punctiliously carrying out the requests I made
in my letter. It remains now to ask Master Pietro again for my Cicero. When
Master Antonio Pisano left this city, he promised to deliver my Cicero to
Pietro. Bring it back with you when you come. 4. Send for Vittorino, if he
is still in Venice, explain my financial position, and ask him for the money he owes me. I would not have troubled him, had I not needed it. 5. Hannibal has arrived here. He has quietened down, because of the sorrow he is experiencing. 6. We have received the first copy of the *De re umaria*; the other is still being copied. I am writing to Giovanni the priest about it and certain other matters.

1. Zaccaria Barbaro was the elder brother of Francesco, and father of the famous Bernardo (Barbaro, subsequently one of Guarino’s best pupils. Zaccaria was himself a pupil of Guarino, as is obvious from this letter.

2. 1. 26, "register Antonius Picenum": Sabbatini is certainly right in identifying this man as the famous artist Piceno, usually known as Pisanello (1395-1455). In 1415 he was living in Padua and Venice, perfecting his studies. He had already gained an academic degree ("register"). At this period he was painting in oils, and had not yet cast medals (see notes to Letter 307). Later he cast a bronze portrait of Guarino, a copy of which is referred to in a letter of John of Ferrara (1419). The original is referred to in Basino’s poem to Pisanello of the year 1448. Cf. Life of G., sec. 259.

It is interesting that Guarino does not in this letter refer to Pisanello’s activities as a painter. Sabbatini concludes, probably rightly, that Pisanello was interested in human studies, because he had been entrusted by Guarino with the delivery to Pietro of a precious Cicero. I am inclined to believe that the bond which united Guarino to Pisanello was this interest in classical literature, rather than a common devotion to painting; for there is no doubt that Guarino considered the former a higher and more rewarding activity. Something has already been said about Guarino’s utilitarian view of art in the notes to Letter 35. In Letter 305, which is a poem of effusive praise for Pisanello’s genius as an artist, there is no conception of "Art for Art’s sake," and there is a veiled suggestion that painting is a form of creative expression inferior to literature. In lines 61-63, nature is said to have made painting the sister of poetry, because both can confer immortality; yet Guarino finds it desirable to make the point that Plato was a painter, Socrates a sculptor, and so on, thus giving the final stamp of approval to Pisanello’s activities. Further, Guarino goes on to encourage him to paint God and the Saints, for greater glory must accrue from this than from the depiction of pagan deities. The justification, therefore, of painting is that it has a moral purpose, and to that extent it is utilitarian, just as the drawing of Ferrara (Letter 35) served merely to illustrate history.

In Letter 264, Guarino very explicitly states that literature is a superior art-form to painting. He thanks his son Battista for a beautiful letter which described the appearance of Ennual Chrysoloras and praised his moral qualities. The words of his son have "painted" Chrysoloras better than any artist of ancient or modern times could have done (Zenon, Apelles and Polyclus of the ancients, Gentile Bellini, Pisanello and Angelo da Siena of the moderns); for they
used, or use, ephemeral materials ("caducis et vanescentibus in dies coloribus pingentant aut pingunt") or were unable to make their figures speak. Only a literary portrait can truly confer immortality.

3. 1. 30, "Victorinus nostrum": The first, and one of the few references in the Letters to the famous Vittorino di Bruto Rambaldoni (Vittorino da Feltre). After attending the schools of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, Barzizza and Biaxio Peldani at Padua, he went to Venice to study Greek under Guarino (for further discussion of this period, see notes to Letter 707 1. 29 seq.). After perfecting his Greek, Vittorino taught at Venice in 1418 and 1419. The money referred to in Letter 55 would be tuition fees outstanding. We may perhaps conclude from the almost apologetic tone with which Guarino asks for the money (1. 32, causas et necessitates expono, quae nisi afferант, prefecto molestias e non esse) that Vittorino was far from affluent. It may be that the necessity of his own early struggles made Vittorino so generous in after years at Fanta to poor scholars. This liberality, incidentally, was one of the factors stressed by Woodward in his widely used book 'Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators,' which exalts Vittorino almost to sainthood (see the "Introduction" of the thesis). It may here be added that Guarino might have been equally liberal if he had not had a wife and large family to support, which Vittorino did not. For Vittorino's later financial position, cf. B.ardi, Contributo alla biografia di Vittorino da Feltre (1953).

Letter 56 to Foggio (Bracciolini) Padua, 4th July 1416

1. I profited greatly from reading your recent and widely-dissedicated letter. Since you always give us all the news of what is happening in your part of the world, I shall tell you of a signal success scored by the Venetians, which is an example and inspiration to the whole Christian world. Just as you described how that learned but foolhardy heretic was disciplined, so I shall describe how the cruel and audacious Turks were dealt a severe blow. 2. First, however, I should like you to know an ancient custom of the Venetians, which has made them the benefactors of Christendom. In their surpassing wisdom, they consider that the true duties of a leader consist of two things above all: first, to protect those subjects who are committed to their care, just as those who look after dumb animals must serve their needs. Hence the supreme honor calls the heroes and princes "shepherds of the people," and that is the reason they are paid a public salary, so that they can concentrate on the
interests of the community. Secondly, they must repel hostile incursions, even at great expense and inconvenience to themselves. What use are possessions at home if they are not shielded from attack from abroad? Chrysoloras used to define a great man as one who undertakes dangerous work for the public good, and whose reward is glory and a "mind conscious of its own rectitude." The greatest poet expressed these duties of government in the words:

"Thou, o Roman, remember to reign over every race,
These by thy arts, thy glories, thy ways of peace to proclaim,
Mercy to show to the fallen, the proud with battle to tame."

It would be a major task to list all the states which Venice, in the course of history and at great personal expense, has freed from oppression, and all the kings she has restored to their rightful thrones. Every year, she equips a well-armed fleet to scour the seas and islands in pursuit of marauders - a praiseworthy and unique distinction, which no other modern power can claim. It is no secret how other powers talk of defending foreigners in distant lands, while their own neighbours are being despoiled and butchered.

3. There is a warlike nation of Turks, powerful by land and sea and dedicated to the destruction of Christians, who can be seen wasting away in torture and slavery throughout the Turkish dominions. In their markets, noblewomen and girls are bought and sold like cattle. 4. Despite the extent of the Turkish empire, and its repeated offers of territory in exchange for peace, the Venetians have waged relentless war on these pirates of the seas. When so many thousands of Christians were recently dragged off to imprisonment, torture and slavery, who lifted a finger to avenge the outrage? The Venetian senate and people were stricken with sorrow at the news. 5. Discussions took place to appoint an admiral to protect at least the coastal regions from invasion; and
the popular vote fell to Pietro Laureano. His name augured well, especially since his brother Giorgio had, a few days previously, defeated a pirate flotilla in the Cyclades and taken many prisoners. Pietro's skill in land and naval warfare, exercised under his father Lodovico, inspired confidence; and the battle I will now describe proved his wisdom, command, bravery, etc. Caesar's words "veni, vidi, vici" are his by right. 6. On 29th May, he entered the Hellespont, where he received intelligence of the Turkish fleet. He proceeded to Callipolis where he met a powerful enemy fleet of triremes, lighter-armed galleys and skiffs, ready for attack. (It is thought by some that they were bent on the plunder of Chios, Mytilene and Lemnoa) After a brief and confident harangue, he ordered his fleet to wheel round a little, in such a way that the sun was in the faces of the Turks. He was the first to attack, displaying exemplary courage. Battles are won not by huge numbers, but by skillful strategy, as the Hellespont itself bears witness: for it was strategy that led Xerxes to build a huge bridge over the straits linking Europe with Asia. When battle was joined between the Venetians and Turks, grappling irons were used, so that the struggle raged at close quarters and sword rang against scimitar. The enemy was routed; Pietro took his rival leader captive; most of the Turks were slaughtered, drowned or crucified before the eyes of their fellows; their ships were burned or sunk or taken over. Many of our men were wounded, but no more than sixty were killed. When the leading men of Venice heard the news, they decreed a public thanksgiving for this god-given victory. 7. Marvellous as this event was, it will have even more marvellous results, for we have now gained a victory against the once invincible Turks. It shames one to think of the defeats we have suffered in this age at the hands of the Turks, the plundering of Pannonia and Ly西亚 and the islands.
Nov Laureano and Venice have shown we are fighting not giants but men.

Did not Marcellus prove that Hannibal could be routed and conquered?

3. Let us wish peace and prosperity to Venice, and praise her bravery in shielding us against the enemies of the Faith.

1.3, "iiis litteris": The letter disseminated by Poggio is the famous epistle to Bruni on the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague discussed by Walser, Poggius Florentinus (Leipzig-Berlin 1914) p. 65-69.

Letter 56 A to Leonardo (Giustinian) Padua, 1st August [1416]

Gk. text, with corrections (see app. criticus):

1. Γοῦρινος δ' Ουερουνάντος τὰ πεπεδευμένα καὶ πανορήματα λεοντάρδα καίρειν. εἰ εὑ' ἔχεις, καλῶς ἔχει, καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπόκτος ἔχω. εἰ μή τε καὶ συγγνώμονα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐγιγνώσκον, τὰς ὑπὸ φοβοῦμαν ἀν πρὸς ἐμὲ λογοφίκας τε καὶ εἴλεγγος. ὅν ἔδειον με σῶνοιξι πικρὰ σοι τασσόμεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιστελλέν τι βραβεῖος χρόνον, ἐν ὃ ἑ[μείσσα]μερίας ἐδεί τε παρ' ἐμοί λαβεῖν ἐπιστολάς, ὅι τὴν ἴμετέρων ἀναπληρώμας ἀποστάτων καὶ τὴν εἰσωθηκόν παράστησις εἰμίκαι καὶ ἕδιστην συνήθειαν. ἕγι μὲν, βραβεῖος περικώς, τῇ φοβεί μου ἐχερούμεν, ὅν δὲ πράος ἐς, τῇ τῇ χρήση, καὶ ἐμοὶ συγγνώτει τὴν κέικιν

10 οὐ λογομένω θυνκαί δίκην. ἄρτι περὶ σου Μιχαῖλος δὲ καλὸς τὴν τοῦ Πλατωνίου πολιτείαν ἡγήσεν, ἕγα δὲ πάντα ἐξετάζως τὰ ἐνταῦθα βιβλία, κατὰ τὴν εὐρύσκον, διὸ ἐν τοῖς Οὐατερίωις καταλείπειν ἐγγον, ὅτι γὰρ πάντας ἐμοὶ βιβλίους ἐκεῖθεν ἠγέγκα, τίνι δὲ περὶ κατή γράφων οὐκ οἶδα καλῶς,

15 τὴν οἰκίαν ἐργον καταλείπω. νῦν διακεραίω, νῦν ἀγαπήτω, νῦν βορέως φέρω κατην οὐ κοµίσκω δεῦρο, ὅτι τῷ φιλότετο μοι καὶ Χριστοῦ τῶν λεοντάρων εὐχαριστεῖν οὐκ ἔγερτο.

ὅ Τοίνυν πρῶς τὴν ἀδιναμίαν μοι πρὸς τὸ πορὸν φέρε.
If you are all right, all's well, and all's well with me as well! If I didn't know you were a kind and forgiving fellow, I'd be scared to face the barrage of insults I know I deserve from you, for having delayed so long in writing. In all this time, you should have had dozens of letters from me, to fill up the time we have been away from one another, and to bring us together in the vast delights of our usual association. I was born a sluggard and just followed my nature; but you, being a gentle sort, will follow yours, and forgive me since I am anxious to pay the appropriate penalty. That fine fellow, Maffeo, asked you recently for Plato's Republic. I've searched through all the books here, but can't find it. So it dawned on me that I left it behind in Venice — I didn't bring all my books from there with me. And I don't rightly know whom I'm to write to about it, as I left the house empty. I feel variously upset, irritated, and sorry, that I didn't bring it here, because I can't do my very dear and delightful friend Leonardo a favour. So for the time being, bear gently with me that I can't. Best of luck for the future, my friend, and give my respects to Marco, that excellent and clever brother of yours. Your very good friend Barbaro sends you his best wishes.

From Padua, 1st August [1416]

The text of this letter, unknown to SABBADINI, is to be found only in MS. BYWATER 38 in the Bodleian, Oxford. This manuscript was formerly the property of Francesco Barbaro.
E. Lobel thought that the addressee of this letter was Leonardo Bruni. I would suggest, however, that it was Leonardo Giustinian, for the following reasons:

(1) Bruni is not known to have had a brother Marco, whereas a brother of Giustinian by that name is mentioned in Letter 271.

(2) Giustinian knew enough Greek by 1416 (cf. Letter 58) to have been able to understand this letter.

(3) Giustinian and Barbaro were both pupils of Guarino in 1416. The mention of Barbaro in the letter therefore prompts one to think of Giustinian.

The letter must be dated 1416 because Guarino's movements in August of other years are known, and in some of them was he living at Padua. Further, he appears to have withdrawn temporarily from Venice, leaving most of his possessions behind and the house empty. This suggests that he was fleeing plague; there was one in Venice in August 1416 (cf. Letter 57).

Letter 27. Cherubino Bontempo to Guarino

Venice, 7th July [1416]

1. I despair of ever repaying your kindnesses to me ... 2. Your letters are so full of instruction that it is obvious you have my interests at heart. You treat me not as a pupil, but as a son. 3. The plague at Venice has abated and we returned a few days ago. Be careful of your health.

Cherubino Bontempo was a pupil of Guarino at Venice. The sentiments expressed are typical of the warm affection which persisted between master and pupils.

Letter 58 to Leonardo Giustinian

Padua, 5th November [1416]

1. I received the Cimon with extreme pleasure, for he provides an example
of virtue and face for our emulation. I admire the work enormously. It is not like a translation, but an original Latin work. The best critics will certainly admire your dignified and polished style. 2. Yours was a happy choice of subject, for Cimon was famous for his lineage, even more famous because of his native land, and most famous of all for his personal merit. You are like Phidias, who is said to have worked only divine figures from the finest human models. 3. Chrysoloras must be rejoicing in heaven to see his countrymen treated with such honour in Italy through the efforts of men such as you. Too long have the Greeks been silent, but now they are raising their voices afresh and spurring us forward. We thank Manuel, who was the teacher of Italy. 4. I urge you to cultivate Greek studies, and to translate the life of Lucullus also, lest Venice lag behind in this field when she is so pre-eminent in others.

1. Leonardo Giustinian was with Francesco Barbaro one of Guarino's most distinguished Venetian pupils. The translation of Plutarch's 'Cimon,' dedicated to Enrico Lucignano, was first published in Plutarch's Vita III. virip. (Roma, 1470). The 'Lucullus' was translated in 1416 also. Inter en, Giustinian translated the Phocion.

2. 47-48, "ne sit in hac...parte posterior": Bürckhardt, Civilization of the Ren. in Italy, Phaidon Press, p. 47; says "The literary impulse, in general, was here wanting (i.e. in Venice) and especially that enthusiasm for classical antiquity which prevailed elsewhere." This statement is perhaps a little unfair when we consider the interest aroused by Guarino and Vittorino, the activities of Francesco and Ernalco Barbaro, Leonardo Giustinian, Aldo Manuzio and others; although it is true enough if we compare Venice with Florence or Ferrara. The implication Bürckhardt goes on to make that humanism was not honoured at Padua is manifestly untrue.

Letter 52 to Giovanni Guirino?

Padua, end of 1416

1. Every letter you send me is as good as a holiday. Sometimes I could do with laughter at your gentle humour! Ah, friendship is a wonderful thing, so to enrich our lives! 2. Yesterday, for example, I made a tour of Corinth
while reading your Pausanias; I saw all the sights, and pondered on the history of the city. Passing the tomb of Diogenes the Cynic, four bronze equestrian statues, and another of Athene with the seven muses' names inscribed on the pedestal, took my eye. I began to consider how much more vivid is literature than the visual arts. Thus it is that Cicero and Demosthenes have achieved more fame than Phidias and Zenxis.

3. The arrival of your letter has distracted me from Pausanias. I see there are a few points I will have to answer again, although I dealt with them in previous letters. 4. I am particularly pleased at your news that the plague has abated. I hope that the signs are as good this coming spring so that I can cease from my nomad existence and fulfill our plans. This wandering about shows I have a heavenly origin, because the heavens are always on the move; but it is a drain upon my physical, spiritual and financial resources. I have no place to read or write and my mind is growing rusty; I am turning grey and have nothing laid by for my old age.

5. Everyone is glad Leonardo has achieved such distinction. He will provide a refuge for us. It will be also to our advantage that the city is again at peace, for literature flourishes amidst tranquillity. Our friend Bindo (excuse my laughter!) is also the kind of man to restore the muses. He was the fourth wheel you fitted to your chariot. If learning could be absorbed like swallowing medicine or sucking eggs he would have been a scholar long ago! But he will not fail the cause of learning; if he lacks real ability, the will to help makes up the difference. Convey my regards to him.

6. I laughed heartily at your vivid description of that pale, scraggy creature, who is like the figure of Envy which Apelles painted — you can read about it in the work of Lucian I once sent you. I think you did well to let him know other people can be energetic about searching for manuscripts!
was sounding you out, and I am pleased you were ready for him. 7. M. Marco has stolen that volume, so let him take it to the grave, where the ghosts of the famous men described in the manuscripts will punish him. 8. Some people have come to me suggesting that I contract a rich marriage; but I said I was not ready for it. They gave me time to consider their proposal, but the only wives I want are other people's! Poverty will remain my only mate, although I want a divorce. I am at a complete loss. 9. To fill out what remains of my paper, I think you should know that there are some excellent stories here, who really co-operate in bed. 10. Antonio sends his regards. The length of this letter will make up for his failure to write to you in person.

1. [Giovanni Quirino]: Sabbadini supplies the addresses by conjecture, because Guarino dedicated his translation of Lucian's "Calumnia" to Quirino in 1405-1406. Quirino, however, did not return to Venice until 1417 and the tenor of the letter seems to me to suggest that the address was actually living in Venice in 1416 (sections 5 and 6) because (a) he had first hand news of people living in Venice (b) he was planning some kind of literary enterprise with Guarino (1. 32 ut ad peragmarum quae docervimus) and two others (Giustinian and Bindo) (c) he is asked to convey regards to Bindo, who was obviously at Venice (1. 58 ei ne carum facito). In addition to this, Guarino does not say that he had "dedicated" the "Calumnia" to the addressee, but merely that he had "sent" it. It is quite conceivable, therefore that the addressee was not Quirino, but some Venetian intimate of Guarino's, a man of culture and a collector of Greek manuscripts. Unfortunately the allusions in the letter are all so obscure that it is impossible to suggest with any certainty who the addressee could be, possibly Zaccaria Barbaro. The recipient of this letter has also been thought to be Niccolì. On the whole I am inclined to suggest that the recipient was Cristoforo Scarpa, with whom Guarino was already friendly (Letters 28, 33, note 1). If the identification of the addressee of Letter 23 with Scarpa is right, then he could easily have acquired the Pausanias from Greece in 1415. Finally, from what is known of Scarpa's moral character (for example, see Letter 73) he would certainly have appreciated the erotic description in sec. 9, which would gain nothing in translation. Letter 103 may also contain a courtesiness to cater for Scarpa's tastes.

Letter 60  Poggio to Guarino

Constance 31st December 1416

Extracts describing the discovery of Quintilian, the first 3 books and half of the fourth book of the Argonautica of C. Valerius Flaccus, and expositions
by Asconius Pedianus on eight speeches of Cicero:

1. Quintilian was previously in such a mutilated state that no form could be recognised in the text... During some spare time at Constance, we went to the Monastery of San Callo, and found amongst the many books there, a complete Quintilian, covered with dust.... 2. We also found some C. Val. Flaccus and a commentary by Asconius Pedianus.... 3. I copied these quickly in my own hand to send them to Leonardo Aretino and Niccolò Niccoli.... I should have liked to send you a copy but I had to satisfy Leonardo. But you know where they are to be found....

On the discovery and dissemination of the complete Quintilian see Sabbadini, Storia e critica dei testi latini p. 368-95. On Valerius Flaccus, Recerto (1905) p. 73 (for Asconius Pedianus, ibid.)

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Letter 61 Poggio to Guarino Constance 31st December 1416

1. Curses upon those rascally couriers... 2. I thank you for the book you sent me... 3. Francesco Barbaro seems positively Ciceroian in his "De re warina." Concio and Blasio de Cesconibus think highly of it... 3. I received your rather fine letter on the victory of the Venetians over the Turks.

1. 6 alterum de officiis librum conscripsi, sed uxoris The De re warina was dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, and circulated in 1416.

2. 1. 1. nequissimis tabellaris Another, and typically outspoken comment by Poggio on the unreliability of couriers.

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Letter 62 to Alcardo Gafarino Venice 30th January 1417

1. Your letter, received three days ago, delighted me, as it brought you before my eyes. 2. Write often, if your official duties permit. 3. You must not be offended that the Barbari refused your gift of olives. It is their invariable custom, to avoid calumny. You know that at this time one must not merely be
a good man, but also appear to be, especially in a great state in which there are so many different temperaments. 4. I have the olives, and I will deal with them as you instruct when the time comes. 5. I am glad my mother is thriving. 6. Regards to Bartolomeo Auriscalco and Nazo. The Barbari send their good wishes.

1. Aleardo Gafurino: an acquaintance of Guarino, living in Verona (which Guarino had visited in May and June 1405). Born at Lazise about 1374, he lived almost as long as Guarino (d. 1455 or a little after). In 1405 he went to Verona, where he held many public offices.

2. Nazo de' Mazi: an illustrious lawyer of Verona who practised from 13th October 1408. Guarino employed his services on several occasions. Flavio Biondo wrote of him in 1423 that he united a knowledge of the law with great abilities as a public speaker.

3. 1. 23° olives: It would appear that Gafurino had obtained some favour from the Barbari, and was showing his gratitude in the usual way. The tactful refusal of the Barbari is indicative of the political climate of Venice, an introverted state where intrigues were dangerous and suspicious rife.

Letter 63 to Gian Nicola Salerno

Venice, 2nd February

1. I should consider it unworthy of our long friendship to accuse you of neglecting me. I owe you everything, so any small offering I make you is merely a repayment - not that I could ever match you in kindness or in anything else. 2. I spread your praises abroad at every opportunity; for it does my credit good to be known as your friend. Great men do not make friends lightly. 3. I am proud and happy that you admire my works. I have tried to benefit my countrymen, or at least give them some pleasure. Your praise is an unexpected, but deeply-felt joy. 4. It is also good to know you like the works of Justinian and Barbaro, not because some credit must reflect upon me, but because you endorse my opinion of their genius. They have all the qualities of inner merit (virtus), greatness of soul, seriousness, deliberation, integrity, fairness, wisdom and gentleness. 5. I am pleased you
liked my letter (56) and Barbaro's (to Lorenzo Monaco).

Letter 64 to Girolamo Gualdo  
Venice, 16th June [1417]

1. It is not laziness that has kept me from replying sooner, for laziness is not a vice of mine. I have taken to heart the ancient Draconian law which punished sloth with death. Anyone who prefers to live like a beast is not fit to live.

2. I have been extremely busy; but since you have my heart there is little need for a letter.

3. I am overjoyed that you admire the works I dedicated to you. I now send Aristides and II. Cato to you as guests. They will dispute with you about virtue, patriotism etc. When you have had them copied and amended from the exemplar, send them back to us. It is not right that this great city should be denied the censorship of Cato, lest the door is opened to lasciviousness. Although they cannot from Barbaro, they do not speak in a barbarous fashion!

4. Regards from Cristoforo Scarpa and master Gianu.

1. Gualdo was well known to Guarino. In 1417 he was at Padua, very probably studying under Barzizza.

2. 1. 17, "Aristides et II. Cato": The Lives of these men were translated from Plutarch by Francesco Barbaro. It is typical of Guarino (and others, such as Poggio) to talk of these ancients as living men. No doubt they read so much about them that they were in a sense more present than many actually living. The fashion of addressing the ancients, or talking about them as though they were still alive, was initiated by Petrarch, a fashion which filtered through to Guarino and others almost without recognition on their part or its originator.

Letter 65 to Girolamo Gualdo  
Venice, 29th June [1417]

1. Three days ago, as you know, I returned from Padua, where I was a guest of your fraternity. On the voyage home, I kept thinking of all of you and the urbane conversations we had, interspersed with humour.

2. Your letter
was awaiting me, together with the Aristides and the Cato! Thank you for returning them so promptly. They walk fast for old men! I know how old men love a young audience, how eagerly they discourse on citizenship, and the arts of government and warfare; so that no doubt they returned unwillingly. Cato and Francesco Barbaro will now be read in one and the same work.

3. I like to think I have pleased you. The courier will deliver to you that letter of mine about the Turkish defeat, which I have decided to keep exclusive to my friends. 4. I have also sent another work of Barbaro's, to add an additional spice to my preferred fare. 4. Barbaro sends his regards. Convey mine to Battista and Gioza.

1. 4. "sodalitatis": It is not clear whether Guarino was visiting the school of Barzizza or some other group in Padua. If he was visiting Barzizza, it is odd that no reference is made to him in the usual courtesies at the end of the letter.

Letter 66 to Carlo Zeno (Introduction to the Life of Themistocles) [Venice 1417]

1. Francesco Barbaro tells me you are an ardent student of literature and devoting your old age to learning. This is admirable! It will now be easier to credit the intellectual feats of the ancients who studied in their old age and your example will provide a stimulus to others. What better have to have chosen after your military and naval career? 2. You realise how useful for all ages of life are humane studies, as Alexander and Augustus proved. 3. I also hear you adore Greek, a study well suited to enlarge your mind and keep it active. You are like Cato inasmuch as you are tackling the subject at the age of eighty. I would have helped you if I had not been so busy. But do not despair. If you cannot learn the actual language at least you can savour Greek works and it is my intention to make this possible for you.

4. Therefore please accept my recent translation of the life of Themistocles, by
Plutarch, and dedicated to you. I am sure you will particularly enjoy this for the inherent qualities of the hero and the variety of human experience therein described. Such were the qualities in a book which are calculated to win readers, or as Manuel Chrysoloras told me. You are aware of the advantages and pleasures of reading history, for Francesco Barbaro and Leonardo Giustinian have elsewhere fully discussed this.

1. Carlo Zeno must have been an enthusiast for Greek, for as early as 1402 he possessed a copy of Plato's Republic translated into Latin (Giotto, stor. letter. Ital., XIII p. 297).

2. Barbaro praised the study of history in the introduction to his translation of the Aristides and Cato of Plutarch. Giustinian made similar remarks in his introduction to Plutarch's Cimon and Lucullus, dedicated to Enrico Rusignano.

Letter 67 Leonardo Giustinian to Guarino

Verona 1st July [1417]

1. I am sending your Theaistocles which I was lent by Cornelio, and with it the long awaited Cimon and Lucullus, which were luckily returned to me only today. 2. Hereewith are also some quills from Crete. Do not blame me if they are not quite up to standard.

Creton pens were famous.

Letter 68 to Bartolomeo (Rocalco)

Venice 17th June [1417]

1. The bearer of this letter is Leonardo Giustinian, a man of sound character and a Latin and Greek scholar. Since friends have things in common, and you are a friend of mine, take him as your friend also. He will return from his visit to Verona one friend the richer. 2. Barbaro and I have Alesando's interests at heart and we are only waiting for the right time and circumstances to do what he wishes.
Letter 69 to Girolamo Gualdo  

Venice 25th July [1417]

1. Anyone else would call me rude for failing to reply to your two recent letters; but I know you will understand how very busy I have been. 2. I read Battista's speech with pleasure. For untutored genius it is amazing! What feats will he perform when he has been refined by education? He will touch the heights. I will not correct it, as you suggest, for I would as soon judge between Phidias and Praxiteles; but when I see you, I shall make a few points that occurred to me. 3. The letter from Pier Paolo you asked me for does not exist. 4. But I am pleased you like what I wrote. I could ask for nothing better than your approval, even if love is blind to faults, as you are to mine. Love is so depicted by the ancients, whose authority in all things is paramount. 5. I have relieved that felon - I mean, fellow - who found the weight of Cato and Aristides so great. He is a light and frivolous man, so it is not surprising he takes ill with weighty and serious authors! Cecco or hens would have been a more appropriate burden for him to carry, not so much because their feathers make them light but because he could lay them up with his mouth rather than his mind! Say nothing of this, but despise the fellow privately. 6. Barbaro sends his regards. Wish Battista and Gioia well from me.

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Letter 70 to Girolamo Gualdo  

Venice, August [1417]

1. I owe you so much in the way of correspondence that I am ashamed at this tiny interim payment. Nevertheless, I write whenever I can snatch a moment.
2. I am sending the Lucullus to you. I would have emended it had I been able to keep it longer; but you will note any mistakes and later we may go over it together. 3. Regards to our friend N.

Letter 71 to Girolamo Guido  
Venice, 9th August 1417

1. Our letters are somehow going astray, because I wrote two in reply to yours which came with Battista’s speech - only to receive a letter from you full of complaints that I had not written. 2. I have nothing about Chrysoloras in my possession, or I would have sent it to you. 3. I admired Battista’s speech, which was remarkably good for one who has not been able to give his whole attention to this branch of learning. What wonders he would do if he gave his whole mind to it! 4. I am glad you admired the letters written by Barbaro and myself (see Letter 63). 5. Three days ago I received a letter of commendation written by you on behalf of Niccolò, whom I now call friend, as much for his own qualities as the friendship you and your fellow students bear towards him. 6. Send back the Cimon and Lucullus when your copyist has done with them, for I have no other copies here. I thought they were beautifully translated. Both Cimon and Lucullus must thank Giustinian for making their deeds and glory known in Italy. 7. This is not much of a letter, I fear, but I am satisfied that I have written, as you requested.

Letter 72 [to Alberto della Salvo]  
Venice, 22nd August 1417

* * * * * As to his other virtues, he believed that man is born for the sake of mankind. His pursuits of horsemanship, soldierly accomplishments, hunting and hawking were followed to harden his physique rather than as pastimes, and they prove how he hated inactivity. His character was no less admirable.
I wish I could be there to comfort your loss; but you must bear your brother’s
death with fortitude. This is expected of you as a knight. Do not mourn for
the passing of what is mortal, but rather thank God that Niccolò has been called
out of the darkness of this world into everlasting light.

1. Though fragmentary and probably less ambitious a consolatio than Letter
25, Letter 72 voices the usual commonplace.

2. 1. 10, “ut homines ut hominum causa natos intellegerent”: The quotation
is from Cicero, De Officiis I. 23 and tersely expresses the new humanistic
conception of man. He is born for this world and its social intercourse. The
typically Medieval idea that man’s “final cause” in the glory of God has
been abandoned, and it is in such conscious expressions of an ideal that the
Renaissance spirit most clearly shows through, as Chabod has pointed out.
Yet it is worth noticing how Guarino’s mind is still sufficiently cast in
the Christian and Medieval mould as to evince an abhorrence of this world in
the final words of the letter. It remained an ever-present paradox in Gua-
rino’s thinking, although the “paradox” probably disturbs us more than it did
him.

Letter 73 Cristoforo Scarpa to Guarino Vicenza, 25th August [417]

1. In my last letter, I promised to write again and deal with a few points
I had missed out; but I have been too busy to write. Meanwhile, your let-
ters kept on coming, and I was glad to receive them, especially the news of
the war in the Peloponnesian. 2. I am concerned for our friend Floro Valerio,
for his side is penniless, and the Peloponnesian must now surely fall to the
despot. Of course, our only concern is for Valerio. 3. You must not think
I have grown senile. I may be more retiring and self-controlled, but “that
is a wickedness that will not let me be old!” At my age, I should, perhaps,
be more moral than I am. I must certainly give the appearance of a moral
living. 4. But a little love-making never did any harm to a man’s soul and
I urge you to indulge yourself with this pecadillo. The advice I offer is
this: if the women in question are not to disappoint you by being frigid,
as I said they were, you can inflame their lusts by letting them simulato
the male role in intercourse. They will drain your energies if you grant
then this favour.
4. I shall recover your books from Antonio Locco, but gently, because I think
his copyists are being dilatory. 5. I was pleased with the news about the
Asconius and C. Flaccus and hope to see them eventually. Regards to Barbaro
and Andrea Zulian.

1. The war in the Peloponnesus was a contemporary one, between two sets of
brothers, John and Theodoros Palaiologos (the latter the "despot" referred
to) and the Canturiones whose ally was Stefano Zaccaria, Archbishop of Petras,
in whose service was Floro Valerio.

2. "nequitia est quae non minit esse semen" is probably a hysteron of
Sarpa's own and well expresses that he means. The entire passage is obscene,
but we cannot imagine that Guarino took exception to it, for no-one would
venture such intimate details unless he was sure of his correspondent. It is
considerable obscure, however. It looks as if Guarino was contemplating an as-
signation with some woman known to Sarpa, but that he was suffering a little
from morbid scruples. Sarpa playfully calls this nonsense and urges him to
"a tiny transgression" (peregrinatimaculum), if the sense is not to be taken
literally as a "small journey," in which case, Sarpa would be inviting Guarino
to Vicenza for the purpose of meeting the harlots. In either event, it shows
Guarino was not exempt from fleshly lusts, cf. Letter 59 (end). Such passages
must do something towards restoring Guarino to the human race, after the mantle
of sainthood cast round him by Woodward and others.

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**Letter 74 to Gallesio (della Ricchisola)**  /Venice, August-September 1417/

1. I apologise for the shortness of this letter and the time that has elapsed
since I last wrote: but I have been busy and I know that you will not resent
the omission. 2. I congratulate both you and the city of Florence on your
second term of office as Judge of Merchandise. If Barbaro and I had anything
to do with your election, so much the better.

Gallesio della Ricchisola was a Veronese lawyer, the son of Ballardino della
Ricchisola.

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**Letter 75 to Niccolò Niccoli**  /Venice, September 1417/

1. Recently I learned from various sources that you no longer bear a grudge
against me and your letter to Barbero was the final proof of your good-will.

2. I was very pleased, because I well remember your courtesy and kindness.

If we did quarrel, let us put it down to some malignity of fate. After we parted, I was prevented from coming back by some rude streak in me, and our friendship impeded. Now it will be stronger than before. I shall strive to preserve our mutual affection in the years to come.

Gurrino had a passionate nature, but ever quicker to forgive than blam.

Miccoli was the opposite; but there must have been some loveable quality even in this cranked individual to have produced such a noble retraction as this of Gurrino's. The fault originally must have been Miccoli's, or he could never have forgiven Letter 17.

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**Letter 76**

**to Girolamo Gualdo**

**Venice, 29th September [1417]**

1. This letter will introduce Francesco Bracco whose talents and good character will themselves recommend him to you. 2. Regards to your fellow students.

Bracco was a student of Gurrino from Cremona. He was arrested for political subversion in Rimini (May 1417). He was freed after the intercession of Francesco Barbero and Franco Canco, the Venetian noblemen. Later in 1420 and 1437 he is recorded as a civil servant in Venice.

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**Letter 77**

**to Ambrozio (Traversari)**

**Venice, 4th October [1417]**

1. I am glad to hear that you are well during this terrible plague at Florence.

2. You make excuses for my negligence in writing to you; which only confirms our friendship, which is securely based and needs no expression in words.

3. I shall strive to preserve a friendship with Miccoli, as I always did in the past. 4. You rejoice in the erudition of Barbero and the other students, but the praise is not mine but theirs, for they have worked hard.

5. I received that list of books I sent to Miccoli. I wish he had come with it in person and so escaped the threat of plague. 6. It was good to hear about all those recently-discovered manuscripts. 7. Barbero will answer your
eloquent letter when he returns in ten days from his Paduan estate where
he is on vacation. 8. Give my best regards to our old friend Denistro (Scac-
rano). 9. I am expecting the arrival of John Chrysolores with the next
ships. 10. Tell me all about Bartolomeo da Montepulciano’s library. 11.
Regards from Zaccaria Barbaro.

1. Section 6 refers to the discovery by Poggio of Cicero’s Pro Cæcina, Pro
Poggio concosco, In Piscina, the two Pro Rabilio and the three Pro Leo agraria.
See also Letter 63, note.

2. Denistro Scarano was a Greek from Constantinople, employed for many
years as a copyist by Ambrogio Traversari.

3. Bartolomeo da Montepulciano’s letter on the discoveries is in A. Traver-
sariti Epist. XXIV. 9 (47, 1.)

Letter 78 to Gian Nicola Salerno  

Venice 1417

1. Your generosity shows to no better advantage than the modest and tactful
way in which you request the return of your own property! I wish others
would imitate you and Plutarch and realize that they have certain obligations
to their friends. 2. I therefore return your Plutarch, when I have asked to
thank you for the loan and to give you all the information you ask of him.

Letter 79 to Gian Nicola Salerno  

Venice 7th October 1417

1. Since I have a long-standing friendship with you, I know you will readily
excuse the lapse in our correspondence. I have been very busy, but I did not
forget you. 2. Here is the other volume of historical works. In it I have
collected whatever works of outstanding merit that have come my way. You
will see two translations by Francesco Barbaro and Leonardo Giustinian. I
shall send on anything else I receive which might please you, unless you wish
otherwise. 3. I have detailed that you owe the copyist for both volumes,
Please make over the balance to Bartolomeo Recalco, to whom I owe some money.

4. My regards to the lawyer Guglielmo (dalla Pigna).

It is not clear what works were contained in these two volumes, nor is it clear whether there were two translations each from Barbaro and Giustinian, or two translations in all.

Letter 60 to Giacomo Zillioli

1. Your messenger arrived bringing a letter to Barbaro. Since he is away at Padua, I read it in his absence and was ashamed to read your just complaint that the De Virtutibus had not been returned to you. It was my fault; for I have been so busy it slipped my memory. 2. The book leaves no still full of laziness and faults, despite its title. 3. I shall write to Ugo (Mazzolati) when I can find the time.

Libellum de virtutibus: perhaps by John Valensis, although the title of this work in the Middle Ages was De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus or Dietica Catanis (Erosian's Jahrbuch [1915] CLXXI p. 64).

Letter 61 [Manuel Palaiologos] to Guarino the Italian

This work was composed not as a show-piece but to commemorate my brother's death.... I know from my recollections of your words and actions that you are well-disposed towards us, so I have sent this work to you together with the others you requested. Perhaps you will think fit to turn it into Latin....

Manuel Palaiologos II had lost his brother Theodorus in 1407. He composed an elegy in his honour, which John Chrysoloras was given in 1410. In 1417 Guarino was given a copy also, which came with this covering letter (61).

Letter 62 Ambrogio (Traversari) to Guarino

1. The plague has driven away all the scholars from the city and I am eager to communicate with a kindred spirit. 2. I am on friendly terms with a copyist
who is working on Livy, using two exemplars. He had finished 30 books, and then found a lacuna, in the better manuscript, of about 60 lines. The passage is so corrupt in the other manuscript that it makes nonsense. He asked me either to send the latter or supply a copy of the true text. If Barbaro or anyone has a true copy, will you send me a transcription? The passage is from the last book of the Macedonian War, near the end, from "Caetilis consulis regandis fuere..." to "Demetrium itarum ad patrem accusavit" etc. 3. I am also a friend of your tounman, Calesio, who visits me often and talks of you and Barbaro. His term of office has been extended another year. 4. I hear from Niccoli's letters that you have issued a collection of Xenophon's works, including some of the rarer ones. I hope to get this eventually.

On the lacuna in Book XII of Livy see Sabbadini, Lo Scoperta dei codici (1914)p. 231-32.

Letter 83 to Foggio

[Venice, November 1417]

Anyone who had experienced the pleasure your letters give would chide you severely for failing to write for so long. Alas, I cannot give voice to the thought, in case you lay the same charge against me; let us forgive each other and make up for lost time. 2. The Quintilian you discovered recently came into my hands. It has caused a greater stir at Constance than almost any of the ecclesiastical business. My copy, however, is corrupt, perhaps due to errors in transcription. I believe you have another and separate exemplar, from which I should like an accurate copy if you can spare the time to attend to this. I will pay any price you name. It would be of incalculable value to me and my students. 3. Barbaro sends his regards.
The second copy of Quintilian was unearthed during Poggio's journey to Germany in the summer of 1417 (cf. Letter 77). Guarino's anxiety to obtain a good copy is understandable. The value of Quintilian is his full and methodical exposition of the very kind of educational ideals which Guarino was trying to put into practice. At Ferrara, all the best ideas of ancient education were implemented. The reason why Guarino never himself wrote a treatise on education may well have been that he considered that he could not improve on Quintilian.

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**Letter 54** to Cristoforo Scarpa  
*Venice, October 1417*

1. I have written more than four letters to you and Battista severally, but he tells me that none has been delivered, and your letter confirms this. 2. I sent you some wine jugs, which will be delivered by a sailor called Pietro de Tribano, because you wrote that your supply is running out, so rich is the vintage. Send me two bags, full of white wine, if possible. 3. The subject of wine has made no "vacit" out many letters. How many more will the wine itself produce? 4. I have personally thanked Battista for his courtesy towards you. His character and learning command my admiration. When he returns, talk about me, for there is nothing I desire more than the approval of scholars. 5. My friend Dracco wishes you good health, as does Barbaro. Give my respects to Antonio Losco.

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**Letter 55** to Niccolò (Niccoli)  
*Venice, 29th November 1417*

1. I apologise for not writing sooner, but I could not trace you after you left Pisa. 2. I wish you had come North and spent the time with me, for we could have toured all the places of interest including ancient ruins. This would have been particularly instructive in your company. The very hills, plains and fountains seemed to smile in expectation of your coming. 3. But fate is always against me! Let us make the best of things and write more frequently.
1. Niccoli had gone to Pisa to avoid the plague in Florence. It is recorded in A. Traversari’s Epistle VI. 8 that he met Auriaco in Pisa and there purchased an ancient manuscript of Thucydides.

2. There were many Roman remains in the North of Italy (cf. the description of Verona in Carcassone’s funeral oration, Appendix). The humanists enthused over such ruins and spent much time re-creating antiquity amidst their splendour. Opposed to this spirit of re-birth is the mediaval tendency to view the remains of the past as symbols of a glory departed forever from the earth.

Letter 86 to Poggio. 

Venice, 11th December [1447]

1. I wrote so exhaustively to you in my last letter that I had no more to say – particularly vexing, since Matteo Barozzo was setting for Constance.

2. But there is one matter I can deal with, concerning my fellow-student and boarder, Francesco Bracco. He is one of our kind, and I am therefore hopeful that your influence will secure him an appointment with the papal staff. If the court is full, will you recommend him to some cardinal or prelate? Matteo will give you all the details, but let me know the outcome as soon as possible.

3. Regards from Barbaro and Zalian. 4. P.S. I am most eager to see your oration on the Florentine cardinal.

Letter 87 to Bartolommeo (da Montepulciano) 

Venice, 11th December [1447]

1. I am writing on behalf of my great friend Francesco Bracco, who desires an appointment in the papal staff. His abilities are equal to any assignment, as his record of service with none of the highest rank shows. I have already commended him to Poggio’s good offices and will be indebted to you for your added support. Let me know what hopes there are as soon as possible. 2. Barbaro sends his regards.

1.34, “orationem pro cardinali Florentino”: this was the funeral oration by Poggio over Cardinal Francesco Zabarella (Poggio Opera [Basle, 1539] p. 252).
Letter 83  Antonio Corbinello to Guarino  Camerini, 13th December [1414]

1. You know me so well that I will refrain from making the old excuse that the couriers have been stealing my letters to you. The real reason for my silence has been the litigation I have been involved in over my property. I had to leave Florence to fight the case and it has lasted six months. 2. I received your most affectionate letter, dated 25th September. 3. My brother Giovanni has received the Ptolemy and the Plutarch. 4. I want to go home, although the plague has not yet fully abated. Niccolò wrote from Albibiana that he is going back next month. I am in doubt, because the air here is most healthful, the house is a good one and I have the company of Giacomo Corbizzo and my nephew Pippo. We shall stay till January and then explore the possibilities of going home. 5. Nello Donivento wrote to me of the death of Giovanni Busini. He has assuredly gained a place in heaven. He left me all his manuscripts, probably because I had lent him money.

1. Antonio was the brother of Giovanni Corbino. cf. Letter 5.
2. Giacomo Corbizzo re-appears in Letter 373, and Nello Donivento in Letter 94.

Letter 93 to Antonio Corbino  Venice, 17th January [1415]

1. Do not apologise for failing to write. I am much more concerned over the troubles you have had. But if your lawsuits have succeeded, surely it was worth the inconvenience. 2. You are wise not to return too quickly to Florence, in view of the good climate and company where you are. 3. I was indeed sorry to hear of Busini's death. Our consolation is that he is now in heaven. We shall not be long following him. 4. I can write nothing about the parchments to our friend Nello until I know what is missing. Let me know, and I shall write to Nello and Antonio. 5. Be sure to write to your brother (?) Lorenzo
to find out what his intentions are. 6. I have given up all hope of papal
preference. 7. I have leased a house here and board a few pupils and so
pass my life. 8. I shall write to Nelo, never fear. 9. If you are going
to Florence in the near future, will you send on the balance of payment for
the Ptolemy? I need the money for a small business venture, but it is not
pressing. 10. Gerardo Barbadoro ("Cold-beard") was recently here. He
seemed to like the city; but I could not persuade him to dine with me, which
surprised me. 11. Write to me often and do not undervalue your style, which
is charming. 12. Give my regards to Corbizzo and your nephew (Pippo).

Barbaro, Leonardo, Giustinian and Andrea Zulian send their regards to you.

1. This is a good example of a truly familiar letter. It is full of snippets
of information, some of which (e.g. sections 4 and 5) must remain obscure to us
in the absence of other evidence. In section 5, for example, it is not clear
whether "Laurentio fratres" is the brother of Antonio. At first sight, it would
appear he was, especially in view of the clause "cum tibi finitimus esse debeas."
But there is no evidence that Antonio had such a brother (cf. Letter 5) and
we must surmise that Lorenzo was one of a religious order. This is perhaps
supported by the words "si in hoc exercitium seep er vivere decrevit" which would
refer to Lorenzo's final vows as a monk.

2. "de romana curia actum est" (sec. 6): Although Guarino had recommended
Brocco (Letters 65, 87) for an appointment under the papacy, it would appear
that he had also hoped for a similar appointment for himself. The evidence
comes from a letter of Poggio to Barbaro (Published by Clark in . Classical
Review XIII p. 125) from which it appears that no place could be found in the
curia for either Guarino or Brocco. It must be remembered that in 1413
Guarino's reputation had not yet attained its peak, although he was known and respected
by the best scholars in Italy. This may not be why he was rejected, however.
The legal qualification he had obtained under John of Ravenna before 1403
may not have been considered adequate. (cf. Life of Guarino Secs. 11 and
12). If, however, he wanted one of the posts for which no legal training was
necessary, we must put his failure down to lack of an established reputation.
It is possible that he had not reconciled himself to the position of a
teacher, for which the financial rewards were comparatively slender. The tone
of the words "Hi ego domum condidi. doceo normulis et, ut alibi, etaten
transit" is somewhat resigned and despondent. We are reminded of Petrarch's
cold advice, "Let them teach boys, who can do nothing better."

Letter 20 to Antonio Corbizzo

Venice, 27 December 1417

1. I have called down many a curse on this plague that infests Florence and
has deprived me of contact with so many scholars. Let us make up for the loss by frequent letters. 2. My countryman Gian Nicola Salerno is seeking the chief registry at Florence, a post which could bestow the most brilliant distinction upon him. His qualities are universal, his family noble, and his learning great, as has all been proved by the manner in which he ruled Mantova last year. I wish you to lend him all the support you can and persuade your friends to do likewise. 3. My regards to Ser Filippo, whom I also urge to support Salerno.

1. Salerno did not become "podesta" (chief magistrate) but was elected to the lesser post of "capitano."

2. Ser Filippo discr Ugaldo Peruzzi was a notary and a collector of manuscripts. His life was written by Bistici.is.

Letter 91 to Angelo. Cordinello Venice, 27th December
didario

A countryman of mine, Gian Nicola Salerno, is seeking the chief registry at Florence. His learning, wisdom, honesty, sincerity and good manners ensured the success of his term of office at Mantova. I rely on you to support him all you can. You will thus honour me and all Verona.

Letter 92 to Domenico di Leonardo Bacainsequi Venice, 27th December

1. It has been so long since I wrote that I would fear your anger if I did not know your kind and forgiving nature. 2. Gian Nicola Salerno, recently chief magistrate at Mantova, is now a candidate for the same position at Florence. His splendid qualities ensured the success of the former registry and I now commend him to you and your fellow citizens as the right man for Florence. Elect him, and you will earn my unyielding gratitude.

Domenico di Leonardo Bacainsequi is recorded as having held an official post in the University of Florence in 1422.
Letter 23 to Niccolò (Niccoli)  

Venice 27th December [1617]

1. True to the proverb that men of like interests will inevitably seek each other, you have always cultivated scholars of real ability. How I present you with just such a man, my countryman Gian Nicola Salerno, whom I have known from boyhood. 2. He comes of noble stock, and is a devoted student of literature. He models his every action on the ancients. Eloquent, wise, upright, industrious, kind and just, he is an excellent administrator. The people of Mantova were loud in their praise and declared they wanted him as chief magistrate permanently. 3. I ask you to give him every support in his quest for the chief magistracy of Florence. Your influence is great and I know you will be glad to do me this favour.

1. Salerno was born in 1379, five years after Guarino.

2. Barbaro was also keen to help Salerno. We have four letters, all of 1418, the first recommending Salerno to Palla Strozzi, the second reply to Salerno's thanks; the third is to Salerno, then "capitano" at Florence, and advises him to befriend the Medici. The fourth returns the advice.

Letter 24 to Niccolò (Niccoli)  

Venice, 2nd January [1618]

1. I have heard of your wanderings through some unpleasant districts and wish you had come straight to us at Venice. We have often said how sorry we were that you went elsewhere. 2. The triremes from the Adriatic have returned, bringing a letter from John Curysoloras. He would have come to Italy, had he not been sent by the Emperor to settle the disturbances in the Peloponnese. I expect him here by spring. 3. The Emperor wrote me and included a fine funeral oration on his brother, which I am sending to Ambrogio Traversari. Is that other prince of Christendom can catch the Emperor at Constantinople? The others are either literary dilettantes or quite illiterate. 4. I was glad to hear of Master Paolo, of whom I had lost track. 5. I hoped Flora Valerio would
have come home, but he has been detained in Greece. 6. I was sorry about
Busini's death. Bello told me Busini returned to Constantinople from Gallipoli
as soon as he thought the plague had lifted, but he caught it and died. 7.
As for myself, my original plans have all gone for nothing, mainly due to
that death; but there are other reasons, which I will pass over. Poggio
wrote to tell me that there is no hope of my securing an appointment with
the Pope, so I am sitting just where I am, reading and studying, and quite
profitably. 8. I have written this letter at one hectic sitting. 9. If you
hear news of Cortinello, let me know. I wrote to him at Camerinum, but either
my letter or his reply has gone missing. 10. I wrote you recently on behalf
of Gian Nicola Salerno, who is seeking election as chief magistrate at Flo-
rence. He is fully deserving of your active support and personal friendship.

1. Sec. 7 shows that Guarino had hoped for a Papal appointment (cf. note 2
to Letter 89). When this failed to materilize, it would appear that he wished
to become secretary to a cardinal, probably Eufro villa, who died 17th September
1417. The proof of this lies in a letter of Barzizza, the text of which is
published by Sabadini (Vol. III p. 75).

2. 1. Sine non sine luxuro: This may mean that he was profiting mentally or
emotionally. In either case, the despondent mood of Letter 89 is still evident.

Letter 95 to Niccolò Piccardo
Venice, 12th January [1417]

1. Lack of communication cannot impair such a friendship as ours; so I shall
not complain of your long silence, especially since I have written nothing to
you and your city (Ferrara) is stricken by plague. 2. No need to apologise
for a lack of eloquence in your letter! It was most elegant and purposeful.
But affectation need be the only flavour we add to our letters. I only write
what comes into my mind and do not trouble with literary graces. 3. It was
good to hear the four-day fever has left you. 4. I rejoice that your good
opinion of my friend Barbaro confirms my high regard for his eloquence. Send
ne back his de re moria, which Francesco Baggio will deliver to me. 5. Baggio is a scholar who boards with me. I should like you to befriend him for his own sake and for mine. 6. I am glad you liked the Erotenata.

Please accept it as a small gift from me. 7. In answer to your question about what lives of Plutarch I have translated, the list is: Alexander, Caesar, Marcellus, Phocion, Dion, Eumaes, Pelopidas, Philopoemen, Flamininus, Coriolanus, and Themistocles. 8. The beginning of the book of Aulus Gallus' "Attic Nights" is "Plutarchus in libro quae scripsit." 9. Iy regards to our friend Ugo (involati). Barbaro sends his affectionate good wishes to you.

1. The Erotenata was the Greek grammar composed by Iannio Chrysoloras, and abridged by Guarino during his stay at Venice. It appears from a letter of Pier Candido Decembrio that Guarino later added to the rules ("Scio Guarinum cinque sequaces amplioribus uti regulis." Filelfo also added to the material of the Erotenata. (Klotte: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur 1890, III, p. 24).

2. 'Themistocles' was translated 1417 (cf. Letter 66).}

Letter 96 to Girolamo Guinio

[Venice, January 1418]

1. My school and its activities are absorbing so much of my attention that I have occasionally neglected correspondence. I accept your rebuke, however, although I do so cheerfully — no-one could love you more than I do! 2. Thank you for sending me such fine letters and speeches. You brought me in touch with yourself and then with Alfonso and Giano. It was like a swift journey through both Spain and Italy. 3. I was sorry for Alfonso's plight, which he himself foresees. When we see other parts of the world have troubles of their own, it makes our own seem tolerable. I congratulate Giano on his success, which I fully expected. I have sent letters to Ancona for both Giano and Alfonso. 4. Baggio has gone away and I do not know what he has done about those manuscripts. 5. Filippo di Cipro has asked me for the Letters (cf. Pliny?)
and I promised them to him: but our agreement stands that whenever you want
then, they will be sent to you. The text is not in a very good shape, however.
6. Barbaro sends his regards with mine, which I also send to Giona and Filippo
and all our other friends. 7. This letter was written amidst the noise and
tumble of my school.

1. The school at Venice was now receiving Guarino's attention and enthusiasm.

2. Sec. 3 refers to the disturbances in Spain in 1417, caused by the per-
sistent claims of the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. Even though a Council declared
his claim invalid (26 July 1417) and elected Martin V, Benedict refused to ad-
mit defeat. Alfonso must have been mixed up with the dispute in some way,
although a few months later we find him teaching philosophy in Dalmatia.

Letter 27. Girolamo Gualdo to Guarino
Padua, 17th January

1. You are a friend of Filippo di Cipro and he requires no letter of commu-
cation to you, but his modesty is such that he wishes me to write one all the
same. Do not therefore accuse me of doubting your good-will towards him,
for I know you would have helped him of your own volition. 2. I commend his
upright and serious nature, his wisdom and his vast knowledge of civil law.
He and I are bound by the strongest ties of friendship and mutual obligations.
You will please me if you can assist him in his present aims, for which ser-
vice you will find him most grateful. 3. Give my regards to Barbaro and
Brecco.

Filippo di Cipro is referred to frequently in the letters immediately following. He was a close friend of Barzizza also.

Letter 28 to Girolamo Gualdo
Venice, 19th January

1. Though your commendation of Filippo was unnecessary, I was pleased to see
your anxiety for the welfare of a mutual friend of ours. What a much more glowing
tribute would you have written if you had been describing his merits to a stranger?
2. I have always favoured him and will now do so with renewed pleasure. He will tell you himself what I did to promote his interests. I only did what I would have done for him in any case. 3. I must send those "Rules" to Cristoforo (Scarpe).

In this letter we have the first mention of the famous Latin Grammar compiled by Guarino - the Terule, which is discussed in 'In Scuola e gli studi' p. 37-47, and Studi ital. filol. class. XIV p. 113-25, where it emerges that the scheme and nomenclature were derived in part from Priscian. Guarino's merit did not lie in originality, but in courageously following the trend which cleared the study of grammar from that of dialectic. The Terule was simple and therefore admirably suited to become a standard text book. The printed version of Giovanni Dalfi (1444) deserves attention. Its parts are:

(1) A summary of Dout. What is grammar? Definition of the parts of speech.

(2) The structure of nouns: syntax of the cases in relation to the various uses of the verbs.

(3) More important rules: adverbs of place, patronymics, comparatives, superlatives, participles, numerals, distributive pronouns, qui and quis, heteroclitcs, orthography, exceptions. The latter two were illustrated by examples invented by Guarino.

Letter 99 to Gerardo Barbadoro

Venice, 13th January [1415]

1. I can rely enough on your friendship to promise your assistance to any friend of mine. This I have done in the case of Filippo di Ciro, a great friend of mine, of noble birth and great personal attainments. He is very learned in civil law. 2. He is seeking a magistracy and I ask for your vote and support on his behalf. I have led him to expect this of you, so do not let me down. 3. I know that Antonio Corbinello is safe and well at Caorimne. If you see him, give him my good wishes.

Letter 100 to Donnato di Leonardo Buininesqui

Venice, 13th January [1415]

1. If our friendship were not rooted in mutual respect, I should be apprehensive about writing to you after such a long silence; but words cannot bind
us closer, or any lack of correspondence diminish our affection. 2. I am glad to break the silence by commending Filippo di Cipro to your good offices. He is seeking the post of Judge of Merchandise, and would fill it admirably. Though a Cypriot, he acts like an Italian and was educated here. His knowledge of civil law is very extensive. Please give him your vote and support, since I wish nothing more than to see him elected. 3. I have translated Plutarch's Themistocles into Latin and will send it, then I find a reliable messenger. 4. Barbaro sends his regards.

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Letter 101 to Angelo Corrinello

Venice, 13th January

1. Many seek favours from you through me, on the strength of the strong affection between us. I do not hesitate to write you on these occasions because I know you believe that "men were born for the sake of mankind" and willingly oblige. 2. A civil lawyer, Filippo di Cipro is seeking the post of Judge of Merchandise. Your influence in the city could help him. If he is elected, he will reflect credit on you, for he is prudent, honest, just, responsible, generous and modest. 4. I know you will grant no this favour, for, in honouring my friend Filippo, you will honour no also.

________________________

Letter 102 to Galesio

Venice, 13th January

1. Our intimacy is such that I will come straight to the point. 2. Filippo di Cipro, encouraged by me, wishes to succeed you in office. His honesty, good faith, wisdom, justice and knowledge are better known to you than to me, but since he has done no many favours, I would now like to return a little gratitude by interceding on his behalf. 3. Your influence with the citizens would secure his election if you promise him your vote. I should not hesitate
to do a similar favour for you and I do not doubt that you will grant me my wish.

Letter 103 to Pola Strozzi  
Venice, 13th January 1415

1. I know your earnest desire is ever to honour scholars of good character; and therefore I will not waste words. 2. I have a friend called Filippo di Cipro who has done me many favours, a man of noble birth, and a modest, honest, just and sensible character. He has studied hard and knows both the letter and the spirit of civil law. 3. I urge you to support him in his election campaign for the post of Judge of Merchandise. I know the man enough to ensure that he would reflect glory on you. Support him, and you will do a great favour.

In this group of letters (99-103) we have an example of Guarino’s industry and command of language. Assuming that they were all written on the 13th (although this may not necessarily be the case), the standard of composition is remarkable. Each letter has the same theme, but Guarino varies his approach according to the character of the addressee.

Letter 104 to (Gasparino) Barzizza  
Venice 1415

1. I heard the bitter news of your wife’s death three days ago. Your household has lost a fine head, but we should not mourn for one whose chastity and virtuous virtues have secured her a place in heaven. 2. As with Socrates and Isæus, your stoical nature will enable you to bear the suffering without flinching, and your learning will strengthen you in despising the blows of fortune. Remember that your position demands that you set an example to others. 3. I shall not therefore write a consolation to one who needs no remedy from without. It is enough that you know that, as friends, we have all things in common. Look after your health.

1. Once again the idea is expressed that literature will provide the moral armaments to overcome all vicissitudes (cf. Letter 25 etc.).

2. As a teacher, Barzizza had a special duty to provide a good example. The best Renaissance masters felt this obligation strongly, particularly Vittorino.
Letter 105 to T. (perhaps Niccoli or de Paolinis)  
(Venice c.1418)
1. Onofrio came from Florence lately and delivered your greetings to me.
This pleased me so much that I wanted to do him some favour; and now the occasion has arisen. 2. As you know, he has been displaced as head courier through the efforts of his enemies. I should be grateful if you use your influence to have him re-instated. It would be a popular move, and, I might add, it would also please Francesco Barbaro.
Cf. Letter 39, where Onofrio is referred to as "prefectus tabellariorum florentinorum." It was an official appointment.

Letter 106 to Cristoforo (Scarpa)  
(Venice, December 1417)
1. On your departure a few days ago, I promised to spend Christmas with you. I know this pleased you, and you may imagine how I was looking forward to your company, which always improves me. Little wonder you have gained such a reputation. 2. But a family matter has cropped up, to which I am in honour bound to attend. Alas! fortune, not me, for this.

Letter 107 to Cristoforo (Scarpa)  
(Venice, 31st January 1418)
1. I expected to bring you good news of Floro's return. Alas! fortune never allows us complete and unalloyed pleasure. He met with misfortune on the way back from Greece and was lucky to escape with his life. 2. He has indeed returned and is on a diplomatic mission to Venice and the Pope at Constance on behalf of the archbishop and the prince. 3. A storm arose near Scutari and the ship put in to land. The inhabitants were beasts indeed, for a rascally abbot of a certain monastery of St. Nicholas, under pretence of giving them shelter, say to it that a gang of cut-throats plundered the ship. Their
leader, Balsea, murdered the guards on Christmas night. Floro saw Balsea the next day but got no restitution. We cannot but detest such men who behave like wild beasts. 4. I intend to help him all I can. 5. Either through grief or the discomfort of the voyage, he is suffering from fever; but such is his spirit that he appears well, talks sensibly and displays a philosophical calm. How potent is humane learning in making us masters of fortune! 3. He asks after you. Eracco and the Barbari send their regards to you.

1. Valerio was on a diplomatic mission to the new Pope, Martin V, elected at Constance 11th November 1417. The curia left Constance 16th May 1418.

2. The monastery was St. Nicholas, a notorious den of thieves. (cf. Satires: Docum. indé rect. à l' hist. de la Grèce au règne de VII. prof. p. 11, n. 4, XXIII-XXVI), as were many others in the Byzantine Empire.

Letter 108 to Cristoforo Scarpa

Venice, 14th March 1418

1. I thought I would write you, for I like spending every moment in some literary pursuit or in communication with friends. Time spent otherwise is wasted. 2. I shall visit you at Pentecost or just after. I shall not stay with you, not because I regard myself as a king, but because I am your servant. I am glad I have such a kind master! It is not because your house is too small for me, but your company is ample shelter and food for me. I am not a glutton for food, but for beauty! I do not desire hers, but - no doubt you understand my meaning! 3. I think you will have heard that your excellent friend Niccolò Zorzi has been designated chief magistrate of Verona. I would congratulate you on his success, just as I know you will congratulate Verona on getting such a kind and just ruler, whose aim in office is not to amass wealth but to win glory.

1. Niccolò Zorzi became podestà or chief magistrate of Verona 6th June 1418 until 1st June 1419.
2. Sec. 3 has a series of puns: "non cocti sed empti putus alium sum, nec bonos pullos sed bonos —." There is a dash in the sec. Obviously "puellae" was intended. It is unnecessary to infer panopteryx from this.

Letter 109 to Angelo Corbinello

Venice, 14th March [1410]

1. I was delighted to hear that you and your family are safe, especially in this time of mortal danger. Thanks be to God! I am doubly pleased to know you intend to carry out my request. 2. Although the office of Judge of Merchandise went to someone else, I thank you for the support you gave Filippo di Cipriano. 3. Give my respects to your brothers. P.S. Barbaro sends his regards.

Letter 110 to Gaetano

Venice, 15th March [1410]

1. Your kindness and affection for me claims my ever-increasing respect. Now you have added a personal favour, for which I cannot thank you enough. You have also won the undying gratitude of Filippo di Cipriano. 2. I congratulate Gian Nicola Galerno on his election to office. See to it that you both reflect glory upon our native city. 3. Your news of that excellent scholar Paolo (de Paulinio) delighted me. I am rather surprised he has not written to me. I would have written if I had known where he was.

Paolo (de Paulinio) mentioned in Letter 94. In 1413 and 1414 he taught Logic in the University of Florence. Guarino had lost trace of him until 1417.

Letter 111 Leonardo (Bruni) to Guarino

Florence, 1st April [1410]

1. Today I read Francesco Barbaro's letter to the Chancellor of Crete (Lorenzo Monaco). Though it gave me much pleasure, and has answered all the charges adequately, I feel constrained to defend Lorenzo, who is my friend.... 2. I have written a little speech against hypocrisy, which I enclose. Please send me in return some composition of your own.
1. The letter in question was written to Lorenzo Monaco in 1416, when Barbaro had retired to Padua to escape the Plague. In it, Barbaro defended Greek studies and translations from Greek.

2. The invective In Hypocritis was written in 1417, and published in September of that year - which fixes the date of Letter III.

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Letter 112 to Paolo (do Paolinis) Venice, 6th May [1417]

1. I know you will excuse my failure to write; I have been exceptionally busy. In any case words could never express my affection for you, or the pleasure your letters give me. 2. It is no idle rumour that I would go anywhere you suggest; but I also know you would not propose a move likely to prove contrary to my interests. I have explained in a letter to Calasso exactly that answer you must give these men on my behalf. We both know that mere promises are worthless, and I am not "buying" any false hopes.

An obscure letter, but one my surmise that Paolo was acting as intermediary in some move to recall Guarino to Florence, possibly to an academic appointment. The memory of his unfortunate experiences in Florence (cf. Letter 17) had, however, made Guarino cautious. For a good illustration of this trait in his character, and the importance he attached to written contracts, see the advice he offers to do Paolinis in Letter 121. For another effort to lure him to Florence cf. Notes to Letter 131.

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Letter 113 to Alberto della Sale Venice, 20th June 1418

1. Anyone less indulgent to me than yourself would have upbraided me for failing to send on that splendid funeral oration by Giustinian on Carlo Zeno. In sending it now, I discharge my promise. 2. I know you admire this speech, which you heard delivered before so many eminent men. Even merely reading it, one must admire the skilful arrangement: Giustinian describes Zeno's appearance, talents, virtues and achievements, as though each was the natural and inevitable concomitant of the others. Praise will be lavished on the wealth of well-turned phrases, on the choice and majestic diction. 3. May will
count Zeno fortunate in having had such a scholar as Giustinian to praise him. Samuel Chrysoloras once said that true praise comes only from those who are themselves praiseworthy and Alexander the Great called Achilles fortunate in having found a hero to proclaim his valour. 

4. But for those who actually heard the speech delivered, how much keener must the appreciation have been! There was no hesitation, nothing left out, no fumbling or faulty enunciation—all the more amazing in view of the large audience. His gestures were studied, his voice flexible and firm, and, like Néstor's," sweeter than honey", his pauses and breathing easy and natural. Any speech draws vigour from a masterly delivery. Hortensius' speeches were more impressive in delivery than when they were merely read in the study. Demosthenes said that the three most vital parts of oratory were "enunciation, enunciation and enunciation". This oration must, therefore, be judged perfect. 5. Pleased convey my respects to my lord the Marquis.

1. Alberto della Valle was a knight of Ferrara, a title bestowed by Gian Francesco I Gonzaga.

2. The speech of Giustinian's referred to was delivered in Venice, between which city and Ferrara there was frequent concourse.

3. Letter 113 is interesting insofar as it lists the main qualities Guarino sought in a speech, and outlines a method of tackling a funeral oration. It is worth comparing Carboni's treatment (see Appendix ) in his funeral oration on his teacher, Guarino. The insistence upon correct pronunciation was recurrent with Guarino.

Letter 114 to Pietro Zorzi

1. When you left, you promised to write. That you have not done so may be due to pre-occupation with literary studies, as I have heard; although frequent letter-writing is really the best practice you could set yourself. If you have been merely negligent, there is no excuse. 2. Fantino has written me from
Verona, so in this respect do not fall behind him. Tell me what book you are reading and what exercises you are setting yourself, also your opinion of Verona and its inhabitants. 3. I congratulate your kinsman (Niccolò Zorzi) on his election as chief magistrate of Verona. The city is over-joyed to have such excellent administrators this year. 4. The whole school sends its good wishes to you and Fantino.

Pietro Zorzi and Fantino Zorzi were cousins and both pupils of Guarino. Fantino’s father Niccolò was at this time chief magistrate at Verona (cf. Letter 106). Although the young man had left the school, Guarino was still prepared to show an interest in their education.

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**Letter 115** to Cristoforo Scarpa  
Venice, 7th 1415

1. I did not think you would arrive at Verona so soon and have therefore been late with my letters of recommendation. You will have one from Barbara to Alexander, and one from Bartolomeo Norsini to his colleague. 2. Tell me what prospects and salary you have. I would like you to settle in Verona and only wish we could set up an establishment there and live together. 3. I send my best wishes to Bartolomeo Recalco, also to the chief magistrate, and Pietro and Fantino. You will visit my mother, who will think she has regained a son in you. 4. What arrangements are you making for your (wife) Magdalena and the family?

Scarpa had been engaged by Niccolò Zorzi, possibly as tutor to Pietro and Fantino (cf. Letter 114). The “Alexander” referred to is unknown, but Norsini was “capitano” to Zorzi and as such had promised to recommend Scarpa.

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**Letter 116** to Paolo (de Pocolinini)  
(Leonardo, September 1415)

1. I have received a second letter from you, but I have already given all the news in my reply to your first letter. Then you receive it from Gian Nicola (Salerno) let me know your decision and wishes. 2. I do not greatly approve of your coming to Venice. I do not know where you are going to get what you need, because you did not say what you propose studying. But do as you will; I
will not fail you. But I wish I did not have such a number of boarders - even
to accommodate you. Doubtless you know your own affairs best; but I for one
never make a move unless I know that I am doing. 3. Barbero sends his regards.
It respects to Salerno, the news of whose success in office has reached us,
and also to Cuglielmo (della Pagna).

1. Guarino's dislike of vagueness and indecision is again apparent. cf.
Letters 112 and 121.

2. "vulgo non tantum habere familiar" is a famous phrase used to indicate
Guarino's unwillingness to accommodate more pupils than he could tutor
individually. This may be true, although Guarino does not say so much as that.
It may merely be referring to lack of space and bedding. cf. Letter 119.

Letter 117 to Paolo (de Paoloins)

1. Your letter arrived tonight and I am replying briefly and in haste. 2. I
am looking forward to the conversations we shall soon be enjoying when you
arrive. 3. You will glean whatever knowledge I can offer you and in return,
I am eager to learn about Aristotle from you. 4. You will honour my house
as Hercules honoured Pandar's. It is fortunate you are a frugal eater and
do not expect luxury. 5. Though you propose to come at the end of October, I
shall be waiting from now on impatiently. 6. Bring the Ethics of Aristotle with
you from Florence, if possible, and tell no-one you intend coming to me. 7.
Regards to Gian Nicola Salerno and (Antonio) Cardinello. I shall write to
Donato separately.

Letter 118 to Paolo (de Paoloins)

1. I shall not answer every point in your long letter; for I am busy and in
my case we must have something left to discuss when you arrive! 2. I commend
your eagerness to learn Greek, which is fundamental to an understanding of
Latin. I shall tutor you during the coming winter, which we shall pass together.
3. As good luck would have it, one of my boarders has gone to Dublin
and I therefore offer you his place. We are of one spirit, so it is logical
that we share the same house, the same table and the same companions. You are
not profiting by staying where you are, so let me know as soon as possible if
you will share our simple life here. 4. I approve of the advice given by
Salerno and Cuglianico (della Pigna) regarding that must be done at Verona.
5. It is splendid news that Niccolò has turned out to be such a successful
magistrate. 6. Give me your opinion of Giustinian’s funeral oration on Carlo
Zeno. 7. Ask (Antonio) Cardinal to answer my letter, or attend to the
matters in question. 8. I am going to Verona in three days’ time, but shall
inform you as soon as I return. 9. Regards from Barbaro. Convey mine to
Gian (Niccolò Salerno).

Many points in this, as in other letters, must remain obscure (e.g.,
the meaning of sections 4 and 7) but the general sense appears to be that Paolo
had no employment at Florence and wished to come to Guarino to learn Greek.
He does not appear to have intended coming as a paying scholar, but perhaps
as a helper. From a reading of the entire sequence of Letters 116-121, I
think that Guarino’s invitation to Paolo was largely charitable. The problem
was honourably solved by Paolo’s securing an appointment in Chios (Letter 121).

Letter 119 to Paolo (de Paolino) Venice, 6th October

1. I received your friendly and sensible letter on my return from Verona.
2. The prospect of your coming here delights me. There will be no incon-
venience caused, since we shall need no more food or bedding. I can promise
you only the frugal life of a scholar. Would that we had as much gold and silver
as good company! Your presence will honour our house and assist my own education.
3. But if better terms are offered to you elsewhere, I shall not stand in your
way but support you all I can. Unless you reply, I shall expect you here.
4. It was sensible to tell me of your future intentions. No harm has been done
to either party, which was the reason I asked you to say nothing of our plans
to anyone. 5. There is no way of getting a letter to Gabrielle (Facanello) at this time of year, for there are no out-going ships. 6. We shall discuss your plans together. You should remain on good terms with those who extended the invitation to you. It is advantageous to have two strings to your bow.

7. I thank Corbinello for his affection towards me. 8. I will write to Donato soon, whether he be at Ferrara or Pisa - I wish he would settle somewhere!

9. The fame of Salerno’s magistracy rings in our ears. I saw a noble oration he delivered to the Florentines, which reflected his genius with words and promptitude in action. 10. Filippo (Peruzzi) has apologised for not writing and I accept his apology readily. 11. Barbaro has not yet returned from his holiday at Padua. 12. Regards to Niccolò (Niccoli).

Letter 120 to Paolo (de Paolinis)  Venice, 15th October [1418]

1. On my return from Verona a few days ago, I wrote inviting you here. True, you showed some diffidence, but I urge you cast it aside, pack your bags and come! 2. I did not tell you that my friends and relations and, above all, my mother converged on me at Verona, insisting that I get married. I had no defence, so I left them to arrange a match for me and daily I expect the news that I have been trapped in the net of matrimony. When you arrive, you will find me a married man. 3. Come and share our life. Perhaps you will help celebrate the wedding! I have decided to stay here, so do not hesitate to come. 4. Give Antonio Corbinello and Niccolò (Niccoli) the news, and convey my respects to Gian Nicola (Salerno) and Uglielmo (Della Pigna).

Guarino was now 44, a fairly advanced age for a bachelor. He does not seem adverse to the idea of marriage but does not welcome the prospect either. The letter is couched in the somewhat despairing acquiescence with which Guarino accepts the pressure exerted by his family. Marriages in Italy were, and still are, largely a matter of family arrangement. It is fortunate that Guarino’s match turned out to be so successful. It is likely that he saw the advantages of having a woman to run the domestic side of the "contubernium".
Letter 121 to Paolo (de Paolinitis)  

Venice, late autumn 1419

1. I was glad to receive your letter, but sorry to read of your set-back. I wish I had more time to discuss it. 2. I know from experience that this life is a voyage of adventure and we must trim our sails to the breeze that blows. I approve, then, of your plans to take up the study of medicine. Gabriele Rosanelli, being well-disposed to you, will help you, as he promised me, in providing a house and provisions on Chios. I know the very place. He will send me your contract, so that you may leave under its terms; but I urge you to take your doctorate in medicine before you go to this pleasant and civilized country. I shall assist you all I can, and wish to know what you require.

3. I shall discuss my own affairs when I find time. Commend me to Salerno and Guglielmo (Della Pigna). Barbaro sends his regards. Tell me what you expect to be doing with the manuscripts which Gu. asked you to see about, so that I can make arrangements here on his behalf.

1. The set-back may have been a failure to find employment in Italy. Since Gabriele Rosanelli was co-governor of Chios from 1395-1433, it is clear he had arranged that Paolo should go to Chios as a physician. Guarino’s careful advice that Paolo should first take his doctorate and secure a written contract before sailing are worth noticing (cf. note to Letter 112).

2. Guarino must have been on Chios, since he knew the governor’s house and talks well of the island community. Sabbadini thinks this confirms the statement of the so-called “Anonymous Veronese” that Guarino had been a magistrate in Chios: “magistratus quos apud Chion Frat. palagi proclame nostram insulan singulvoter gosn.”

Letter 122 to Mako (dal Nazi)  

Venice, 13th October 1419

1. I cannot adequately thank you for the kind services you have rendered, for which I am eternally indebted to you. Take any arrangement you please for me and I shall obey. Cristoforo (Scarpa) has told me all you have done, and I approve. He will tell you everything that is in my mind. 2. My regards to Alaro.
Iazo had been Guarino's friend from boyhood and appears to have acted for him in arrangement of the marriage contract. cf. Letters 125, 127.

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**Letter 123**

To Niccolò Niccoli

Venice, 1418

I must fulfill the conditions of that good old proverb that "friends have all things in common" by introducing you to a new friend - Gabriele Racanello, a Genoan and co-governor of Chios. He is a devoted student and patron of letters. The addressee is unknown, but likely to be Niccoli. It would appear that Racanello was at this time in Italy, which places the letter probably in 1418. cf. Letter 121, where Racanello's presence in Venice is implied.

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**Letter 124**

to Iazo (da' Iazi)

Venice, 30th October

1. I will gladly send the speeches of Cicero which you sent me a few days ago, for you have done so many favours which I can never adequately repay. Though you are younger than I, it is fitting I call you "father.", for your superior wisdom. 2. I am a devotee of Cicero who is unsurpassed as a guide for language and morals. "I shall follow him adoringly from afar." 3. I have excised the pro Archia first. It praises literature and consequently pleased me; so that I do not mind any loss of income which may be involved in the time I have devoted to the work. 4. I have added some explanatory notes, and will do likewise with the other speeches, if this is that you want. I cannot find time from my teaching duties to do all the speeches together, so I shall send them one at a time, without delay. 5. Regards to Cristoforo (Scarpa) and Alcario (Gaiorino).

1. In sec. 2 Guarino positively asserts the primacy of Cicero as an orator and guide for living. He nowhere proposes slavish imitation, however, nor does he practice it. The extreme Ciceronianism of the Berboists is alien to the programme of the earlier humanists, who merely strove to catch the Ciceronian flavour.

2. Sec. 3 delicately hints at the question of payment for the work Guarino was preparing.
Letter 135 to Antonio Corbinello

Venice, 22nd November 1410

1. Nothing pleases me more than a letter from you, such as the one I received on my coming nuptials. It mixes jest with earnest and demands time and a clever pen to provide a suitably witty answer. I have neither, but will not permit the courier to depart empty-handed, lest you think me a weak consort - does Eneas not call Menelaus ἀργυρόσθενος to prove his strength? 2. I am astonished that a bachelor like you should think so little of wedlock. You claim that women are a hindrance to philosophers, but you are wrong. Be careful that you do not belittle virtue itself! Many great men in history have been helped by their wives. John Chrysoloras found it possible to continue teaching after his marriage, Eloy Writ approves of marriage, and Barbaro has argued its merits in the de re uxoria. It is our own vices that are a lot to philosophy. Though a mere beginner in wedlock, I champion it. Theophrastus inveighs against the disadvantages of having a wife, but ignores the blessings that come with it. It is said women need costly gee-gaws - but all groves are not Cressus, Lucullus or Antony, nor are all the brides Cleopatras. Theophrastus talks as though husbands were little more than pimps and has no conception of honest wedlock.

1. The remark about the loud voiced Menelaus is a poor and recherché joke. Guerino is "strong" because he has a voice to reply to Corbinello's strictures.

2. The tone of this letter, if not altogether a volte-face, is at least surprisingly enthusiastic after the mild but faintly despairing tone of Letter 135. Perhaps Guerino was stung by Corbinello's cynicism and the anti-feminist tone of Theophrastus' tract on marriage quoted by Corbinello. Alternatively, he may be making a virtue of necessity by the familiar process of talking himself into the idea of marriage.

Letter 136 to Nuzzo (da'Nuzzo)

Venice, 30th November 1410

1. Your letter gave me much pleasure, for it gives written proof of your deep
affection for me. There is nothing I would not do for you. 2. What I accomplished with the Pro Archia is mere nothing, except insofar as it pleased you. 3. Cristoforo (Scarpa) has told me how hard you are working on my behalf. I wish things had been left to you entirely. But what has been done cannot be undone. I promise to come this Christmas for two days to discuss my affairs. I wish to profit by your efforts to bring me back to my native soil. 4. Give my respects to your excellent mother and to the lawyer, Aleardo. Regards from Barbaro.

My mother sends her good wishes to yours.

It is not clear exactly what arrangements sec. 3. refers, whether to the finalization of the marriage contract or to the legal details pertaining to his return to Verona, possibly to both.

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**Letter 127 to Mazo (do' Maz)***

Venice, 3rd December [1415]

1. Another would hesitate to incur a further debt of gratuity to you, who have already done so much. But I wish you to make it clear to my father-in-law that I regard myself as a real son and will do anything for him that I can.

2. It has occurred to me that a steward for the property at Val Policella must be appointed, and I shall require your assistance. Roffino (da Campagna) has much influence in that district and our chief magistrate would be the right man to approach him for advice. 3. If you settle this matter for me I shall be everlastingly grateful. I shall also win Niccolò's (Zandrata) approval.

1. Niccolò Zandrata was Guarino's future father-in-law.

2. Val Policella was the villa and land given as dower for Taddei.

3. Roffino da Campagna was one of those appointed in 1405 to present the act of submission to the sovereignty of Venice.

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**Letter 128 to Gian Nicolo (Salerno)**

Venice, 7th January [1416]

1. The natural good-will you have towards good men of ability ensures that you
will remember Paolo de Paoliniis; but I wish you to know that my love and sense
of duty towards him and my country prompts me to ask that you facilitate his
return to Verona. It would be a pity to deprive our city of his talents; so
please exert your influence on his behalf. 2. Give my regards to Bartolomeo
Pelligrino and Guglielmo della Pigna, also to Battista Cendrata.

1. Paolo de Paoliniis had obviously failed to secure the appointment in Chios
(cf. Letter 121). After this we lose all trace of him.

2. Battista Cendrata is frequently mentioned in the Epistolary. He was
Taddeo's cousin.

Letter 129 to Battista Devilasqua

Venice, 27th February [1419]

1. I take ill with the lapse in our correspondence, but I dare not accuse you
of negligence when I am myself guilty of the same fault! Let us forgive each
other. We may be poor correspondents, but all our friends know the depth of
our mutual affection. 2. Hence a certain priest has enlisted my aid in ob-
taining a request from you. He explains it in his letter. It is up to you
to treat his well and prove that he has not sought my help in vain. 3. It
reflects credit on me that men know you are my friend; for it is of slight
honour to have found favour with men of virtue. 4. I shall write more frequently
in future. 5. Please give my respects to Sante Venier. Barbaro sends you his
regards.

Sante Venier was "capitano" at Zara, so Battista Devilasqua was also there in
his service.

Letter 130 Battista Devilasqua to Guarino

Zara, March 1419

1. Your letter, received today, gave me great pleasure... 2. If I had been able
to fulfill your request on behalf of the good priest Niccolò, I would have done so
... 3. My regards to Barbaro. 4. I have just heard the bitter news of zoo-
caria Barbaro's death. It has filled me with sorrow and I fear Francesco
Barbaro will find the loss irreparable... 5. You will learn from my follow-
soldier Giovanni of the ill fortune we have suffered.

Sabbadini in Vol. III p. 92-94 of Guarino. Epistolaria gives extracts from the letters of Davilaqua, which show that he was a man of none culture and interested in humane studies. Guarino's friends were drawn from all professions but united by a common respect for ancient learning.

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**Letter 131 to Fedarico Pittato**

Venice, 25th March [1419]

1. I am more and more drawn to your fine character; and your last letter is proof enough of the affection and good-will you bear me. There is nothing easier than for me to love a man in whose shine honesty and virtue. 2. You could have accused me of negligence in writing, but instead you take the blame upon yourself. I promise to be more assiduous a correspondent in future! 3. It is gratifying to know that Verona is looking forward to my coming. There is nothing dearer to my heart than rendering service to my native land, which must claim our deepest loyalties. 4. I was deeply touched to hear how gentle and kind Taddeo is and how she weeps because I am not by her side. I love her, as you bid me, and will strive to increase our love. 5. Give my regards to our relative Battista Condurate.

1. Fedarico Pittato was the cousin of Taddeo, Guarino's wife. Later Guarino delivered a speech at his wedding.

2. The time of Guarino's departure for Verona was imminent. The word had got round at Florence that he was quitting Venice and again efforts were made to attract him back to Florence. Traversari wrote to Barbara (Epist. VI, 20) 24th February 1419: "The young men of our city want him (Guarino). 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." This effort to lure him back to Florence failed, like the earlier one referred to in Letter 112, and probably for the same reasons. Guarino preferred to live in a friendly atmosphere.

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**Letter 132 Guarino to Piotro Donato, Archbishop of Crotone**

Translation: "You, Donatus, reflect upon Draco or Solon and their sacred-tongued laws, or engross in the great study of Minerva:
Letter 132 to Pietro Donato

Translation: Your reflect, Donato, upon Draco or Solon and their sacred-tongued laws, or follow the great study of Minerva. When I have too little to laugh about, you are present to my mind's eye. With those jokes of yours beguile my never-ending labour and comfort my heavy cares with your wit.

Lines 4-5 are extremely difficult: "parum mihi ridenti/ Ades obtutu." The situation seems to be that Donato had sent Guarino some witty piece, possibly a poem, to cheer him up. Guarino says that he has only to think of Donato to feel better, but urges him to keep sending poems (or letters?)

Letter 133 to Marzagaia

Go forth, my verses, and visit Verona, the nurse of my youth. My friends will welcome you. Greet Marzagaia first, a famous and upright gentleman ... May he whom I can call father in my heart call me his son forever.
Letter 134 to Cristoforo (Scarpa)  

1. You ask me to list the pairs of famous friends mentioned by antiquity, especially since you have read in Cicero that they amount to no more than three or four. It gives me pleasure to discuss friendship with one with whom I have always been on the most affectionate terms. 2. Opinions vary, but I take Plutarch as my authority. In his *De Vita* Cicero lists Piritheus and Theseus, Achilles and Patroclus, Castes and Pythias, Pythias and Damon. He adds Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Let us be numbered in the same to make a sixth pair.

Letter 135 to Antonio  

1. I shall try some method other than words or hints if that boorish young man cannot be brought to book. As a friend, I want you to meet him and demand on my behalf half of the annual fee he owes me, amounting to ten ducats. 2. If he wishes to know whether anyone is after the post he holds with you, do not give him a direct answer. Leave the matter guessing.

The end of the letter has been lost, but the purport is clear. Some recalcitrant pupil had left without paying Guarino for tuition and was causing some trouble with his employers. It is clear that not all Guarino's pupils were successes, although it is only fair to point out that the great master was still only in his forties and had not perhaps yet acquired the Socratic stature of his later career.

Letter 136 Cristoforo Scarpa to Guarino  

1. Then your letter came, I gave it to our friend to read. He accepted all the conditions but hesitated over the fee, demanding thirty-six ducats for his services... 2. I took the part of Francesco Barbaro and urged the fellow to entrust the whole business to you... I would have persuaded him to come to you to speed the matter up, if Francesco Scarpa had not raised an objection etc. The matters referred to are quite obscure.
Letter 137 to Guido  
Venice, 28th July
1. The good fellow from my native city who now lives in Bologna gave me your good wishes. What better than greetings from an old friend? 2. I feel guilty for not having written for so long; but please believe that I have not forgotten you. I am a lazy correspondent, but a firm friend. Our friendship is founded on love, not words. 3. Please send me, at your convenience, four wild goose quills. The addressee is unknown.

Letter 138 Guarino to the Doge Mocenigo  
Venice
Bartolomeo Recalco desires a favour from your Highness and has asked me to intercede on his behalf. I shall esteem the granting of his request a great favour, because I shall have obliged an excellent person and have gained the credit of being known as your friend.

Letter 139 to Giovanni Piumazzo  
Venice
1. I wanted to write to you; and now have news that will please a man as generous as yourself: my countryman Antonio Galese wishes to serve as a judge under the podesta designate of Padua. 2. Antonio comes of good stock and is honourable and intelligent. Please commend him to the podesta.
Letter 140 to Lodovico Cavazzo

Venice

When you left yesterday I met Paolo (Veneto). I commended your brother to him. I promised that we would remember his kindness in so readily complying with our request. Next day I took your brother to him and repeated my recommendation. I have also recommended him to others at the meeting. All have promised their support.

Letter 141 to Girolamo (Gualdo) Verona, April or May 1419

1. You are too kind to blame me for being slow to write, or to say that marriage has made me unmindful of my responsibilities. Your letter is worth more to me than my wedding. But blame yourself, for you have failed to write me. Why deprive me of such a pleasure? 2. I especially want to know the effect of that letter about the monkey of Rolandino, which I sent to you when (Francesco) Bracco returned.

3. Two days ago I was shown some marvellously old manuscripts, most of them patristic. You will get as much pleasure from hearing about one of them as I did from touching it -- the Letters of Pliny! The lettering is beautiful and old. The pages are narrow, and there are three columns of writing on every page. There are eight books and about 220 letters, each with a title. I have glanced at some. To my surprise and delight, the text seemed excellent. When your copy comes in a day or so, I shall emend it. 4. I am thinking about (Mario Vittorino's) commentary on Cicero. Send it when you have time. 5. Send me also any Terence you can buy or borrow.
Letter 142 to Bartolomeo Pellegrino

Val Policella, summer 1419

1. The threat of plague has deprived me of the pleasure of your company, but we can defeat envious mischance by writing to each other. There is a wonderful comfort in correspondence. 2. The pleasant surroundings here are conducive to study, I think because the mind responds to the freshness and life of the country. The ancients, like Curius, Fabricius and Cato, came to the country after discharging the duties of the state and there cultivated their minds and bodies with study and light exercise. We intend to give our service now for the public good and retire in old age to the country.

Bartolomeo Pellegrino was one of Guarino's new private pupils, but he was not a young man, for he was married already in 1411. He is mentioned again in Letter 170.

Letter 143 to Battista Zandrata

Castelrotto, 10th August 1419

1. The pleasantness of this county house and its surroundings, with which you are familiar, has prevented me from writing sooner. I came here not so much to escape the plague as to see the property. 2. It is situated at a convenient height on a hill and surrounded by olive-groves and vineyards. To the East, North and West there is a charming view of green fields and hills. To the South extends a plain. The River Athesis with its way through thickets delights the eye, and the towers of Verona can be descried in the distance. The pleasures of hunting and hawking and country life have kept me from writing. 3. Curius, Fabricius and Cato and countless other heroes learned their debt to the republic amidst the delights of the country. 4. Everyone here, from my father-in-law, his wife and my wife to the domestic animals, desire your presence with us. 5. I have enclosed a demand for a supply of corn, which I leave you to extract from our foresman. 6. My regards to Tomaso Fano, Zeno Ortofello and Cristoforo Sabbion.
1. The villa, Tadea's dowry, is minutely described in Letter 145.

2. Fano and Ortolano were notaries of Verona. Fano had studied under the Milanese lawyer, Paolo de Dinio, and had already taken his doctorate in 1401. Like Guarino, he was a product of the school of Marsazia, who was a follower of a style popular in the thirteenth century and exemplified in Boccaccio's earlier Latin writings. The characteristics were obscurity and difficulty. Guarino himself had been tinged with this "Apuleian" style, but soon repudiated it in favour of the limpid Ciceroan manner (cf. Letter 662). For a sample of this style, see Letter 590 (Latin text).

3. Cristoforo Sabbion was a civil servant of Verona and became chancellor in 1429.

Letter 144: addressee unknown Castelrotto, 15th August [1419]
(Fragmentary): * * * * * Convey my regards to T. and tell him that we are all safe and Bernardo (Lombardo) is also. Give my respects to Vitalio Faello also.

Letter 145 to Tommaso Fano and Zeno Ortolano Castelrotto, 16 August [1419]
1. I have decided to write to you jointly, for your friendship makes you inseparable. I wish to express my affection for you and invite you to my country house which I shall now describe with all its amenities. 2. You know how hot the summer has been elsewhere; but with us, the weather has been like spring. The sky is clear by day and lit with stars at night. The air is always fresh, but storms are rare. There are many old people, whose faculties of mind and body remain unimpaired, thanks to the favourable climate. They can recall events long past. 3. The countryside is attractive with sunny доли dirt by green hills on which nestle fertile fields. The meadows are verdant and the olive groves and vineyards are abundantly watered. The River Athessa draws away all surplus water and is deeply channelled for shipping. Its importance has never declined, for the water-level is constant even in high summer. 4. The villa is set on a gentle slope and surrounded on three sides by wooded
hills. It faces a wide plain watered by the Athesis. The guardian towers of
Verona rise in the distance. Inside are large rooms and a portico which catches
the sun early in winter, but not before the fifth hour in summer. The windows
afford views in all directions and even distant neighbours draw water from the
cool, clear well. 5. I invite you to share these delights, amidst which I culti-
vate my mind. This is the nest I am marking out for my old age. Like the
ancestors, I shall give my vigorous years to the service of the state, and reserve
my old age for my own pursuits. 6. So much for a rather long letter. If the
effort of reading tires you, lay it aside and think over the delights I have
described.

This entire letter, which is little more than an exercise in composition, is

Letter 1/6 to Antonio
[Val Policella, August or September 1/1917]
1. Many people, I think, wonder at my delight in this country house, but they
should know exactly what features do attract me, the green fields and hills,
the clear fountains and beautiful views and the kindness of nature, which
shower her gifts upon me. 2. I am sending some figs for you to taste.
Perhaps now you will defend the rustic life which is quieter and more peaceful
than the brilliant life of the city. 3. Taddea sends her regards to your
mother.

Letter 1/7 to Cristoforo (Sabbion)
[Castelrotto, 22nd August 1/1917]
1. I will not call your delightful letter eloquent without praising myself,
for the style is partly my creation; but it was full of wit. Other people
make tears a subject of heavy grief, but you made us laugh at Annibala's tears!
No one could be sad when we were all dying of laughter. 2. Please let no know
when my father-in-law is to take up his registry, also whether the chie
Let me know whether the city is in real danger from the plague. 4. My respects to the chief magistrate. Taddeo sends her regards to your mother.

1. Sabbion, like Antonio (Letter 116) and most of the addressees of Letters 143-174, was a pupil of Guarino. The main theme running through this group of letters is the disruption caused to the activities of the new school by the plague.

2. The Annibale mentioned may be the same man who appears in Letter 55, or another Annibale who was a Doctor of Law and a correspondent of Giorgio Bovilacqua. The subject of Sabbion's birth is unknown.

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**Letter 118**

**Castelrotto, 30th August [1419]**

1. Thank you for writing; for I am anxious for you at this time of plague, when we invariably fear the worst for absent friends. 2. I am glad you are enjoying such pastimes as fishing. I can partake of these pleasures from reading your descriptions. 3. I am gratified also that you are carefully revising your work and making yourself thoroughly conversant with it. What is more profitable or more pleasant than literature? It comforts us wherever we are. No one is a real human being who does not eagerly steep his mind in learning. 4. Our friend Bernardo (Lombardo) sends you his regards.

1. Pico was a pupil. From Letter 119 we know he had taken refuge in Rivo di Tranto. His friend Bernardo Lombardo was also a pupil.

2. Typically, Guarino approves of Pico's pursuit of recreation and study. The mention of revision is interesting, for this was a fundamental part of the humanistic teaching method. Voluminous notes were taken, divided by subject matter, and subsequently learned by heart. Perhaps an indication of how vital a part such notes had played in Guarino's own education may be discerned in the superfluity of his style. For example, the sentence "Non inen resus fidelis non esse arbitror qui litteras non diligit non amat non exceptitur non arripit non sequi in earum haustu proraeus immerit" is surely little more than an laborious collocation of phrases all meaning practically the same thing and recollected from a notebook.

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**Letter 119**

**Val Policella, 30th August [1419]**

1. The news that you are safe and well was a great relief to me, for I identify your well-being with mine. Such is the power of love which makes all our
possessions in common. Hence my complaints to you and Piso that neither of
you wrote to say how you were keeping. 2. I have no interest in hearing
about those drunken starvelings of Trent, uneducated louts, who are forever
tippling. What about you? It is much to your credit that you have remained
uncorrupted by those depraved fellows, just as Ulysses kept his human form
when all his companions were transformed to swine. 3. You say you disapprove
of the praise I have given you to Piso. I agree that there is nothing more
glorious than flattery, the author of vice. Truth is the beginning of all
blessings and flattery is the enemy of gods and men. But there is a difference
between flattery and true praise; and I am merely giving you the praise I
truly think you deserve. Theophrastus and Epaminondas lend support to my contention
that just praise is not to be despised. 4. The plague in the city is not
rampant, but there are still a few deaths. Most people have gone to the country.
5. Bernardo (Lochard), Taddeo, and Bartolomeo Brenzon (who is living with
me) send their regards.

1. The people of Trent had a reputation for bibulousness, of which Guarino
disapproves in a series of scathing puns which are untranslateable: Ripae
variae variae non nuncum gregem, quorum cursum felicitas in palato posita
est; si non tam filiae vacant quam filias vacat, nec tam libras patres
crudelum quam librum patrum hauriant. The riotous existence led by those
half-German barbarians is again slated in Letters 277, 279 and 284.

2. Bartolomeo Brenzon was a pupil of Guarino, to whom he dedicated a poem

Letter 150 to Cristoforo (Sabbion) Val Polichell, 31 August [1497]
1. We are all sorry you are not with us; but your recent letters brought us
pleasurably together again. Such is the function of correspondence. 2. I
approve of the manner in which you have dedicated yourself to study, which
provides a guide for moral living, useful accomplishments and unique pleasure.
The ancients knew this and considered an ignorant man little better than a
monitor. Times have changed sadly. Learning is despised, even by the highest orders of society. Aristocracy is measured in terms of licence, luxury and indolence. Study with your whole heart. 3. I cannot forecast how long I shall remain in the country; but as soon as it is safe to return, I shall go to the city. I rely on you to report when the plague has completely gone. 4. An- nibale sent me his own secretary, with whom I arranged that horses be sent to me on the 2nd September when I propose to take a few days' vacation in Reggio. Please ask Francesco Lombardo to allow Bartolomeo to come with me for company. When you read some of Bartolomeo's letters you will see how well he has pro-
gressed.

The charges laid against the ignorance of the general public, and particularly of the upper classes, are made also in Letter 54, and passim, and should be contrasted with the more frequent expressions of optimism and pleasure in the revival of learning.

Letter 151 to Lodovico dei Mercanti  [Val Policia, September 1419]

1. Duration upon this pestilence which has disrupted the state and separated no from my friends. I miss you more than anyone; but we can at least remember each other and exchange letters. 2. I have just come back from the neighbourhood of Lake Garda. I was lucky enough to meet your father at Lake Garda, and he was good enough to lend me his horses. From him I learned you are safe and well.

Lodovico dei Mercanti was born about 1400. He was the author of two poems, one called *Renascus* and the other dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Letter 152 to Filippo  

1. I might have reprimanded you for not writing, but you could have charged me equally with negligence. Let us forgive one another and write more often in
future. 2. Let me know if you are well and how your studies in Cicero are progressing. It helps to commit passages to memory, for nourishment such as Cicero should be digested, not tasted and cast aside.

1. Filippo, described as "canonicus", a minor cleric, belonged to the Bagini family.

2. As an instance of how Guarino's letters came to be used as models, Sabbadini quotes the opening of a letter of Giovanni Alleva, which echoes whole sentences of this letter verbatim. For discussion of another plagiarism, cf. Letter 179, note 1.

Letter 153 to Filippo

1. Having read your letter, I must congratulate you - and myself as your tutor - on the Ciceronian style you have acquired in such a short time! You wrote so well on such a sad subject that you are sure to do even better when your mood is happier. 2. The whole city sympathizes with you in your bereavement. Stand bravely, and show us that you possess manly virtue and an imperturbable spirit no less than the kindness we are already familiar with. Death comes to men in many forms, and no creature is more liable to misfortune. If we remembered this and curbed our wrong-doings, we could meet the blows of Fortune with calm fortitude. Comfort those who look to you by your words and example of courage.

This is a short 'consolation'. The opening seems repugnant to modern taste. It does, however, underline the importance attached by the humanists to a good style. It is perhaps noteworthy that in Letter 25 (translated in full) the sincerity of the general tone is not vitiated by flattery of this nature, perhaps because Guarino had experienced a deep personal loss in the death of Manuel Chрисолорас.

Letter 154 to Iodovico del Mercanti

1. I wish you to be eloquent, as well as modest and good. Practice in writing will achieve this, so write to me often, even if only briefly. Thus you, in
your villa of Olevotz, and me in Val Policella, will be again united. I am
"breaking the ice" with this letter. 2. As a change to divert you, I enclose
two poems I wrote for you at Benaco. The second one has a Greek word "prosocche ",
meaning "supplication", in its title, a practice sanctioned by Cicero in his
Paradoxes and Horace in his Odes, as we observe from old manuscripts. The
two poems follow:

1. The first poem is an occasional piece in honour of Lodovico, the other
is a prayer to Benaco. Neither is particularly distinguished.

2. The "titles" referred to are in the Paradoxes, but not in the Odes of
Horace, unless Guarino had seen them in a manuscript now lost.

Letter 155 to Battista Zendrata Val Policella, 20th September [1419]

1. To prove my affection for you, I have done your bidding and written a set-
piece to Gian Nicola (Salerno). Read it before you send it to him and give me
your appraisal. I am sending you two poems I wrote recently at Lake Benaco,
for you are kind enough "to consider my teachings of some worth ". 2. Please
extract my Vergil from Lodovico. It is fitting that I should have the poet
of the countryside amidst these rustic surroundings. 3. And my regards to
Giacomo (Zendrata), Gian Niccola, ... Francesco and all our friends.

Letter 165 to Lodovico [Val Policella, September or August, 1419]

1. I like nothing better than finding an occasion to write to you. Being in town
on business, I met your father the other day in news of your studies. It seems you
wish to know in what metre the poems I sent you were written. 2. The name
applied by the Ancients is "Anapestic " in four feet, all the same. It is the
opposite of the dactylic metre. Dactyl is long, short, short as in "splendidus ";
anapestic is short, short, long, as in "altidos ". A homely example would be
"Imitare patrem, Ludovico, bonum". We may also have variants in spondees and
dactyls, e.g. "musae Ludovicum vocitabant" or "virtutes hominem nobilitant."

It is possible to find true anapastics in an anapastic dactyl e.g. "nobilitant
hominem virtutes;", but my advice is to put anapastics somewhere in an anapastic
poem! My regards to your excellent father and your tutor.

Lodovico's tutor was Bartolomeo Zanocico (cf. Letter 252), but Guarino does
not hesitate to place his knowledge at his friend's disposal. This generosity
was typical of him.

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**Letter 157** to Bartolomeo Brenzon  
Val Policella, September or August 1419

1. Which of us is to blame for this lapse in our correspondence I cannot say;
but I have, for one thing, been expecting your arrival any day. 2. The place
where you live is a wilderness of mountains, where I could not get a clear view
for a whole week. The ground is barren and fit for beasts not men. The very
sight of the local inhabitants is frightening and their speech is terrible.

Only the proximity of Benezce makes the place tolerable. I don't call it Veronese
territory but the place where Veronese territory ends! The olive trees are
ugly monsters and wheat will not grow in the soil. Even the place names -
Brenzonum, Nalsemimum, Turbula etc. - sound uncouth. 3. By contrast, Val
Policella оривкгос means "richly blessed ", and to compare your countryside
with mine is like comparing honey with mud etc. 4. I have therefore been ex-
pecting you to take flight from the place. My letters in any case would trouble
to approach it. Give my description to the lawyer Hao (del Nazi) who is a
shrewd and reliable judge. But all of this is only in jest!

1. This letter is a protracted jest, delightfully betrayed just at the end,
"Hac quidem loco "; but generally speaking the Italians still dislike wild
mountain scenery. The places mentioned are today called Brenzone, Nalsecino
and Turbole.

2. Guarino had stayed at Lake Garda for a week (cf. Letter 151).
Letter 159 to Vitaliano (Paella)  

Val Pollicella 1419

1. Let us forgive each other for neglecting our mutual correspondence which could have consoled us in separation. Letters bring absent friends close to our side and enable them to converse. 2. What is the state of affairs in town? Has the plague lifted? I am eager to return and continue work with you and the other pupils. 3. What opinion did you form of Gian Nicola Salerno? 4. Convey my respects to the chief magistrate and to my good friend Bartolomeo Matreiano.

1. The chief magistrate of Verona from 10th June 1419 was Isacco Trevise. 2. Bartolomeo Matreiano was the notary who drew up Guarino’s marriage contract.

Letter 159 to Gian Nicola (Salerno)  Val Pollicella, 20th September 1419

1. Battista (Zandrata) visited me in the country, to which I had retired to avoid the plague. His news that you are well was welcome, for I value your health as I do my own. 2. As I forecast, your reputation in civic life is growing daily. I am not a Telescius, but your talents ensure your success in life. Your statesmanship, shrewdness on the bench, purposefulness etc. have been recognised in your having attained the chief magistracy of Mantua, Florence and now Bologna. You have grown richer not from the public purse but in the love of your friends. No man achieves a good reputation unless he possesses sterling qualities. You lack no attribute for happiness, like Antigonus who desired power in his youth but glory and repute in later life. True triumph and power lies not in the shedding of citizens’ and enemies’ blood, but in helping the stricken, restoring the law and keeping the peace. 3. Battista described how you quelled a riot in Bologna, uniting eloquence with bravery. I picture the unruly mob being soothed by eloquence and authority,
which is how cities are governed best. Pyrrhus promised his kingdom to his
"whose sword was sharpest" - he ought to have said "whose wits are sharpest ".
Fabricius refused an invitation to serve under Pyrrhus because he thought
the king's subjects would naturally prefer his Roman qualities, as fitter to
govern. 4. You owe a debt to the muses who have instructed you from boyhood
in the arts of government. They are, as you have proved, the mistresses of
both the vocal arts and statesmanship. Scipio said that he accomplished more
and better things when he was pursuing literature at leisure moments. The
future statesman becomes wise, modest and good through education and so bene-
fits everyone. Philosophy benefits only the philosopher. Homer calls rulers
of cities διόρθοποι (nurtured by God) because they care for the public weal,
not themselves, and rule by clemency. Antiquity rightly praises those who
tutored rulers, e.g. Anaxagoras, who taught Pericles, etc. In this age the
great philosopher Manuel Chrysoloras taught a vast number of princes. 5. I
urge you on, because all that is yours is mine also. You will win glory for
yourself, glory for the state and please all your friends. 6. By regards
to the excellent lawyer, Guglielmo (della Pigna).

There is an apparent contradiction in sec. 5. "Philosophers" there mean those
who retire from public life into academic seclusion. This was the kind of
philosopher despised by Quintilian. Manuel Chrysoloras was a "philosopher"
of another stamp, insofar as he wished to apply the lessons of philosophy to prac-
tical life.

Letter 160 to Marco (da' Pigna)

Castelrotto, 21st September [1412]

1. I had a letter from Piso, but he did not mention you. I was surprised until I
recalled how pre-occupied he is with his pursuits (passibula?). But since he
is so close to you, his silence implies your good health. 2. Report has it
that the plague is lifting. God grant that the state may renew its vigour and
benefit from the amazingly good crops this year. I am also burning to renew my instruction to the young men of the city; for learning can bestow glory on the state and the individual. 3. When I left the city I came here with my whole family to study in pleasant surroundings. I like to flavour every day with literary studies.

The "passibile" which pre-occupied Piso may be the transmigration of souls of the Pythagorean persuasion.

Letter 161 to Battista (Zandrata)  Val Policella, 22nd September

1. Your most pleasant letter announces the arrival of our great friend Galasio. Give him my good wishes. 2. You also want me to write something to Gia Nicola (Salerno). I think you got my letter to him; if so, let me know. 3. I was very sorry to hear that so many died. I fear worse to come in the cold of autumn. 4. I am sending you a small gift to mark our friendship. 5. Please ask Galvano Darense to take steps to recover the money due to me. 6. My good wishes to you and yours. Kiss the boy for me. Regards to Iacopo (Trovisan).

Letter 162 to T. (=Cristoforo?)  Val Policella  23rd September

1. I received your letter last night and was pleased to hear that you are well and that our lawyer friend has returned to Verona after his success-crowded magistracy in Bologna. 2. I wish, like you, that he had stayed in the country, for we owe it to the state to preserve good magistrates. I will write him as you suggest. 3. The state is in your debt for the help you give good men. I wish more people followed your example! "Honour nurtures the arts and all men are spurred to study by the hope of glory". 4. [Text corrupt] 5. My respects to the chief magistrate. 6. The spunning vintage prevents me from writing at greater length.
Letter 163 to Giacomo (della Verità) [Val Pollicella] 17th September [1419]

1. I would chide you for not sending me news of yourself and your family, but I am as guilty as you! But had I known where you were, I would have written. The proof is this letter. 2. Let me know how you are all keeping and whether the city is safe. I am eager to resume our studies. 3. Convey me to your excellent father and brother Bartolomeo.

Giacomo della Verità was a student of Guarino. His father, Gabriele, was an important civil servant in Verona. The family lived at Cerea.

Letter 164 [Giacomo della Verità to Guarino] [Cerea, beginning of October 1419]

1. I have been forced by family duties here in the country to neglect Cicero; but eventually I chose Cicero and Terence as more worthwhile pursuits. 2. It has rained heavily and the weather has been unsettled. 3. I decided to write to you, for I was afraid you would accuse me of negligence. Please forgive me for not writing sooner. 4. Write me a short note to say how you and your family are keeping. I shall guard my own health carefully.

1. This letter consistently uses 'vos' and 'vester' where the correct pronoun and adjectives should be 'tu' and 'tus', a usage which identifies the writer (cf. Letter 166).

2. The style of Giacomo's Latin is uneasy and self-conscious. The ending "Vos vero veniam breves ad me perscribere et valitudinem vestram et vestrorum. Valet. Valitudinem meam diligentissime curabo" has a tasteless redundancy of 'vos'.

Letter 165 [Giacomo della Verità to Guarino] [Cerea, beginning of October 1419]

1. I read your letter to Lodovico Cavallo with intense pleasure, and was glad to hear you are all well. 2. You objected to his use of 'vos' for 'te' and you will find the same mistake in my letters. You say that this error spoils the tone of the letter and is a vulgar modernism. I accept your ruling; but we decided between us that the form 'vos' was appropriate to your dignity.
Please forgive my ignorance. I shall think of some other means of honouring you.

The plural 'vos' and 'vester' for 'tu' and 'tuum' developed from the use of the royal plural. The Roman emperors were addressed as 'vester auctoritas'. The later Christian authors started to use 'vos' frequently and the usage passed into medieval Latin and the Romance tongues. But even in the Middle Ages, the point was mooted, as it was amongst the humanists, e.g. Salutati.

Letter 166 to Giacono (della Verità)  Val Policella, 6th October [1419]
1. I am delighted with your letter. It is affectionate and pleasant and shows how well your studies in Cicero have progressed with my assistance. Lodovico is also studying Cicero and your friendship can be advantageous to your work. We with each other in revising and learning Cicero's Letters by heart. 2. You will have to account for your activities when we return to the city. Vos bêtide you if you have wasted time! But you are not the sort to be lazy. 3. Again I warn you not to use 'vos' for 'tu' or a plural verb instead of a singular in writing to a scholar. The ancient usage is 'tu'. 4. Bernardo Lombardo sends his regards. Give mine to Lodovico (Cavalla).

Letter 167 to Bartolomeo Pollogrino  Val Policella, 6th October [1419]
1. Your letter delighted me, for I seem to see you and converse with you whenever I read it. 2. This plague is most vexing insofar as it separates us. It is costing me a lot and I see no sign of it abating. Fortune has dealt me and the state a blow in disrupting the studies which inspire men to virtue. 3. But we must trim our sails to the breeze. When the vintage is over, I shall return to the city unless conditions worsen. 4. No doubt you have heard how well Salerno is doing as chief magistrate of Bologna. It pleases me to hear how he unites bravery with vision. 5. I would visit you but for the rain and shortage of horses.
Letter 168 to Battista Zendrate

Val Policella, 18th October [1427]

1. Thank you for telling me of Mazo’s return and that Gian Nicola Salerno is well. For relieving my anxiety, I cannot thank you or love you enough. 2. I accept your proposal that I return and await your signal. 3. Please write only about Tadea’s return, for some have wanted to know exactly when we are going back. - I know why, but I do not want any ceremony or fuss. 4. My regards to your family.

Guarino’s friends wished to hold a welcoming celebration for Guarino and Tadea, so subterfuge had to be used to avoid it.

Letter 169 to Mazo (da Max) 

Val Policella, 18th October [1427]

1. It was good news I have just received that you have returned to the city; for your health is as important to me as my own and your return will grace Varona. 2. I envy those friends who can now converse with you. As a substitute, I send this letter to welcome you home. I shall return soon.

Letter 170 to Bartolomeo Pellegrino 

Val Policella, 25th October [1427]

1. The depth of our friendship is manifest in the delight your letters give me. I do not seek to flatter then I say that, with practice, your style will raise you to the heights. 2. I am tortured with longing to resume my teaching soon. I desire nothing more than to serve the state and will shrink from no effort, if I can only gain the necessities of life. You and your friends will surely see to that. 3. I shall disclose a secret fear to you alone: this year’s plague terrified me and I suspect it will increase in the coming year. Authorities have no real knowledge of Plague. Then I might have to “change sail!” But I have determined to follow your advice. I do not flee at the first sign of peril. If the state sees any merit in me, I shall serve it with all my resources.
4. More of this when we meet, which should be soon. I have fixed on the 26th October for my return. An earlier date would have been pointless, since everyone was away. 5. I was refreshed by your mention of Salerno, who is a credit to the state.

Letter 171 to Lodovico Polentino

Val Pollicella, 25th October [1419]

1. I have often cursed this plague, particularly since it has severed me from my friends' company. 2. You were making such progress, that I was sure you would soon achieve a Ciceroonian style. I return in three days' time and we shall redouble our efforts. 3. I thank you for your affectionate regard for my health. Friends have all things in common. Even if we did not correspond, at least we did not forget each other. 4. I shall inform you as soon as I return. My regards to master Giovanni.

1. Lodovico Polentino was a native of Legnano. He became a notary and author of a Serva artis notarice.

2. The "master Giovanni" mentioned may be the "registra Johannes artis grammatica" recorded at Verona in 1418, who is perhaps to be identified with "registra Johannes de Cercosa artis grammatica" recorded in 1425. Guarino was not the only teacher in Verona and it seems likely that he had contact, professionally and socially, with them.

Letter 172 to Battista Zandrata

Val Pollicella, 26th October [1419]

1. Your letter was a true augur of safety. Write again and confirm the reports that the plague is over. 2. I took to you for advice. What are my prospects of employment? 3. I shall come as soon as you give the word.

Guarino had not yet received a public appointment in Verona, but he had hopes that such a post would be created for him. As yet he was concentrating on winning the confidence and esteem of the citizens (Letter 170, sec. 3).
Letter 173 to Battista Zandrata  
Val Policella, 26th October [419]

1. This clear sky is a healthy sign for the city, so I am quitting the countryside. 2. Come next Sunday for lunch, and take me back with you to Verona. Bernardo Lombardo will accompany us. 3. Regards to Giacono (Zandrata), Giovanni Francesco and Nazo (da' Mazi).

This letter bears the same date as Letter 172. Either the date of one of the letters is wrong or they were both sent on the same day — 173 perhaps as an afterthought.

Letter 174 to Battista Zandrata  
Val Policella, 26th October [419]

1. It was pleasing to read in your letter how carefully you are arranging things. 2. You claim we cannot implement my plan to bring Tadea back to the city, for our friends are sure to make a fuss and escort her in procession. I must decline this mark of respect, lest it stir up resentment against me elsewhere. 3. My suggestion is that you tell Provalo, and possibly Nazo da' Mazi and Bartolomeo Pellegrino, that I need three more days to settle affairs here. Then you come with one companion for lunch. 4. I need assurance that it is safe to return, because Giovanni Salvidea told me that there have been some deaths this week and the epidemic is getting worse. I can wait a few more days. 5. Give the boy I am sending a letter, if I should remain, or a horse, if I should come. 6. I shall make sure your cousin (Tadea) starts preparations at once, for ween take such a long time to do anything!

1. The plan regarding Tadea is outlined in Letter 168.

2. There is a charming touch of humour at the end: "Un conturat un conturat annus est" (Ter. 
  Induct. II, 2, 11.)

Letter 175 [To Giovanni Gacato di Giovannola]  
[Verona 1419]

1. On his return recently from Rivo di Trento, my friend Matteo Amadesio gave me
your kind regards. It delights me to be remembered by such a fine gentleman as yourself. 2. He confirmed Lasso's opinion that you think highly of me. Thanks are inadequate and superfluous between friends, but I am yours to command. 3. Mattoz will tell you more than I shall write, particularly with regard to the books.

Letter 176 [To Giovanni Cusato di Giovannolo] [Verona 1419]
1. I have long admired your personal qualities from report. Merit in a man inspires devotion in me. But I did not dare to hope to become your friend since I am so much your social inferior. 2. But Lasso (de' Matti) tells me you are a devotee of the Musas, and I therefore feel sure you will accept an offer of friendship. Great men do not repudiate their inferiors - witness the example of Alexander the Great. 3. There are other reasons why we should be friends, but I prefer to say no more and await a spontaneous gesture from you.
Giovanni Cusato was about 1419 military governor of Lake Garda. In 1425 he was appointed Falconer to the Duke of Milan.

Letter 177 to Gian Nicola (Salerno) [Verona, 13th November 1419]
1. Your servant passed on your regards, which I deem a great honour. Your kind words bring your image before me and a renewed appreciation of a friendship that has existed from boyhood. 2. I shall be held in high regard because you are my friend; for great men do not bestow their affection lightly. If it is an honour to be praised by men of merit, it is even better to have won their friendship and esteem. Ulysses was fortunate to have been praised and befriended by Homer. Your qualities adorn the state and me. 2. The same servant said you would shortly be inspecting a list of books recently brought to your notice. Being a booksman, I was excited. In the case of books one may
Ignore conventional morality. Caesar quotes Euripides "If right must be violated, it must be violated for power; in all things else, cultivate respect". Hence, it is even more justifiable to violate right when it is a case of freeing books from bondage, dust and obscurity. As a magistrate, it is your duty to cast the guilty into prison but to liberate the innocent and give them their lives. 3. My regards to Caesio and Guglielmo (della Pigna) and my congratulations to the latter on giving the state two Jeromes, one from his loins, the other from his pen. Tadea sends her love to your good wife Francesca. She wishes the same affection between her and Francesca as exists between their husbands.

1. Sec. 2 provides an insight into the attitude of the humanists regarding books. So precious were any manuscripts and so eager were scholars to obtain them that almost any means was considered lawful to ensure that they came into circulation. Guarino does not suggest, however, that Salerno should steal the manuscripts in question, only that he should use his official authority to release them. To our minds this would be tantamount to theft. Note that ancient authority (Caesar and Euripides) is used to justify the argument. Sabbadini quotes an instance of actual misappropriation by Bruni in 1407. A nobleman had promised Bruni a MS. but it was never sent. As a reprisal, Bruni purloined a Book of Livy lent to him by a third party altogether and attempted to justify his action by quoting the same passage of Euripides, in this form: "Nam si ius violandum est, librorum gratia violandum est, ceteris in robus servando fides." (Sabbadini in Giorn. stor. d. letter. ital. XVII, 1891, p. 221). In 1434 Panciuta purloined a precious MS. of Plautus belonging to Guarino, which he kept for eleven years.

2. Guglielmo della Pigna's newly-born son was named Girolamo (Hieronymus, Jerome). He was also engaged in copying the works of St. Jerome.

Letter 176 Bartolomeo della Verità to Guarino [Serea, second half November 1419]

1. I cannot express how worried I was for you and your family until I received your letter. 2. Your kindness is admirable, for you could have remonstrated with me for failing to write, but refrained. I have been busy, but will write when I find more time. 3. Your enquiry concerning a certain saleable property will be fully answered when I reach Verona and examine it. 4. Meantime I an
sure you will excuse the delay. I have not forgotten you and am eagerly looking forward to the resumption of our studies.

Letter 179 to Girolamo Gualdo

Verona, 11th December

1. I suspect that several of my letters have not been delivered to you; for it is unlikely you not to write. Perhaps you have written, but the couriers have not delivered your replies. Let us circumvent this mutual loss of pleasure by writing short but frequent letters. 2. I must just mention that I propose to start a rhetorical course after Christmas, and therefore wish you to send those copies of Quintilian to me. If you have an Asconius Pedianus, send that also; otherwise ask Barzizza to send his copy on to me. 3. Give my regards to your fellow student boarders.

1. The inaugural lecture to the course in Rhetorica is published by K. Hillen- nor in Wiener Studien XVIII, 1897, p. 235-239, and it is analysed by Sabbadini in La Scuola e gli studi p. 62-3. An anonymous imitation of this lecture for a course on Vergil is in cod. Azonon. S 61, f. 117v, another example of how Guarini's work was plagiarised (cf. Letter 152, note 2).

2. The Quintilians had already been dispatched (cf. Letter 181).

3. Guarini's appointment was not debated until another four months had gone by. It is not clear whether the inaugural lecture was delivered before or after the official decree (20th March 1429). The terms of his appointment were: "sun in scola quam eligient Rhetoricae logore Epistolae et Oratones Tullianas et aliae facultates quo ad eloquentiam pertineat ut docere et alia que fuerit auditoribus placita et utilia omnibus adolescentibus et maioribus civitatis et districtus Veronae isti modo doctrinas capere volentibus.... Fossit tamen idem Guarinus alios advenes et in duodeca et in sua scola acceptas atque odore et ab omnibus alios tam nostratibus quam foresamibus sallarin capere et consequi specialia prout secum fuerint in concordio...."

Letter 180 to Gian Nicola (Salerno)

Verona, 21st December

1. The lawyer Alcardo Gafarino has provided the occasion for a letter to you.

2. A few months ago, envoys from Bologna went to Venice. Their chief spokes- man was Battista Poca, to whom Marino Caravello made a request that no support
Aleardo’s application for the post of Judge of Merchandise at Bologna. Battista agreed, providing that the office was still vacant on his return. Otherwise he promised his support in the next election. Aleardo knew nothing of this. Caravello was detained at home by illness and has been unable until now to inform us of the representations he made on Aleardo’s behalf. I now ask you to hold Battista to his promises, for I hear he has much influence in Bologna and regards you highly. Do this, and I shall be everlastingly grateful and enjoy the reflected credit of having influence with great men such as yourself.

3. P.S. Please send Losco’s commentary on Cicero.

1. Battista Poeta, one of an illustrious Bolognese family, took an active part in the tumults at Bologna in 1428-30.

2. Mariano Caravello in 1407-8 was one of the legates under Zaccaria Trevìsan at the Papal Court. He was ‘capitano’ (or second magistrate) at Padua 1408-9, and procurator of San Marco from 15 November 1410.

3. The commentary by Losco on the speeches of Cicero is discussed by Sabadini in Storia e critica di testi latini p. 231-23.

Letter 181 to Girolamo Guasco

Verona, 28th December 1419.

1. Curses upon those couriers who, either out of spite or negligence, fail to deliver our letters! Yesterday evening, I received your letter dated 13th November, together with the copies of Quintilian. The fact that you complain of my silence proves that none of my letters has been delivered; which surprises me, as I thought the couriers were reliable. 2. The death of your grandfather from plague has deprived us of a most pleasurable association with him. He has, however, escaped much earthly wretchedness. Nature prepares us for death by intervals of sleep, and old age is physically so repulsive that I really think that an early death is a blessing. 3. Each day brings a new sorrow. I heard recently of Giona (Bosta’s) death. He had shown promise of greatness. The one comfort in such earthly misfortune is that of a life well lived. 4. I
have not amended the Letters of Pliny, for it was difficult to obtain the exemplar, owing to the plague, which drove so many citizens away and has caused me to interrupt my teaching. 5. I would reply to Gugliello Tenaglia, but you say he is now in Florence. I shall write you both when I find a messenger. 6. That ancient volume of Pliny will be copied and you will have that Word-Commentary also.


2. The codex of Pliny's Letters is that referred to in Letter 141. It could neither be consulted or copied until Guarino's return to Verona.

3. The "Word-Commentary" in Guarino's Lexicon of Servius, entitled "Vocabula Guarini extracta a Servio super Vergilium" (cf. Sabbadini, In Servia e gli studi di Guarino p. 54-55). He put out two editions, the first beginning from "Ab integer" and ending with "Utrius," the second from "Ablutumro" and ending with "Zetas." Both are common in manuscript. The first of these was printed by Giovanni Biffi, in the Cis, as his own work. (For Biffi cf. Letter 90, note 2). In his dedicatory verses, he has the impudence to write:

"Hec quisquam pulchros defraudat laude labores,
Scriptorius haec gratia tam bene culta viris,

("And let no-one cheat me of praise for my fine work. I wrote this well polished material for grateful men.")

In 1468 Pier Candido Decurbiro wrote from Florence to Girolamo Castello, asking Guarino's Lexicon. He even denied that it was by Guarino, so poor did he consider it to be. To a certain extent this charge was justified, for Guarino had introduced nothing original.

Letter 180 to Casparino (Barzizza) da Bergamo

The bearer of this letter, Pace de Guarientitis, is a friend of mine, whose many kindnesses you can help me now to repay. He wants you to teach his nephew.

If you agree, you will oblige me and the boy's father, who is a fine man and rich! Pace I commend to you. Explain your wishes to him, and let him know that you value his opinion.

There is a delicate touch in this letter. The prospective pupil's father is described as "virus bonus et prudentem praecipientem at quid ad rerum at- tinet, locupletem." The candid manner of payment is side-stepped, yet Guarino contrives to assure his colleague that he will be well-paid.
Letter 183  Gasparino (Bemissa) da Bergamo to Guarino  [Padua 1427]

I value your friend Pace... I promised him my services... We reached an agreement without difficulty and money was mentioned only once... The rest of the time we discussed you and your services to the arts....

Bemissa is obviously delighted that there was no haggling over fees (cf. Letter 182, note). The question of payment was important to the humanists, who sometimes found it difficult to extract what was due to them.

Letter 184  to Gian Nicola (Salerno)  Verona, 9th February [1427]

1. I was thinking about writing to you when your letter to Bartolomeo Felzagino came into my hands. Your affection for me was expressed "clearer than day".

I was delighted that you remembered me, for it is a great honour to have won the friendship of such a great man as yourself, a greatness attested by the eagerness of the citizens of Bologna to extend your tenure of office. Congratulations! It is more glorious to achieve a second election, for this constitutes the recognition of your merits. 2. Bologna, the glorious, the dwelling place of humanus, has considered you fit to bear her highest honour.

One will felicitate you on the financial gain, but nothing is more despicable than the abuse of power for personal ends. Everything must be sacrificed for the good of the republic. Men such as you can have no use for such base ends.

3. Give my regards to the lawyer Guglielmo (dalla Pigna) and Galasio (dalla Nichesola). Take my respects to your good wife.

The extent to which Cicero's patriotic outbursts influenced the thinking of the Renaissance is clearly seen in this sentence, which might have come from Cicero himself: "quid enim absurdius, quid vituperabilius, quam quenque habere rem publicam, pro qua anna corona facultates liberi, vita danique offendenda etmittenda saxi potius expendenda est?"

Letter 185  to Girolamo Guasco  Verona, 7th April [1427]

1. As promised, I shall write you frequently. 2. I enclose a letter, which you
must deliver circumspectly. Write and tell me the fellow's reactions, so that we may have a good laugh. 3. I shall do my best to complete and send on everything. 4. Give my regards to your fellow students. Salute, or insult, if you will, that pleasantest of men!

An obscure letter. It would seem that some unpleasant person ("alarum quoque hominum aenonissimam distrahis vel stiam si voles insultius" is ironical) was to be the unwitting subject of a joke between Guarino and Gualdo. Possibly he was a fellow pupil at Barzizza's school, which Gualdo attended about this time (the date is uncertain).

Letter 186 Leonardo Giustinian to Guarino

1. I had two letters from you. 2. In the first you commend Giacomo della Verità to me. I could not meet him because of his father's death. 3. In the second, you express anxiety for my health. Do not worry. I have gone to Murano, having resigned my registry for the two months I will be away. I did this gladly, because I am no longer required to be in Venice. The days are my own and I appportion them in this way: every day I read something and have returned to our old studies. Thus I refresh my mind, but also watch my health and sometimes leave off, remembering that literature without life is useless, although life without literature is even more so. Then I visit the citizens of Murano and converse with them on all manner of subjects. I call upon the Christian philosophers in monasteries and discourse on the good life. I also exercise on the beach. There are natural wells here and in the sand all kinds of fruits and vegetables, such as one would not expect to find here. If I were not a student of natural history, I should ignorantly call this a miracle. Sometimes I fish from a boat under an umbrella and listen to the voice of some Greek or Latin friend. Think of a better life if you can! At times I indulge in the pleasures of music. 4. I was distressed to learn that Cristoforo Scarpas has gone to teach in Vicenza without having
consulted his friends. I shall try to get him away from there, even if it
means a trip to Vicenza. I shall keep you informed. 5. Barbaro has recovered
from his illness.

1. Vicenza was full of Venetians who had taken refuge from the plague in
Venice (cf. Letter 191).

2. Giustinian was a man of wide talents. He wrote sonnets in Italian and
seems to have been setting them to music during his vacation.

Letter 187 to Pietro Tarasini

Verona, 5th September [1420]

1. Our friendship is perfect, except for the considerable lapse in our cor-
respondence. Now I have found a good opportunity to break silence. 2. Re-
cently I attended a banquet, at which the guests included a company of soldiers.
According to the custom of the Ancients, there were speeches. I discoursed
on warfare, and the soldier, Biaquino da Roncagno, on literature. He mentioned
an unfinished work on Poverty by his brother, a scholar for whom I had much
regard. I understand you have this work and I beg you to lend it to me, that
I may learn how to put up with my exiguous means. 3. My regards to Antonio
Dotto.

Biaquino da Roncagno, a native of Feltre, served in the Venetian army with
distinction in the campaign against Milan (1426-28). Though primarily a
soldier, he seems to have fallen under the influence of the New Learning.
His brother, Antonio, was a considerable scholar, serving as Chancellor of
Feltre for five years, and thereafter in the staff of Pietro Marcello, Bi-
shop of Condate (1403-1404). He lived from 1362-1409; so Guarino's friend-
ship with him antedates the visit to Constantinople. In view of the difference
in their ages, it is unlikely they were fellow students.

Letter 188 to Pietro Tarasini

[Verona, September 1420]

1. Yesterday I received the Da Paupertate at the hands of Scipio Basica,
a man worthy of bearing the gifts of goddesses. 2. It was accompanied by a
stylish letter, full of good sense. If you wished Poverty to leave your
house, with a train of such magnificence, and go elsewhere, you have succeeded!
But perhaps you wished to indicate that she must be venerated. 3. I cannot thank you enough for your kindness. Myself and all my resources are yours.

Letter 182 to Lodovico da Fermo  [Verona, September 1420]

1. When the news broke that an army was moving through the territory of Verona to raise the siege of Brescia, the citizens and peasants were terror-stricken. Soldiers are notorious for the damage they often cause. But on hearing that you were in command our fears were allayed. You will never permit the outrages that some other uncouth general might wink at, since you are a friend of Venice and we offer you a free passage. As you have often proved your valour, now show your gratitude and good faith by restraining your troops from looting. Sheer force of personality can do this. Of course you do realize that any outrage will only hinder your purpose, for those whom you intend to help will expect treatment similar to what we receive. If that is shabby, they will look upon you not as a deliverer but as an enemy. Again, where would you go, if you are beaten? 2. If you show us the clemency worthy of a great general, your immortality is assured. Many will minimize your exploits, or attribute them to others, but the praise that comes from those whom you have spared cannot be taken away either now or in ages to come. Our young writers are thinking of immortalizing you, so do not play your friends false. It would be worse than bestial, for beasts can be tamed by offering them a titbit. Let your inspiration be the very words of Julius Caesar you are said to quote often - "Spare the citizens." Sulla spared Athens from fire in remembrance of her past glory. You, who are devoted to the arts, should be moved by the memory of the many poets and philosophers of Verona. 3. I rely on your goodwill, your loyalty to Venice, your sense of strategy and your hopes of immortality. If all else fails, at least pity the fears of the women and children and the aged, who will perish unless you restrain your soldiers.
In September 1420, Pandolfo Malatesta was besieged in Brescia by Carmagnola, condottiere of the Visconti. Carlo Malatesta engaged the condottiere Lodovico Migliorati da Fermo to raise the siege, with the help of Manfre da Barbiana and Antonio di Bentivogli.

Lodovico (d. 1428) was a typical mercenary of his day. A great deal would depend on the personality of the general if the mercenaries were to be restrained from forgetting their original purpose and looting indiscriminately wherever the opportunity arose.

Letter 190 Niccolo de' Leonardi to Guarino Murano, 29th September, 1420

1. I am living in Murano to escape the plague. There I met Cristoforo Scarpa, who let me read your speech in praise of Rhetoric. I admired its beautiful style and lofty tone, and particularly the way in which you adapted certain verses of Homer to your theme. 2. A certain reading, however, puzzles me. For 'ιντρός δ' ἐνη ὁλλόν ἀντίπος ὑλωμὲν I think the text should read ἱντρός or ἱντρός etc. I who am no expert appeal to you, who know Homer intimately. Should it be ἱντρός or ἱντρός? Do not despise this little question. As Solon said, "I keep learning many things as I grow old"—γενίκω δ' ἔκει πολλὰ διδάσκομενος. 3. Leonardo Giustinian sends his regards. Give mine to Belpetro da Vicenza.

The eulogy of Rhetoric (cf. Letter 179) claims that all the arts need the help of rhetoric; that of warfare to inflame the troops, that of politics to inculcate respect for the law, that of philosophy to make its lessons attractive, that of law for the discussion of cases, and that of medicine to predispose patients to painful operations, to alleviate suffering and prepare the dying to take their leave of life.

Letter 191 to Niccolo de' Leonardi, the physician Verona, 7th October 1420

1. In reading your delightful letter, I saw you before my eyes and was transported by pleasure. May you have many more questions to prompt you to write! 2. You honour me with the name of teacher, a recommendation
which will raise my stock no end with my fellow-citizens. What more
could I wish than the approval of such a man as you? Virtue is known
to elicit a favourable response from the virtuous. 3. It was because
of a copyist's error that \( \text{INTRO} \) appeared in your text of my speech.
The correct reading is \( \text{INTRO} \), because in Ionic Greek and poetry \( \upsilon \)
is interchanged with \( \eta \), for example \( \text{\epsilon\rho\eta\upsilon} \) for \( \text{\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu} \) etc.
4. Commend me to Leonardo Giustinian, Federico Contareno and Daniele
Vitturio. I shall convey yours to Belpetro.

Sec. 3: The copyist had mistaken \( \text{INTRO} \) for \( \text{INTRO} \).

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Letter 192 to Andrea Zulian
Verona, 15th October 1420

1. I cannot thank you enough for introducing me to such a friend as
Flavio Biondo. The gods have made him gentle, modest and highly talented.
I shall always celebrate the day he became my friend. 2. He left three
days ago, taking with him your copy of Antonio Losco's commentary on
Cicero's speeches and my Pedianus. He will send them back shortly.
3. So far I have received no other manuscripts from you. Please return
the Letters of Pliny to me, as their owner has asked them back. 4. I
have just remembered a remark of Daniele Vitturio. I had praised your
diligence in copying all the letters and speeches of Cicero in one year,
but he reminded me that you had also married - and you capped it by saying
that you had made her pregnant, too! 5. Flavio asked me whether I call
the address which I wrote to Lodovico the general a letter or a speech.
I know you disagree, but I claimed it was a speech, because it is based
on a five-point formula recommended by Cicero. I am prepared to accept
your ruling, however. 6. Tadea sends her love to Θεόδωρα (Theodora).
7. P.S. Regards to Guidotto. I would ask you to commend me to the Doge,
but I feel diffident before his greatness. Write often, even short letters.

1. Flavio Biondo: His real name was Biondo de' Biondi, which he Latinised
into Blondus Antonii Blondi (de Forlivio) which is his invariable signature


4. The letter to Lodovico: i.e. Letter 189. For the five part division
cf. Letter 213.

5. The end of this letter (sec. 6) reads: "Tadea, quae illum (i.e.
Theodora) tantopere amat ardet oculis et animo, ut iam nunc
ascensionem meditetur." The final clause is obscure, and Sabbadini
suggests "a me secessionem" for "ascensionem " I think, however, the
text can be kept. Two possible solutions occur to me.
(a) On the analogy of e.g. Cicero, Ver. 4, 51 "ascendit in oppidum
Arcagathus ", the sentence means that Tadea is missing Theodora so much
that she is considering making a trip "up to Venice" to pay her a visit.
(b) "Ascensio" (perhaps to be written with a capital letter) means
"Ascension Day," the 40th after Easter and regarded as a holiday, when
one would visit friends. The meaning is recorded in only one instance for
1461; but it seems plausible enough here. The fact that this letter was
written in October is a difficulty, but if the two women had agreed to
meet on Ascension Day of the next year, the words "iam nunc" take on the
fullest emphasis. This seems the better solution.

Letter 193 to Girolamo (Gualdo)                  Verona October 1420
1. At least you have written! It was rumoured you were coming to
Verona in person. 2. Our Pliny also arrived. Since you have been so
busy, I realise you could not have studied it and shall refrain from
asking your assessment of its merits. 3. My congratulations must go to
Guglielmo (Tenaglia) also. His great natural talents made me prophesy his eventual success. 4. I have decided to remain in Verona, where my activities are beginning to make an impression. 5. I had already heard of what happened at Florence. 6. Barzizza is going to Milan. That ape of a creature who is to succeed him will make his pupils as big fools as he is himself! 7. It is a pity Cristoforo Scarpa has displeased your citizens—but what else could he do? His own bishop and a number of Venetian nobles pressed him to leave.

1. Gualdo and Tenaglia had been taking their doctorates.

2. The Pliny referred to must be the copy Guarino had made of the "Letters of Pliny" in the Chapter Library of Verona.

3. Sec. 5 may refer to the scandal raised by Bruni (Letter 199) or the invective of Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti against Niccoli. It may, however, refer to another move to recall Guarino to Florence, in which case it follows on from Sec. 4 (See Letter 193 A).

Letter 193 A [No addressee in MS. This letter, unknown to Sabbadini, was published by R. Weiss in "Some unpublished correspondence of Guarino da Verona" in Italian Studies II (Aug. 1938-May 1939).]

Latin text as given by Weiss: Hodie dominus illarum epistolarum eas a me repetitum venit, et ita venit ut omnia clamores implere visus est. Eas apud librarium esse inventurus sum, nisi forte tu eas librario scribendas tradideris, tamen est quam maxime potes acceleres; urge istas quo ad nos quam primum redeant. Hoc enim pacto et alios ab eo codices impetrare potero. Alioquin exclusus ab omni spe sum idque vel eo facere poteris quo pace admodum tuis adesse visae sunt. Vale mea suavitas; hodie mihi Florentia missa est electio et cum salario CCC
Although the text is obviously corrupt in places, the sense is clear enough: the owner of a collection of letters is demanding their return; Guarino asks the addressee to expedite this, so that other MSS will be made available to him (Guarino) in future; Florence has offered Guarino 300 florins a year to return and teach there, with special emphasis on Greek, but he is unable to accept the offer.

2. The letters in question seem to have been those of Pliny; in Letter 192 Guarino says their owner is demanding them back. In that case, Letter 193 A must date from about the same time as Letter 192 and is an urgent and repeated request for a return of the MS in Andrea Zulian's possession, probably the exemplar from which Guarino had originally taken his copy of the Letters of Pliny (Letter 141). The addressee is not likely to have been using Guarino's personal copy (Letter 193). Letter 193 A should therefore be dated in late 1420.

3. The principal importance of this letter is that it is the only source for the salary offered to Guarino by Florence at this time.

Letter 194 to Francesco Barbaro  
Verona, 23rd October 1420

1. At last I have wrung a letter from you. In it, you recommend Francesco. In serving you, I shall not be conferring, but accepting a favour.

2. There is hope for him if he does not fail himself. He finds the initial stages of study tedious, and thinks that in this age one cannot learn literature properly. I shall try to dissuade him of this. 3. I have extorted those commentaries with difficulty from you and from their bearer. 4. It is a pity about the illness of Vittorio and his sisters.

5. Tadea is well and delighted to hear Maria's expression of affection for her. She sends her love to Maria and Ursa. 6. Regards from Mazo (dei Mazia), Bartolomeo Pellegrino, Brenzon, and della Verità and his son. Give mine to Federico Cornelio and ask him to send me his servant.
1. I despair of ever being able to thank you enough for your goodness towards me, but every day I render some thanks, so that you may know I am neither ungrateful nor remiss. 2. To help you, I have sent a little work on Greek orthography by Chrysoloras. Note that (a) In determining whether any word is to carry the 'spiritus asper' or the 'spiritus lenis' one must look to the nominative in nouns, to the "first position" in verbs and participles (prima verbi positio). (b) In dealing with other parts of speech, if it is a "derivative" or a "composite" word, it will carry the same breathing as the original root (suum accipies primarium); if it is a "simple" word, the breathing will be fixed by the rules that govern classes (generatim positis regulis). If they do not apply, one must refer to rules governing individual cases. (c) In compounds, the breathing goes only at the beginning of the word, e.g.

The passage giving this didactic material is not particularly easy to follow. I think he means by the "prima verbi positio" the 1st part of whatever tense and mood we are dealing with, e.g. the 1st P. Sing. or the Imp./Aor. Indic. or the 2nd P. Sing. of the Imperative. The point here may be that in verbs like ὁρῶ we get ὁρῶ ὁρωμένον ἐκοράκε, i.e. both rough and smooth breathings, depending on the tense. Again, it seems to me that the passage makes sense only if we bear in mind that all the divisions Guarino makes refer to words beginning with vowels. By "suum accipies primarium" he must mean that a derivative such as ὄρβανος Εὐρέακε will carry the same breathing as the noun Εὐρέας. A compound such as ἄγαθος τεῖχος will have the same breathing as ἄγε. The rest of the passage leaves me uneasy. For one thing, how can he be talking about "simple" words and then end up with ὕλοιονος? Also one would have thought that he had dealt with simple words in his opening remarks about nouns. Possibly he means words which begin with dipthongs, such as ὤνος (i.e. one does not write ὤνος) and Ἀιδής, but Ἀϊδής. Again, he may have in mind ἐς in the middle of a word e.g. ἅπερ. Then, presumably, the rules which govern classes are the general rules that the breathing goes on the initial vowel, or on
Letter 196 to Gian Nicola Salerno

Verona, 18th December [1420]

1. Your gentleness with your friends ensures my forgiveness for so often failing to write. I cannot accuse you of negligence, for every letter you send our learned friends is, in effect, a letter to me also. 2. Recently, I wrote to Guglielmo (della Pigna). It seems that, alone of all your household, "Scaramella" is sick—with love! The disease is driving him crazy, as it rages secretly within. I am reminded of one of Alexander's soldiers, called Eurylochus, who was enamoured of one Telesippa. When the veterans and the ailing were being discharged after the conquest of Persia, Eurylochus applied to be sent home with them and his fair one, assuring the surprised king that love can be no slight ailment, since it captivates fish, beasts, men and gods! For "Scaramella" I recommend the treatment that their drivers mete out to lazy mules—a sound whipping, short rations and plenty of hard work! 3. Such letters make me miss your company even more every day. Already I am counting the days until you return to your home town and assist in its government. Nothing pleases immortal God better than service rendered to one's country. A man should not seek glory elsewhere only to desert his own people. History supplies many instances of learned men who have travelled widely and returned home at last to benefit their countrymen with the fruits of accumulated wisdom. 4. Tadea sends her regards to your wife.

Scaramella is obviously a nickname for one of Salerno's household. Scaramella was the popular figure of the clown and was the same comic
character as Scaramouche in French. This is the first mention of him in literature. For "Chichibio" as the popular figure of a lazy good-for-nothing cook, see Letter 316, n.1.

Letter 197 to Niccolo Dotto

Verona, 3rd January [1421?]

1. As I read your letter, I seem to behold in you the beloved image of your father. Imagine how much I enjoyed your letter, knowing that mine give you such pleasure. But love is blind and distorts our judgement! Go on singing my praises and I will love you all the better, for I am thus made to think myself eloquent and learned. It is an excellent sign in a young man that he acts in a praiseworthy manner and praises the merits of others. 2. I rejoice that my pupils have gained such honour amongst you. I had no doubt that they would succeed, given the chance to pit their wits against real scholars, not those mere dabblers who assume the name of scholars. When the latter meet another man's pupils, they try to make them look fools by asking questions composed after long and involved thought. Such fellows spend years over figures of speech, cases, gerunds and all that sort of nonsense, and make their pupils more befuddled than ever. 3. I regard you all the more highly for your studious efforts to become an upright and learned young man.

4. My regards to your father and to Pietro Tommasi.

1. Sec. 2 is possibly an attack on George of Trebizond, then professing at Vicenza (Letter 707). He took part in the Plato-Aristotle controversy, accusing Plato of pederasty, translated some major works of Aristotle and the Parmenides and Laws of Plato (c. 1450-55), but seems to have been an uninspired and uninspiring scholar.

2. Guarino had no time for the more pedantic trappings of scholarship. He believed in simplicity of method in teaching and quick results. For the humanists' attack on the specialties, cf. Bolgar, The Classical
Letter 198 to Niccolò Dotto
Verona, 17th January [1421]

1. Your letters always delight me, reflecting as they do the kindness and humane spirit of the father who reared you. 2. The first fruits of your talents augur well for the future. Study hard and you will be rewarded with pleasure, reknown and the finest equipment possible for life.

Other blessings accrue by chance; but virtue and a knowledge of the good arts comes only from one's own efforts. Do not, therefore, fail to live up to your surname (Dotto=learned). 3. Sometimes I am negligent about writing, either because of my unending duties or because I am a tired old horse who needs the spur. In my youth I was just the opposite. It is up to you to write me, if you want an answer. 4. I have already received the copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which you sent.

Letter 199 to Gian Nicola (Salerno)
Verona, 15th January [1421]

1. My affection for you constantly increases—little wonder, since you do me so many favours. Now you appear as my champion, spreading my praises and shielding me from the sneers of my detractors. I shall discuss this fully when you arrive shortly. 2. You know I have never been anything but well-disposed to Leonardo Bruni. Letters of mine to Francesco Barbaro and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano bear witness to my high regard for his wisdom and scholarship. Is it likely I should miscall him without due cause? Yet I admit I heard that Bruni had spoken ill of me to the governors of Florence and to others, and I...
replied out of vexation. Better to have ignored the reports? But my sources were reliable. Kept silent? But Leonardo himself is quick to retort to a slight! We were both equally at fault in that we did not write each other and clear the matter up. Now that I have learned from your letter and his that the rumours were false, I can only express my regret that we clashed and love him the better in the future. 3. Commend Tadea to your good wife, Francesca. 4. I shall have more to say when you return, particularly about our friend 'Scaramella.'

1. The letter to Montepulciano, which praises Bruni, is Letter 47. That to Barbaro is lost, as is the invective against Bruni.


Letter 200 Francesco Barbaro to Guarino Padua, 6th August [1421]

1. I received your letter as soon as I returned to town, and have duly written to the chief magistrate of Verona, recommending our friend Battista (Zendrata). 2. I have also answered my nephew Ermolao. It is good that he is studying under your responsible eye. I thank Tadea and Maria for the care they take of him. 3. When plague broke out in the countryside, I would have liked to visit Verona and renew my acquaintance with the muses, but those silly physicians of mine have discouraged the four day voyage. You will shortly know my final decision. 4. Regards from Maria. Convey mine to Tadea and Ermolao. Remind him he has the finest teacher of all. Regards to Mazo (de' Mazi), (Bartolomeo) Pellegrino, Bartolomeo Maffei and Brenzon.
Letters 200 A, 200 B, 200 C, unknown to Sabbadini, were published by Weiss along with Letter 193 A. Since the other contents of the MS used by Weiss (MS. A. 100. 1300 in the Imperial University Library, Tokio) date from the period 1417-23, these letters should probably be assigned to it also.

Latin text of Letter 200 A as given by Weiss: Te incusare non audeo quod iam dudum nihil ad me litterarum dederis ne si iniquus in te fuerim, tu me eiusdem criminis arcessas. Tu itaque ne me incuses, ego idem faciam quam tibi iam nunc veniam. Do ut mihi culpam remittas, quod eo libentius facies, quo maior ac perspectior inter nos benivolentia est. Vale.

To make sense out of this letter the text might be emended thus: "Tu igitur ne me incuses, ego idem faciam. Tibi iam nunc veniam do, ut mihi culpam remittas, quod libentius facies, quo maior ac perspectior inter nos benivolentia sit." The translation of the entire letter will then be: "I dare not blame you because you have not written to me for a long time, lest you arraign me on the same charge, if I have been unfair to you. So do not blame me, and I shall follow suit. I pardon you now, so that you may let my fault go. This you will do more willingly that there may be greater and more obvious goodwill between us. Farewell."

Latin text of Letter 200 B as given by Weiss: Recepi litteras tuas quibus maxime delectatus sum vel quare da meo nuncias Christophoro cuius et commodis et saluti consultum video (nam illud Venitiam domicilium aliquan semper ei aegrotationem effert: quod quantum rei familiarib obsit nescius non es) adde quod conjunctiones quamvis futuri sumus. Quid autem malim quam Christophoro meo emolumentum et vitae iocunditatem, pro quo si opus it nullam molestiam detrimumque recusarim. Ita illi ego carissimus amicus ero benevola et longiore concertans experientia. Quid inest enim ea probitate prudentia doctrina ... ut non multos eo in illo genere anteponam. Itaque deliberasse Laurentium nostrum acito nec alio pacto melius fieri posse. Credo, videbis puerum parvo sano tempore miro
proficere modo; novi hominem, igitur bono esto animo. Si quid ed te scripsi, vel idcirco scriptum esse credito, quia cum tuo parenti ac tibi ultra omnes mortales morigerari cupiam; nolebam invitantes se mecum audire ullos cum vobis satisfacere non potis, animo certe ac studio satisfactum esse vobis persuadetis. Oro plurimum mittam e vestigio. Vale mea suavitas.

1. The text of this letter is corrupt. Obvious emendations could be suggested, for example, "de meo nuntias Christophoro" (line 2), "inest ei probitas prudentia doctrina" (line 8), "parvo sane tempore" (line 10); but Weiss was probably right to print the text as it stands. The correct readings may be restored if other MSS containing this letter are discovered. The general sense, however, is clear: Guarino has received news of one Cristoforo (Scarpa?), who was always ill in a certain house in Venice (on account of its damp location?) but has moved to safer lodgings; he praises Cristoforo's honesty, wisdom, and learning; then mentions a certain Lorenzo, probably a pupil, who is showing signs of progress in his work; the addressee is finally assured by Guarino that some letter he wrote was only to please the addressee and his father (or relative).

2. Since Guarino does not seem to have been in Venice when he wrote this letter, it may have been sent from Padua in the latter half of 1416 (Life of Guarino, secs. 78-80). If "Cristoforo" refers to Scarpa, however, as Weiss suggests, the letter should perhaps be dated between the second half of 1418 and summer of 1420, during which Scarpa was resident in Venice.

Latin text of Letter 200 C as given by Weiss:

Gaudeo mi lohannes magno pulcherrimaru artium et optimarum disciplinarum amore tuo indutum esse, ut non dubitares patriam et parentes, qui tui amicissimi sunt, relinquere laudando recte consilium et prudentiam optini tui parentis. Eadem quidem prima adolescentiam laus est quae maioris honestatis et virtutis rationem havet quam voluptatis unum est, quod tibi etiam persuasum esse cupio no hunc tantum amici ardom deseras ne in medio, ut aiunt, cursu deficias. Assequeris enin talem laborum atque
studiorum fructum ut qui te optant cultissimum ex te voluptatem habeant.

Vale.

Certain obvious emendations seem necessary: "adolescentiae" for "adolescentiam" (line 5); "maiorem" for "maioris" (line 5); and the re-punctuation "...quam voluptatis. Unum est, quod..." (line 6). Possibly also "imbutum" should be read for "indutum" (line 3) and "ea" for "eadem" (line 5). The general sense then is that Guarino is glad that Giovanni has taken his father's advice to study away from home and that he places honour and virtue above pleasure. He urges him to stick to his studies until they are complete, and promises him success if he does.
Letter 201 Francesco Barbaro to Guarino  
Padua, 11th August [1427]

1. Your plan seems sensible to me. In giving an ordered account of that battle it would be inevitable that the arch-pirate's gang of villains should be slated as they deserve; and it might be dangerous to your future safety to give the true facts. Better to refrain from attacking scoundrels born to the business of destruction. 2. Give my regards to Tadea, Enolao (Barbaro) and all the others.

The battle mentioned was a naval action against the pirate Giovanni Ambrogio Spinola, in which the Venetian admiral, Giorgio Loredan, lost his life through the treachery of his Aragonese allies. In writing Loredan's funeral oration, Guarino's "plan" was to suppress the truth, rather than risk offending powerful enemies. The speech is not extant, but one by Leonardo Giustinian, available in many manuscripts, is attributed to Guarino in all but one (Arundel 70 f. 79v). The style is not Guarinian. It names the traitors and Spinola, it was addressed to "fellow-citizens ", and it was composed in July, whereas Guarino's "oratuncula" (cf. Letter 202) was written either in August or September. This longer speech by Giustinian was probably attributed to Guarino because of the latter's greater fame.

Letter 202 Francesco Barbaro to Guarino  
Fossano, August or September [1427]

1. Three days ago I received your letter dated 22nd August. I shall keep in closer touch with you, as you suggest. 2. What you tell me about Enolao's good sense pleased me. He does well to look after himself in those respects in which I have been neglectful. But since he is very dear to me, I am sending something to keep him warm this winter. It will benefit his health and education to be with you. 3. My brother-in-law, Niccolò dei Friuli, has died of the plague at Venice. All my friends are disappearing, so Enolao must be preserved to do me credit! I am sure you will so foster the natural talents of this nephew of mine that he will become even more precious to me. 4. I wish to see the funeral oration you wrote on my relative, Giorgio Loredan, to whom I would have erected a bronze statue in the square (?)
this ancient custom not fallen into desuetude. It would have perpetuated
his selfless devotion to the state. I thank you for fulfilling this duty
for Venice and for me.
2. My relative: Barbaro had married Maria Loredan (cf. Letter 125)

Letter 201 to Lodovico
Verona, 13th September [1427]

1. Recently I saw your letter to our friend Brenzon, in which you speak
highly of me. What better could I wish for than the express approval of
one such as you, whose judgment and character are impeccable? 2. Your
style is quite Cicernian in flavour. Wealth and nobility are common at-
tributes, but a devotion to humane studies carries a true commendation,
for it is yours alone. In this age it is rare to find nobles who respect
learning. Of course, if they despise literature, literature will despise
them! As long as learning flourished, so did all the finest human quali-
ties. In the age of such men as Scipio, Cato etc. it was rare to find an
uneducated prince. I praise you for imitating the ancients. You will ob-
tain thereby pleasure in this life and immortality after your decease.

Ludovico: probably Lodovico Barbbonifacio, who corresponded with Francesco
Brenzon (for whom, cf. Letters 427, 428.)

Letter 204. Pietro Tommasi to Guarino
Brescia, 6th September [1427]

1. I obtained those books from another source, so do not worry about your
failure to get them for me. Your goodness and willingness to oblige is
service enough. 2. You take me to task for making my request diffidently.
That was not my intention, especially with an old friend I have known all
my life! If my words give this impression, I do not resent your admo-
tions; for the desire for glory has left me, and I agree with Cicero that
he is a happy man who can obtain a true assessment of himself. Similarly, I speak my mind freely to my friends and I say you have no real excuse for failing to translate that speech of Chrysoloras into Latin. He did so much for Italy, and for you who were his pupils, particularly, that he deserves no monument less than a complete translation of his works. Socrates did not commit his teachings to literature, but his grateful disciple, Plato, in all his works, attributed his words to Socrates. I urge you to pay this long-standing debt to Chrysoloras and do not believe that your Latin style is unequal to the task.

1. 'The desire for glory has left me': He means that he is now willing to accept criticism.
2. 'that speech of Chrysoloras': There is a lacuna in the text, which makes it impossible to identify the speech Tommasi had asked Guarino to translate. Tommasi goes on to propose a far more ambitious task, the translation of the complete works of Chrysoloras. Guarino, however, was much too busy to spend time on what he, perhaps instinctively, knew would be a waste of time, compared with the editing and interpretation of ancient authors.

Letter 205 to Giacomo Pellegrino  [Verona] 24th September [1421]

1. I have always known your affection for me, both as a relative and a friend. It is proved by your congratulations on the birth of my son. 2. It will be my pleasure to make him a good man and I shall have done my duty by nature. I have given life in return for my birth. 3. My thanks to you consist in urging you to study hard. I shall do my best to ensure you increase the glory of your family by making you a scholar.

Letter 26 to Pietro Tommasi  Verona, 26th September [1421]

1. I received your letter, in which you performed the duty of a true friend in giving sensible advice and showing yourself amenable to advice from others. I accept your advice, but cannot, and would not, pre-
sume to advise a learned and experienced man such as you. All I intended
was to show that I am entirely at your disposal. I am glad you touched on the memory of Manuel Chrysoloras. The only reason I have failed to write about Chrysoloras is that my powers are totally inadequate to the task. No one alive today is endowed with the qualities what modern is the equal of Manuel, or does not use knowledge as a means of showing-off? I do not mean those who must use their talents to seek an honest living, but those who, without needing the money, use their knowledge of the liberal arts to amass profit. I was deterred from praising Manuel because this age would never credit the truth; but now I have decided to do my best, since it is a pity that not one of Manuel’s literary beneficiaries has written his praises. I thank you because. I am sending a small speech, which I wish you to pass on to (Francesco) Barbaro in Vicenza. If you cannot, Antonio Botto will manage.

1. The promise to write the praises of Chrysoloras was not kept until the appearance of the Chrysolorina.
2. The small speech (sec. 4) must be the funeral oration on Giorgio Lorenzani (cf. Letters 201, 203).

Letter 207 to Egidio

Verona, 25th September 

1. Do not be distressed at your apparent inability to thank me adequately; for you have given me your most precious possession - your heart - instead of the few syllables I asked you for. 2. Cheer up, and do not let shortage of money trouble you. Cicero remarks that one calls a man’s soul "rich," not his money box. Fabricius’ riches lay not in vast material possessions but in the moderation of his desires. Rich men are soft, pot bellied and gouty ( ὑπαρχόντες καὶ παθομεῖντες). Embrace virtue and rejoice in the fact that, being poor, you can lose nothing.
Egidio may be the same "Brother Egidio" who was living in Verona in 1441 (Sabbadini, "Centotrenta lettere ined. di F. Barbaro," p. 110). In any case he was a student of Guarino ("cum nescio quas tibi syllabas ergoem")

Letter 208 to Girolamo (Gualdo) Verona, 27th September [1427]

1. I realise that it was affection for me that made you accuse me of negligence in writing. By nature I am affectionate, but slower than a tortoise when it comes to letter-writing. I did not receive your two letters. 2. I am glad you liked the little speech on Loredan. 3. I was blessed with a son on the 21st September. I cannot leave him material wealth, but will educate him to be a comfort in my old age. As a pledge of our friendship, he has been named Girolamo. 4. Give your fellow-citizen Bartolomeo Francanciano my regards. His modesty, good nature, honesty and sense of responsibility delight me. He will be a great man.

By respects to your father.

Girolamo was Guarino's first-born son.

Letter 209 to Kazo (de' Kazi) Montagnana, 1st October [1427]

1. When I arrived here, I told Barbaro why you had not written to him. He says that he will vie with you in giving affection. 2. You will hear from Francesco what happened with that splendid knight. We did not obtain our first request, but we succeeded with the second. I wish you or Aleardo (Caforino) to act on my behalf, as Barbaro will explain. 3. By regards to Aleardo, (Bartolomeo), Recalco and Cristoforo (Abbion).

1. Montagna was a village in the neighbourhood of Cosano, to which Barbaro had gone to escape the plague (cf. Letter 206)
2. The business in which Guarino wishes either of the lawyers, Kazo or Aleardo, to act for him may have been the purchase of a plot of land. The Verona archives record for 14th February, 1422 "Cuminius et Damianus... vendiderunt eruditissimo artis rethorice Guarino Veronensi...peciam terre in pertin. Montescleide in hora Saline precio 62 unc. auri ".

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Letter 210 to H.B. (unidentified)  Verona, 9th January 1422

1. Good luck on your journey to Milan! The entire community of Verona is sorry to see you go; but may the Milanese benefit, as we have, from your fine personal qualities and skill in preaching. The practical example of virtue which you set resembled that of our Saviour, who put action before words. Our sorrow is tempered by the hope that one day you will return.

2. The fact that you are an educated man with particular sympathies for real Christians prompts me to make a request which will benefit all lovers of the humanities. I hear that a perfect manuscript of Cicero's De Gratore has been found by Gasparino Barzizza. Heaven has favoured our generation, and only laziness can prevent us from scaling the heights! At Milan, Barzizza will readily comply with your request that a copy of this new codex be made for me, for it is said to be in his keeping. I shall reimburse you for the cost.

1. Although the addressee is unknown, he must have been one of the itinerant preachers, like Bernardino da Siena, who attracted such enthusiastic audiences in the Fifteenth Century. Such men united in themselves a sincere belief in Christianity and a lively interest in the best of ancient culture.

2. The new manuscript contained, in addition to the De Gratore, Cicero's De Inventiones, Crator, Brutus and the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium. It was not, in fact, discovered by Barzizza, but by Gerardo Landi, Bishop of Lodi, in 1421, who passed it on to the famous Ciceronian expert for examination and interpretation. (Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini, pp. 111-13, 133-35)

Letter 211 to Tommaso Pellegrino  Verona, first half of 1422

1. I heard today that you are safe and well. 2. Your tenure of office as "capitano" at Siena was also greatly praised. I had prophesied your success, not by divination or astrology, but out of a realization of your sterling worth, displayed both in our city and in Florence. As "capitano"
at Florence, you won reknown for justice, wisdom, kindness and generosity, for you measure success not by wealth but by the glory that comes from a job well done. Do you, by imitating the ancients and your illustrious forebears, continue to raise Verona to the stars? 3. Urge Giacomo to write.

1. Tassaco Pellegrino was 'capitano' (second in command, a military post) at Florence in 1417, but actually 'podestà' (chief magistrate) at Siena from February 1422 to March 1423.
2. The reference to astrology ("stallarum signa") tells us nothing of Guarino's attitude to this pseudo-science, which still exerted considerable influence on all classes of society. Petrarch's works are full of condemnations of the astrologers, and the humanists in general tended to despise the art.

Letter 212 to Francesco Pisano

Verona, September, 1422

1. As a community, we were considering how we might honour you, for the surpassing wisdom and justice with which you governed our state; but instead, an envious mischance compels us to express our sympathy for the death of your daughter, Bianca. 2. Even as a little girl, she displayed mature good sense in speech and action. Knowing that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, she sought to venerate Him in a life spent in learning from her elders, studying the sacred writings and in pure intercourse with her friends. Speech is the image of the soul, and Bianca knew that impure conversation is the first step to vice. In word and deed, she proved worthy of her parents: for when her mother, Elizabeth, fell ill, she selflessly nursed her, until her sacrifice brought on the fever from which she died. She is a martyr! She cared not how long she lived, but how she lived. 2. The example of her forebears, particularly that of the great commander, Vittorio Pisano, provided an inspiration: and she knew the words of Christ that none could be His disciple, who did not take up the cross and follow Him. She loved, cherished and obeyed her
husband, Francesco Guaro, whose son must now comfort his loss. 4. She was gay and lively, seeking to please God in the secrecy of her heart. She often appeared in costly raiment, although she was "poor in spirit." Her conversation was light-hearted without sacrificing a severe moral tone. She drank sparingly, knowing that wine induces licentiousness. Such virtues have surely secured her a place in Paradise! There she enjoys eternal life, aloof from the storms of earthly existence. Chrysoloras rightly called this world a path of misfortunes and the dwelling-place of dreams, since all is full of vanity and sorrow. 5. Therefore assume the character of a man whose worldly experience has taught him that all things human are fleeting and transitory. Why mourn for Bianca, who was dead in life, but now alive in death, and exempt from corruption? God lent her to you for a season and has taken her home. Thank him with a grateful heart. As you loved her once, love her now.

The Romans bore the passing of their kin with courage, even exhorting them to die well for the admiration of posterity. Shall we Christians, whose loved ones are not cast down into Hell, as were the pagans, shall we weep for those who have entered Heaven? Tears in any event, are vain. "God has given and taken away. His will has been done. Blessed be the name of God."

1. This consolatio, written for F. Pisano (chief magistrate of Venice 4 Aug. 1422–July 1423) may be compared with Letter 25 to John Chrysoloras. Many of the concompliances of Letter 25 are here repeated, but this consolatio has a more pronounced Christian emphasis. The implicit condemnation of this world as a fleeting show of vanities is entirely mediaeval in spirit, and illustrates a polarity in Cuarino's thought, of which he seems unaware. He seems to see no conflict between the sentiments expressed in this letter and such statements as "Man is born for the sake of mankind." It may be that there is no real conflict between the two concepts; but the view taken by many of the rising generation of humanists, for instance, Lorenzo Valla, tended to be that they were incompatible.

2. Vittorio Pisano was the celebrated Venetian admiral of the previous century.
3. Francesco Guarino married Bianca Pisan in 1416. They had one son who was living with his father in distant Epirus at the time of his mother's death.

Letter 213 to Nazo (de' Rossi)  
[Verona, May 1422]

1. Many kindnesses have proved the affection you have had towards me since our boyhood, particularly the favourable opinion you passed on my work. Would that it were deserved! 2. I rejoice that you admire my introductory lecture to the course on Cicero's De Olficia; for I desire nothing more than the approval of honourable men. But love makes us see beauty in ugliness, just as parents often look upon their lisping progeny as eloquent. 3. If it please you, I shall explain the artifices I used in that lecture. Note that the laudatory and hortatory styles are similar, differing only in that the former deals with time past, the latter with events to come. The same rhetorical principles apply to both. One must ensure that the subject is what the writers of rhetoric call "safe," that is, that it promises "an avoidance of present and future danger": for example, if what is urged can be done with justice, courage and restraint. Secondly, the subject must be honourable, in that it either proposes that which is right, or promises praise and glory; for example, if it is liable to win the approval of great men, or generations, present and future. Thirdly, the theme must give pleasure. Finally, it helps to play down the merits of any other subject with which it may be compared. Be sure to include as many of those recommendations as possible. 4. By way of illustration, I will detail the form or 'argument' of a hortatory speech. Authorities differ, but first, in the 'Proposition' we set down summarily what we intend
to prove. Next, we establish the truth of the 'Proposition' in the 'Reason'. Then, in the 'Proof of the Reason' we corroborate the 'Reason' by additional arguments. In the fourth part, which is called the 'Embellishment' we adorn and enrich the argument especially with comparisons and illustrative examples. Finally, in the 'Resume' we draw all parts of the discourse together and make our conclusion. Thus, there are five parts in all, three if we omit the 'Embellishment' and 'Resume', and four if either the 'Embellishment' or 'Resume' is left out.

1. The introductory lecture to the course, entitled "Guarini Veronensis oratio in Ciceronem de officiis", is found immediately after Letter 213 in most MSS. In certain others it is found on its own.

The rhetorical doctrine expounded in Letter 213 is taken from the pseudo-Ciceronian treatise Rhetorica ad Herennium (III, 3 and II, 28) a work much used by Guarino as the foundation of his "Rhetorical" course, the most advanced stage in his tripartite scheme of education (See Guarino and humanistic education sec. 4).

Guarino's division of a speech follows that of the Rhetorica ad Herennium III, 16, the Complexio is also called the Conclusio. The Rhetorica ad Herennium claims that the best and most convincing speech always has those five parts, and illustrates their use by discussing in detail the proposition that Ulysses had a motive for killing Ajax.

Cicero in his De inventione xxxvii, 67, divides what he calls "argumentatis per rationem" (the deductive argument) into Proposicio, Propositionis Approbatio, Assumptio, Assumptionis Approbatio, and Complexio.

2. The lecture, a translation of which follows, seems definitely to have been delivered, since the words "coram" appear in the title in certain MSS. The version here given would, however, have taken only a short time to deliver, so that one is bound to question whether it is the complete one. Probably in the actual lecture Guarino quoted at length from the Rhetorica ad Herennium, these passages being omitted from the written version which appears in the MSS.
Translation of Guarino's oration on Cicero's "De Officiis"

My original decision, most respected citizens, prior to approaching this most illustrious company gathered here, had been to make a few remarks to encourage you in the study of Cicero's De Officiis. But when I look at you, such expectancy and willingness to listen is manifest in your eyes and expressions that I would gladly change my mind to avoid redundancy. It seems to me, most excellent sirs, that you are more to be praised than encouraged, because you embrace with heart and soul that philosophy which is contained in these books, which must rightly be called not merely the greatest of human possessions but also the most divine: for what more excellent thoughts or possessions can we acquire than those arts, those precepts and those teachings whereby it is possible to discipline ourselves, set our households in order, and govern the state? It is from this source that the weapons are obtained with which, in the face of good or ill fortune, you will neither be broken and fall, nor be exalted and swell with pride; from this source are won sensible advice in the conduct of business, and the means of avoiding rashness, the enemy of reason; from this source is learned good faith, constancy, fairness, generosity towards our own people and towards strangers, and consideration for all manner of men; from this source come the reins that control impulsiveness and lust, so that nothing is done that is unmanly, weak or unworthy.

I shall presume to make one observation, gentlemen, which is lofty and important, but which you will admit is true. The art and
method of speaking, which the Greeks call rhetoric, would of necessity be tongueless and mute if it did not borrow its material and subject matter from this philosophy. For when an opinion must be expressed in the senate, what persuasion will it carry, unless it understands from this very philosophy of which I am speaking, the difference between what is salutary and what is harmful? Will it not be silent in the courts of law, unless it holds fast the principles of law and justice? In the same way, it will not know of what to approve or disapprove, unless it has been previously taught by the same mistress what are in every case the commonplaces of praise and blame? I should argue that it is she, by whose help and assistance mankind was once upon a time led from a rustic and savage existence to this present level of culture and civilisation, she who wrote those laws and rights, by which men were brought together into the harmony of a civil community.

This being the case, who does not approve of, wonder at, and praise to the skies the man who studies to obtain those arts, that teaching and those institutions by means of which he surpasses the brute creation and achieves political mastery and prosperity? The proof is that before that pestilential and common self-seeking invaded the hearts of citizens we hear of princes who were born wise and virtuous. Although these things are great and admirable in themselves, they are felt to be all the more pleasurable because they have been discussed by Cicero, the father of eloquence, so smoothly and so pleasantly that nothing could be thought or expressed in a finer manner; of Cicero I could say what was sung of Nestor by Homer. Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσας
mélious γλυκίων φέεν αὐδῆ, that is, speech flowed from his
tongue sweeter than honey. Therefore, I should rightly prefer these
teachings of Cicero, which confer learning, character and eloquence and
which, as he says himself in a certain passage, "lead youth, delight
old age, adorn success, provide a solace and a refuge in disaster,
delight at home, prove no stumbling-block abroad, stay with us through
the night, go abroad with us and accompany us in the country". Carry
on, then, as you have begun, men of taste and excellent youths; study
hard these teachings of Cicero which now fill our state with the surest
hope and expectation of you, and secure for yourselves honour and
pleasure, and for your friends and relations, usefulness and joy.

Letter 213 A to Ugo (Mazzolato) Verona, 17th June [1422]

1. I was glad to hear from you, but sorry that you have been so ill.
   Thanks be to God you are now restored to health. 2. The courier
duly delivered the pens. I shall repay you with many letters. 3. I
shall deal with the other matters in another letter, for the courier is
in a hurry to leave. 4. Tell me if Specio is in Ferrara. 5. Regards
to G. Zilioli.

Letter 214 to Gasparino (Barzizza) Verona, 13th June 1422

1. When the complete text of Cicero's De Oratore was discovered recently,
we in this state who study the classics were all delighted. You are
easily the leading humanist of the day. Previously we regretted the mutilated condition of the received text and now are pleased that the new codex was in your keeping. Cicero would himself have chosen you, who have popularised him in all the centres of learning in Italy. As Prometheus rejoiced in giving fire from heaven to men, so may you give us the benefit of your light. Our young scholars will praise you to the skies. Gian Nicola Salerno, Nazo (de' Nasi), Guarino and every scholar in our city beg you, through me, for the text. Cicero would approve! Imitate Pisastratus and Lycurgus, who discovered Homer and gave his works to scholars. 2. Giovanni Argignano is coming at the public request to ask you for the manuscript. Please let us have it. 3. Regards to your sons, Niccolò and Guiniforte. Andrea Zulian is well.

1. For this codex and Guarino's mistaken idea of its contents cf. Letter 212.
2. Barzizza rendered considerable service to the text of Cicero (cf. Sabadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo* p. 13-17 and *Storia e critica di testi latini* p. 103-11). It seems that Guarino considered Barzizza's influence paramount in the dissemination of Ciceronianism. He seems to have had no appreciation of the wide and pervasive influence of Petrarch, who is only once mentioned in the Letters.

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Letter 215 to Nazo (de' Nasi)  

[Verona, 1422]

1. Now I realise how very sensible you are in putting off your study of Florus, useful though he may be for the acquisition of historical knowledge, until your health is better. The pleasure is not lost, but merely postponed. 2. Thank you for sending on the Frontinus. 3. Biagio (Bosone) needs no spurring. He is a fast copyist. At the moment he has gone to take a breath of air to return refreshed for work.

1. Frontinus: *The Strategemata*.
2. Bosone was an exanuensis (cf. Letters 297-299). In May 1428 he was at Milan and about to take service with Capra at Genoa (cf. Letter 455). In 1436 he was working for the d’Este family.
Letter 216 to Mato (de' zaizi) Verona, 1st September 1427

1. Your gift has again proved your goodness, as has the letter which came with it. Whereas many lawyers try to wriggle out of an obligation, you go out of your way to acknowledge an imaginary debt. You received a few syllables from me and repay me with gifts of cheese and other commodities, putting into practice Hesiod's recommendation that we repay a gift many times over. I must needs go bankrupt to repay you!

2. I have arranged with Giovanni Arzignano that he supply parts missing from Or.

1. The 'few syllables' was the introductory lecture to Cicero's De Officiis.
2. Arzignano had returned from Milan with the complete text of the Orator (cf. Letters 214, 445).

Letter 217 to Ugo (Kazzolato) Verona, 17th December 1427

1. I was delighted with the news that Giacomo Zilioli has been appointed secretary to the marquis. It is a splendid choice, for which his talents and well-merited friendship with his employer fit him admirably. 2. The death of Federico Specia was a severe loss to me and all his many friends. I shall befriend his little sons, who should be pleased to inherit their father's friendships as well as his wealth. 3. I received the quills—a hint to me to show more energy in writing—and the Aulus Celius, but I am too busy to correct it at the moment. I could send you mine so that you can send your copy. 4. Are the Greek words you mentioned found in Valerius? 5. You will shortly have the "Vocabula" I compiled.

1. Zilioli was made secretary to Niccolo d'Este on February 1421, perhaps earlier.

Letter 218 to Ugo (Kazzolato) [about 25th September 1427]
1. Let us make every effort to maintain a regular correspondence. 2. A few days ago, I had decided to have that little book copied for you later, but my countryman, Giovanni Coado, urged me to give it to him to copy. This was before I received your letter. 3. I trust you will help Coado if ever he asks you. 4. Regards to Zilioli.

For Coado, cf. Letter 223.

Letter 219 to Giorgio Bevilacqua Val Folicella, 29th September [L22]

1. The arrival of Paolo (da Sargana) delighted me and my pupils, because of his kind nature and ***. 2. He delivered your parchments, imitating the Persians, who never approach their king empty-handed. This gift has stimulated me to activity in thought, speech and writing. Practice helps ***. Experience and ancient authority teach us that the mind grows rusty through disuse. I shall return the parchments full of words (text corrupt), like a fertile field which yields more than it received if I have time. At this vintage season, the 'muse' gives place to the 'must'! 3. That you are well is good news, but I am perturbed at Lavagnolo's ill-health. I wish I were a magician and could cure him by incantations by exorcising the fever into some fat and slothful belly. His youth will see him through, but give him my good wishes. He is to take care of himself and free us from anxiety.

1. Giorgio Bevilacqua di Bevilacqua da Laino was born about 1466. Many letters are extant by him to correspondents such as Isotta Mogarola, Giacomo Contrario, Antonio Mogarola, Giacomo Lavagnolo etc., showing that he was sympathetic towards the new learning. He wrote a Historia de bello fallico and a famous consolation to King René on the death of his son (cf. Letter 690). He was a pupil of Guarino's, cf. Letter 220 sec.2.

2. Paolo da Sargana was a pupil at Verona with Emoia Barbaro. Sabbadini believes that he went with Barbaro in 1424 to Vittorino's school at Mantua, to avoid the plague which was infecting Verona. From Mantua, he wrote to Ambrogio Traversari (Traversari, Enist. xxiv. 63), announcing his intention of coming to Florence. Traversari recommended him as a tutor to the sons of Cosimo de' Medici. He learned Greek at Florence under Filippo
(1429-30). In 1431 he went to Venice and was still living there in 1447 (Salser, Fossius Florentinus, Teubner, 1914, p. 482, 484). In 1455 he was apostolic secretary to Calixtus III.

3. Giacomo Lavagnolo held many official posts, notable amongst which were the chief magistracies of Siena (1445) and Bologna (1446). He died with the title of Roman Senator in 1459.

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Letter 220 to Giorgio Devilaqua Val Policella, 6th October [1427]

1. Your letter assured me of your love for me and your appreciation of mine for you. I am content. 2. I do not know whether to praise your letter as it deserves, because I should then be praising my own work indirectly, or to minimize your achievement and get the name of an envious man! I have been your guide, companion, encourager - call me what you will. Carry on as you have begun. The verse of Ovid applies to you "Tu tibi dux comiti, tu comes ipso duci". 3. Nor shall I discourage your praise and good opinion of me, since the judgment that comes from a scholar is not unacceptable. 4. It is pleasant news that the fever has left Lavagnolo. It is better that it should attack not him, but some gluttonous debauches. 5. The literary contest in which you invite me to participate is a good idea. I must, however, write briefly - you at length - because I am very busy with the vintage. Besides you are a vigorous young fellow, thirsting for praise and glory, while I am a feeble old man! 6. Give my regards to Paolo (da Sarzana) and Lavagnolo. Ernolao and all the other pupils send their good wishes.

There is a manuscript, possibly an autograph, in the British Museum, of Aesop's fables, translated by Ernolao Barbaro in 1422 while he was with Guarino at Val Policella. In the dedication, Barbaro claims to have studied under Traversari at Florence, and records the encouragement he received from Niccolò Niccoli and Carlo Marsuppini. Possibly he went to Florence when Guarino moved in 1419 to Verona.
Letter 221 to Bartolomeo Pellegrino

1. Your affectionate letter from Arcole has brought us together again. What greater honour could I achieve than the friendship of honourable men such as yourself? Only virtue can win the favour of those who despise wealth and power, because mere chance often confers these on a man. 2. To my delight you paint a vivid picture of your activities in the household and on your estate. Neither do you neglect the claims of literature. 3. At your suggestion, I have written (Francesco) Barbaro explaining in detail our problems in Verona, particularly the financial troubles of so many citizens. I am confident that he will make vigorous representations to the Doge, Pietro Loredan, on our behalf, because he cares for Verona and respects my judgment. 4. You should laugh at, or rather mock the impudence of that bestial creature An. Quin. with his stupid tongue and malevolent glances. He burst into a full convocation of the council and proposed for the good of the state that Guarino’s salary be stopped, on the grounds that it was a useless expense that the poor could not afford. A murmur arose, he was asked what right he had to come in, and by what means, and then chucked out with hissing from all sides. Many then defended me; for example your brother Niccolo, and Pasio.

1. Arcole: a district near Verona.

2. The dispute over Guarino’s salary suggests that no one had received a teaching appointment in Verona since its annexation by Venice in 1405. A decree of 16 July 1405 provides for the appointment of "a teacher of the humanities" but the provision does not seem to have been implemented.

3. An. Quin.: There is no trace in Cosenza of this enemy of Guarino. One manuscript gives the name in full as "Antonius quintus" but the abbreviation 'An.' is quite likely to represent "Andreas". However, cf. Letter 201, note.
Letter 222 [To Flavio Biondo]

Verona, December 1422

1. I am very grateful to you and the journey you made, which has enabled me to journey abroad (ἀγορασκευάζοντας), while sitting in my study, and read orators of other times. You have let me share your pleasure, fulfilling the proverb that friends have all things in common (τῶν φίλων κοινως). Though absent, we have been together.

1. Biondo’s journey was made to Milan on behalf of his native city to examine the new codex found by Landiri (cf. Letter 210).

2. Biondo copied the Decemlibri of Bruni and the Brutus of Cicero for Guarino. The manuscript (cod. Ottob. 1592) is still extant and contains some marginal notes by Biondo, calling Guarino’s attention to certain passages: e.g. in the Brutus, Biondo wrote "nota Guar (the)" opposite the words guanque, penitissimus, and suppliantat

Letter 223 to Ugo (Mazzolato)

Verona, 9th December 1423

1. I cannot adequately thank you for the pleasure your letters give me though we are apart, through them I can see and talk with you. It also proves that you enjoy mine. 2. Two letters from you arrived almost together. 3. Thank you for the quills, which will benefit others besides myself. They remind me not to waste time, which can never return. Knowledge and good deeds alone are permanent. 4. I received the book which Biondo gave you for delivery to me. In it, one beholds at a glance all the orators of Greece and Rome. I am sending it back, so that you may have a copy made. If you have a skilled copyist, please have a copy made for me, even if only on paper. A suitable man might have used parchment. There are two works in the codex, but I want the Cicero only and will duly re-imburse your expenses.
5. If you are content with the "Vocabula", well and good. Condo, with his usual favorish haste, gave me no chance to revise it. I intend to work further with my copy. 6. Regards to Giacomo Zilioli and Stefano Todesco. P.-. 7. I want help from you and Zilioli in acquiring an old manuscript of Macrobius, containing the Greek passages, from Giovanni Corvini d'Arezzo, secretary of the Duke of Milan. I want it copied, just as we acquired the De oratore, through the intercession of the Marquis (of Ferrara). Let the copyist take down the Greek letters exactly as they stand. 8. I am not sending the Brutus, because the courier is not clothed for the rain. It will be sent with a message from Condo, together with another work, perhaps. 9. I shall write to (Flavio) Biondo.

1. For the codex mentioned in sec. 4, cf. Letter 222, n. 2.


3. Giovanni Corvini d'Arezzo was an outstanding figure in political and literary circles. He was noted as a collector of books (cf. Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini, p. 421-44). It was he who gave the manuscript of the De oratore to the Marquis of Ferrara.

Letter 222 to Giovanni Casate

[Verona, December, 1422]

1. I thank our common interest in literary studies for making us friends, despite our different social stations. Now I feel free to ask favours of you. Alexander the Great knew that power had been granted to him for the benefit of others. 2. I hear you are a friend of Giovanni d'Arezzo, who, in addition to many other volumes, has copies of Macrobius' De Saturnalibus and Aulus Gallius' De noctibus Atticis. I wish to consult
these and send my own copies from them. It will be enough to ask for the Macrobius only.

For Gasato cf. Letters 175, 176. In 1422 he was living in Milan.

Letter 225 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 11th December [1422]

1. While I was expecting your reply to my letter, two letters from you were delivered together, proving that I had not received your previous letters, due to the couriers' negligence. 2. I sent the hawker you want elsewhere, but will send him again, if you are willing to pay his fee of 18 gold ducats. Let me know. A falcon is ready to be sent to you.

3. Inclement winter is coming, so I am postponing my journey, as much for Emolano's health as for my own. 4. Did you get that money from our friend Luca?

Letter 226 to Giacomo Zillioli Verona, 15th December [1422]

1. I am glad you returned home safe and sound. 2. Yet again, I commend Simon Condo to you, to whose son (Giovanni) I owe so much.

Letter 227 to Ugo (Mazzolato) Verona, 22nd December [1422]

1. A few days ago, I sent you a volume of Cicero, which I got from (Flavio) Direndo, and had scarcely glanced at myself. I wanted you to have one copy made for yourself, and one for me. Now Direndo has written twice requesting its return. If you have done with it, please give it to Direndo's brother, who is the bearer of this letter. Otherwise, promise to send it soon to Isola or Faventia or wherever he directs. 2. My respects to Giacomo Zillioli and Stefano (Todesco).
Letter 221 to Giovanni Arzignano  Verona, 31st December [1422]

1. My first impression that we would become firm friends has been eminently well borne out. Your good character and conversation prompted the forecast, but you have surpassed my expectations, and I love you now as a father loves a son.  2. In your expressions of gratitude for my inconsiderable services you "make a tilled field out of a sewer." I shall love you with all my heart.

3. My family thanks you for the piglet you sent. We shall discuss payment when you arrive.

1. Sabbadini assigns this letter to 1422, but it is a pure guess.

2. "a tilled field" etc.: The quotation, from Cicero, pro Flacco 95, is a favorite one of Guarino.

3. "my family": He means those boarders who had not gone home, as Arzignano had, for the Christmas vacation. The piglet had been sent to be fattened for the coming year.

Letter 222 to Leonello da Forugia  Verona, 2nd-6th March [1423]

1. From boyhood, I have tried to please famous men, for there is no finer achievement in life than this. Despairing of achieving this aim, I sought at least not to incur their displeasure. Your letter assures me that I have succeeded in that, and I now consider myself worth something.  2. In you, I recognize your known courage and determination and a philosophic calm in adversity, a realization that virtue is our only real possession. I call you a lord and master, no less than the lucky man with his regal trappings. A king is he who, like you, is indifferent to fortune. I thank Stefano, who made us friends and delivered your letter, which I am keeping as a model of style and wisdom.

3. It sends his respects to your lordship.
1. The margins of the manuscript of this letter were badly damaged when Sabbadini examined it. The above summary may not, therefore, contain an accurate account of the original contents.

2. Sabbadini prints the address as "Lodovico Alidosio," but he admits that this is a poor conjecture, and suggests (rightly, I think) that the ms. reading "Leonello "n osio" represents Leonello (Per)-uol(o), i.e. Leonello da Perugia, who is referred to in Letter 339. His full name was Leonello Michalotti da Perugia, a rebel and outcast from his native city, which, in 1424, had reverted to the Papacy after the death of Braccio di Montone. As a professional soldier, he fought in 1427 against Milan.

3. 'L' may signify Lodovico dal Verme, but this is far from certain.

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Letter 230 to the Prince of the Venetians Verona [April 1423]

1. —— As soon as we heard that you had been called to the helm of the Venetian state, we all rejoiced —— 2. when confirmation reached us in a public letter to your loyal subjects in Verona, which was read to the assembled populace, the joy was indescribable. Giacomo de' Fabris praised your virtues in a speech. They adorn the ancient Foscari family. All men have experienced your pity for the stricken, patronage of the oppressed etc. May God make glorious your term of office.

The new Doge, Francesco Foscari, was elected in April 1423. The party left Verona on the 28th to pay homage, consisting of Giacomo de' Fabris, the Marquis Galeotto Valassina, Gran Nicla Salerno, Cortesia dei conti Sargi, Erasmo Bevilacqua, Gabriele Verità, Giovanni Pasella, Pier Paolo Guantiere, Niccolò Pellegrino, Geoffredo Alardi, Bartolomeo Naffi. Cod. est. 57. f. 136 and cod. Casanat. IV43 f. 16 describe this letter as "Oratio habitab in creatione cucia Venetianum, Missiva cancell- larii regininis Verone ad duce in creatione sui."

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Letter 231 to Girolamo Gualdo Verona, 1st June [1423]

1. The arrival of your eloquent letter turned my day into a celebration. I thank you and your friend Lorenzo, whom I need must love, for his eloquence and goodness, no less than for his friendship with
you. 2. Your request that I undertake the education of Lorenzo's son (Stephano) has charmed me into accepting. To make all complete, you mentioned Manuel Chrysoloras, the light of literature and glory of the age. You paint a bright picture of the lad's intelligence and character. Such a noble mind must not go to waste. Some people take great care in training birds and animals; we must surely, then, take trouble to train young minds. I know no finer or more enjoyable work.

3. I want him to love Verona as his second mother, after Vicenza, and his teacher, as did Alexander the Great, who said that he had received the beginning of life from his father, but the beginning of a good life from his teachers.

4. I am not influenced by the fee of forty ducats, but by a desire to please you. I would, however, like you to persuade Lorenzo to write me a promissory note. I know what I am speaking about! Let the boy also bring the Letters of Cicero, as he will learn the Ciceronian style.

5. Bartolomeo Brenconi and I send you good wishes to your student boarders.

6. My son, Esopo, is in the country where he is being habituated to the elements, as a preparation for a life of hard work.

1. Sec. 4 throws an interesting side-light on Guarino's financial sense. While disclaiming that his interests in Stephano's education are mainly mercenary, he is careful to extract a "promise to pay" from Lorenzo. Humanistic teachers often had trouble collecting their fees, a trouble that has always afflicted private teachers (Augustine, for example, tells in the Confessions that this was a major cause of his moving from Rome to Milan.

2. Esopo: Guarino's second-born (September 1422), so named because at the time of his birth, the fables of Aesop were being expounded to Ercole Barbaro (cf. Letter 220 notes). The intention of exposing the child to outdoor life suggests Rousseau's similar recommendation in Emile.

3. "student boarders": i.e. "contubernales". It appears that Gualdo was directing a communal school of jurisprudence at Vicenza.
Letter 232 to Ugo Hazzolato

Verona, 4th June [I.237]

1. I had not meant to write before you found time to write me, but, since Leonardo Dante and my relative Battista (Zendrata) are coming your way, I wish to commend them to you. 2. Regards to Stefano Todusco.

Letter 233 to Giacomo Milioli

Verona, 4th June [I.237]

1. Since Leonardo Dante and my cousin, Battista (Zendrata) are coming to Florence, I wished them to visit you and convey my respects. In them, you will see me; and I shall count it an honour if you receive them kindly. It will prove I am dear to you. 2. Convey my humble respects to the Marquis.

1. Leonardo Dante belonged to the famous Alighieri family (cf. Letter 280)

2. It appears that Hazzolato, Milioli and Niccolò d'Este were at this time in Florence. The confirmation is in Letter 234.

Letter 234 to Marlotto

Verona, 2nd half of 1427

1. Now is it a delight to be alive (iuvat vivere), knowing that I have won the approval of men such as you, who seek only what is outstanding. Your letter confirms the report of Leonardo Dante and Battista Zendrata, the friends you made in Florence, that I have won your respect. I shall strive to live up to the good opinion of me. The more you praise me, the more will I love you. 2. I have seen and admired the sample of calligraphy you sent me at the suggestion of (Antonio) Corbinello. I freely offer you tuition here in return for your work. 3. Regards to Niccolò Niccoli.
Mariotto was a copyist, employed by Niccolò most likely. The commutation of fees in return for some service was not uncommon.

Letter 235 to Lodovico Branzon

Verona, 6th July [1423]

1. recently, I met your father, who showed me a letter written to him, in which I was, apparently, invited to write to you, to keep our friendship alive. 2. Anyone else would be hunting or fishing while in the country, but I know you will be at your studies, making yourself a better man.

3. Literature is a tireless companion, inparting culture, pleasure and solace, and making a sage out of a peasant, a man out of a brute, and conferring immortality on that which is transitory. I call you blessed, in using your time to study. Imagine from time to time that I am with you, for thus we shall seem to be together. 4. Cristoforo Sabbion delivered a speech to our capitano, which was well received.

"Capitano": This was a military rank (praefectus praesidii), which, like that of Podesta (chief magistrate) was invariably offered to a stranger. The posts were competitive; therefore, many young men trained for such offices as a profession. Gian 'icola Salerno is a good example of this type of professional executive. The "capitano" referred to in this letter was Vito Caval, who laid down office on the 4th of July, 1423.

Letter 236 to Cristoforo (Sabbio.)

Fontes S. Martini, 30th July [1423]

1. I realise the truth of the adage of classical times that life cannot be pleasant without a friend. We are enjoying our fishing and hawking, but we all miss you. Biondo, Concoreggio, myself and our wives, as well as your own, urge you to join us. The new chief magistrate has arrived, so your official duties in Verona are over. This lovely countryside, the nymphs, and your friends invite you to come.

2. Flavio Biondo had joined the holiday group at San Martino, after the unsuccessful rebellion at Forli (cf. Letter 237, note).

3. The new podestà of Verona was Giovanni Contarini, from 25th July, 1423.

Letter 237 to Flavio (Biondo)  
Verona [summer, 1423]

1. I was upset that you did not write, for I felt that the fruits of friendship were going to waste. But I blamed your silence even more when I heard, first through rumour, and then from your letter, about the disasters that have befallen you. You should have shared the burden with me, for friends by all things in common, but I know your education has enabled you to face calamity. All things must pass away, but our virtue is an abiding possession. Previously, it was known how well you were success: and now that your hour of trial has come, I am sure you will overcome this reverse of fortune. 3. I am sending Quintilian. 4. Regards to that splendour of the order of knighthood (Feltirino Solardo).

In May, 1423, Biondo took part in an uprising against the Ordelaffi at Forli. It failed, and the city fell to the Visconti. Biondo wandered from place to place searching for employment.

Letter 238 to Flavio (Biondo)  
Verona, summer 1423

1. Thank you for finding time to write to me from Ferrara and Imola. Doubtless you would have written more often had it been possible. 2. Nothing pleases me more than your desire to spend what time you can with me, for a character and brain like yours would attract anyone but a boor. 3. It is most gratifying that you have shared the burden of your worries with me. To be detested by those scoundrels is proof of your good character.
the wolves hate the dogs! Show now that your spirit is equal to adversity. 4. I am glad an opportunity for magisterial office has come your way, but I resent the way in which those fellows prevented you from visiting me. Your pleasant company would have enhanced the rest of the summer.

5. That book about the Caesars was unknown to me, and I look forward to your critical appraisal of it. 6. All of us here remember your presence with pleasure. Every day we talk of Flavio (Biondo). The jokes we made on that outing are constantly quoted. Concoreggio, Zandrata, Spolverino, everyone, send their regards. Brenzon promises to write, and would have already expressed his gratitude to you for making him famous had he not had a boil on his finger. 7. As soon as I have finished with the Brutus, you shall have it. Likewise with the De liberis educandis, for I have no copy of it at present.

1. "magisterial office": Barbaro, then podestà of Treviso, had probably offered Biondo a post on his staff.

2. "the book about the Caesars": cf. Le scoperte dei Codici, 1914, p. 203. This cannot refer, of course, to Suetonius, for Guarino would undoubtedly have read that.

3. Spolverino: Possibly Antonio Spolverino, the "ratiocinator publicus" of Verona in 1423.

Letter 232 to Francesco Barbaro

1. I was filled with joy when Antonio Casalarzo returned, bringing your letter with him. I cannot help being partial to myself, knowing that you have such affection for me. You admire solid achievement only [text is very fragmentary] 2. I have lent a Vergil to Ermolao (Barbaro), who is particularly pleased that I have recently begun lectures on Vergil. For Ermolao, I could never do enough. He has shown me every courtesy and
respect. You yourself could hardly do more than you have done, and Zac-
carin, remember, was my very great friend. What I write about Ercole
is not to seek thanks for myself but to assure you that he is being
well cared for. 3. Your news of Bernardino of Siena delighted me, because
he is your friend and also because my assessment of him is to find con-
firmation from you. I was afraid my love for him might have influenced
my judgment. 4. I wish Cristoforo (Scarpa?) to be your friend as
well as mine. 5. The capitano here (Andrea Nocinato) bids me send
Ercole to visit him, during holidays at any rate, which I do to
preserve good relations and to assure the boy to the society of
great men.

1. Antonio Cansalora: one of a distinguished family of Cremona.

2. Bernardino of Siena was one of Guadino's most famous pupils. He was
one of the most effective of the revivalist preachers who toured Italy
with such startling results in the Fifteenth Century. Sabbadini gives a
chronology of his novena 1422-23: First half 1422 - preached at Venice,
Aug. 1422 - Brescia, then to Bergamo and Verona at end of October 1422,
17th Feb. 1423 - Padua, 16th April Vicenza, thence to Sandirgo, Bassano
and Treviso. In the three months he was at Verona he "learned the art
of artistic preaching." (Carbone).

Letter 260 Alberto da Cansona to Guadino  Treviso, 2nd September 1423

1. When I left on the 26th July I went to Treviso to visit Francesco
Barbaro and my brother Bernardino of Siena, the most famous preacher of
our times.... 2. Hence on Bernardino's advice, I decided to go along with
him for a few months to learn what I could.... 3. Doubtless you will do
me the favour of passing on my respects to all my fellow pupils. Please
ask Giacomo alla Verità for the sermon I preached on Corpus Christi last
year at Verona and which he promised to write out for me. Have it sent
on to Gesùpero Cornelio in Padua, if it is finished. 4. We leave to-morrow
for Feltre and Belluno and after Bernardino has preached there, we go to Florence. If you have any message for your friends in Florence, send it with the sermon to Guaspo.

Alberto da Sarzana, almost equally effective a preacher as Bernardino da Siena, went to Verona as a pupil in September 1421 and left in August 1423. The sermon preached on Corpus Christi in 1422 (11th June) shows he was active as a preacher while he was studying.

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**Letter 24.1 to Giovanni Vezignano**

Verona, 5th September 1423

1. I shall reply briefly to your letter. 2. I shall make sure that your excuses are made to Gian Nicola Salerno. 3. I urge you to return and resume your studies. Through learning you will win glory for yourself and your country and make others like yourself. 4. I am short of time and the noise of workmen is ringing in my ears. 5. I have had many a joke with your father.

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**Letter 24.2 to Francesco Barbaro**

Verona, 8th September 1423

1. Why have you stopped writing? I am as keen as ever to hear from you particularly at this time of threatened plague. Perhaps the holy preacher (Bernardino da Siena) is claiming all your attention, but surely you ought to write me! If you have forgotten me, then tell me how to forget you, so that I can bear your silence. 2. My old friend, Leonardo Giustinian, is said to have been with you (at Treviso). Write and let me share the delights of your meeting with him. 3. The copy of Vergil has at last arrived. 4. Ernolao (Barbaro) visits the capitano (Andrea Mocinigo) regularly on holidays. We are fortunate in Verona to have such splendid magistrates this year.
1. "the holy preacher": Bernardino had gone to Treviso (Letter 239, n. 2.). Possibly Justinian had gone to hear his sermons. It was common for these itinerant evangelists to attract hundreds from neighboring towns. Frequently, some of the audience in one place followed the preacher on to the next.

2. "the Vergil": In Letter 239, Guarino tells us he had lent his own Vergil to Ermolao, temporarily - a forcible reminder that, before the invention of printing, texts were extremely rare. Though this compelled students to develop amazing memories, it could not have rendered the teachers' task any easier.

Letter 243 to Mazo (dei Nazi) Castelrotto, 29th October [1423]

1. Your recent letter delighted me, not only because of its weighty and beautiful style, but also because of the honour you pay me, in presenting me with the first fruits of your love and sense of filial duty. It is equally pleasing that you let me share this literary work you have composed, away from the turmoil of the law-courts. It is a serious work relating to the good and blessed life, not at all boorish or childish, as you insist. In fact, this sort of thing is worthy of a man, whereas legal parlance and disputation is mere foolishness - but I'll say no more! 2. I congratulate this age on witnessing the miraculous transformation of brute beasts into men. Such studies will eventually bring culture, even divinity! One learns to hope that men can change from the shape of beasts by the help of literature and the good arts. 3. But I shall finish, lest I do us both injury by talking too much after my long silence, due to ill-health. 4. Let me know if Gian Nicola Salerno has returned.

1. The mention of a recent illness helps to date this letter and 219, both written on the 29th October, but the latter in 1422. Guarino was living at Val Folicella in October 1422 and 1423, but in 1422 (Letter 219) there is no mention of illness.
2. It appears that the lawyer, Tazio, now engaged in humane studies under Guarino's eye (hence "filial duty") had written a beast fable, featuring asses, foxes, etc., talking and acting like human beings. Guarino neatly makes a point in favour of the new classical learning, as taught by the humanists, claiming that only through its medium could men achieve their true humane status as "viri" ("real men"). In the passing (end of sec. 1) he pokes a dig at scholasticism, and the style and content of scholastic disputations, with which Tazio, as a qualified lawyer, would be familiar. It is interesting, incidentally, to observe that while Tazio was sufficiently converted to Guarino's views to attempt composition in humanistic Latin, his cast of mind was still sufficiently mediaeval to make him write a beast-fable of the type common in the Middle Ages.

Letter 244 to Battista Zondrata

Val Felicella, 1423

1. Recently I have sent you whole sheaves of letters, to which you must reply soon, as I am missing your company. 2. I knew the goods had to be sold * * I leave this to you. 3. Cortesia is promising my money, so please invest it in some property (praedium). 4. We are well. Regards to Giacomo. 5. Send on the enclosed letter.

Letter 245 to Girolamo (Gualdo)

Verona, 1st November 1423

1. Thanks for describing your trip to Florence, and the information about the invective those beasts spread forth against Niccoli. Traversari and Niccoli had told me already about it. They have such a lust for notoriety that they think nothing of ruining another's reputation to get it. Hardly a day dawned, when I was in Florence, when I did not cross with them, although I was popular with most. I know their methods. 2. Therefore if I ever had to leave here I would not readily go to Florence, since the villany of a few outweighs the love of many in harming one. I say this because Niccoli is hoping to lure me there. I would rather go to your native Vicenza, which has extended the invitation, or to Venice. 3. [obscure reference to one Ca. P.] 4. I laughed at that scholar you
mention, who wants to be a doctor - more like a horse doctor! He may have
the gift of the gab, but no wisdom. 5. I wrote to you about Lorenzo's
son, because I wished to say I agree to do as you ask.

1. "the invective": It is not known who were the authors. In 1420,
two men vilified Niccolò, the invective being published under the pseudo-
nym "P."

2. Sec. 4 may refer to George of Trebizond, with whom Guarino was never
on good terms. The puns are impossible to render: "non tam summus quam
simius doctor fieri cupit....arator quas oratoris proper ".


Letter 246 Poggio to Guarino Rome, 13t: November 1422

....I regret I must complain that Francesco Barbaro has kept the speeches
of Cicero he borrowed from Niccolò Niccolì. I have written twice but he
has not even answered. Could he possibly have been so busy for the last
six months that he couldn't send them back?...

The orations were those discovered at Langres and Cologne (cf. Letter 77).
Poggio copied them, sent them to Niccolò at Florence, who gave them to
Barbaro at Venice. Barbaro was podestà at Treviso in 1423, and perhaps
the manuscripts were in Venice.

Letter 247 to Pietrobono Giosippo Verona, 8 December 1422

1. From your letter I conceived an even greater regard for you as a man of
sense and as a friend. Previously I loved you next to your brother Constant-
tine, but now I have cause to re-double my affections for you. You have
the capacity to make friends, and show kindness to relatives who owe you
money. 2. I will do anything I can for you, but I leave others to tell
you what I have in mind. At my request, Niccolò Stagnolo has offered to
take the matter in hand for you. Niccolò Pellegrino, Nzzo dei Nazi, and
Vittorio will all help you. Consider yourself already here. 3. I have passed on your regards to my father-in-law and his wife, who send theirs to all of you. Constantino is well. 4. Let me know if your district is safe, for there is threat of plague here.

The Ciosippi lived at Udine. Very probably Constantino was a pupil at Verona. The other allusions are obscure, as so frequently in the letters.

Letter 248 to Flavio Biondo Verona, 18th December [1423]

1. I have not written, because I did not know exactly where you were. Some reported you at Treviso, others at Venice. Now Antonio Casalorzo assures me you are at Venice. 2. We are all well, but if the plague that threatens does strike, I shall go to Venice for reasons I shall disclose some other time. 3. Antonio Capinnori is here, and we often discuss your sound administration as a magistrate. 4. It is high time you saw to it that our Pliny is returned. 5. If Pietro Tomasi is at Venice, give him my respects and ask him to return a certain quaternio of the Academica posteriora I sent him long ago. I wish to have it bound with the others to make a complete text. 6. Regards to Leonardo Giustinian. Our wives especially send their regards to yours.

1. Antonio Capinnori was Barbaro's secretary at Treviso, subsequently recommended by Barbaro as secretary to Gabriele Condulmer, the papal Legate at Bologna. In 1423 he was sent by the legate to Verona.


3. Pietro Tomasi had returned to Venice. In 1424 he bought a codex of the Letters of Petrarch for F. Barbaro. (cf. Sabbadini, Guarino, Aristolario, III p. 156) This shows at least that Barbaro was interested in Petrarch. One may assume a similar interest in Petrarch's work in Guarino, but there is no direct evidence that he ever read Petrarch.
Letter 249 to Ugo Mazzolato

Verona, 25th February [1420]

1. Your kindness and friendship is a source of pleasure, and your letters seem to bring you before my very eyes. I must praise those who invented correspondence which enables distant friends to enjoy each other's company and conversation. Let us lose no chance to write. If I prove remiss, stir me to action. But please do not criticize my style and usages.  2. your splendid gift comes timely. I take the fishes as a symbol of Lent, which is coming, and begin to contemplate a more frugal diet, pondering that tit-bits are for fattening domestic animals, not men. With your fishes I shall appropriately associate Cicero especially, Fabius, Lucius, Lentulus, Macrobius, and Cornificius. But joking aside, I thank you with all my heart.  3. Commend me to (Giacomo) Zilioli.  4. P.S. I commend Giovanni Coado to you

1. The appeal to Ugo not to criticise Guarino's style in familiar letters over-fastidiously is probably sincere. Most of the letters were never intended for publication and their very number is indication of the speed with which they were written. To a scholar such as Guarino, however, it would have been an effort to write bad Latin.

2. Sec. 2 contains more of those familiar puns on foodstuffs.

Letter 250 to Vitaliano Faella

Montecro, 7th May [1421]

1. I cannot but curse this plague which has decimated the citizens, caused so many to flee Verona, and interrupted the intercourse of my friends and me, which I value above all else.  2. I recall our studies together with longing, but correspondence can help to flavour our enforced idleness and separation.  3. Lately, as you know, I was jaded by study, but my enthusiasm has revived amid the delights of the country. Amidst the flowers, rivers and meadows, haunts of the muses, I study with enjoyment.  4. You
are familiar with the joys of house building. Following the example of Curius, Fabricius and Serranus I have begun to adorn my house, although it is agreed that they were themselves the finest adornments in their houses. Cicero says the master should adorn the house, not the house the master. It is better to seek adornment in virtue. But to resume, please send me a thousand paving tiles, quoting the price. Only my inability to procure them here compels me to lay this mean task upon you.

The property at Kontorio, near Verona, was acquired on 13th June 1422, for 2,000 ducats (Ant. Arch. Veron., Città di registro f. 868, 42). It is referred to in Letter 254.

Letter 251 to Battista Zandrata

Kontorio, 20th May

Come, as you promise, and lunch with me tomorrow. You will receive food for thought (non tam fabas quam fabellæ manducabiles) and feast on the beauty of the countryside and the songs of nightingales – the delights one cannot enjoy in the city.

Letter 252 Bartolomeo of Genoa to Curino

Verona, 23rd May

1. Some business for my uncle prevented me recently from visiting you, but I was over-joyed to hear from my master, who has just returned from Kontorio, that you are well. What better news of my tireless and excellent teacher, who loves me as a father? 2. Blame my temerity in addressing you, if you will, but I know you will not sneer at my poor effort. Please send me ever such a tiny letter, exhorting me to study Cicero. 3. I am sending one quinternion, long completed, to you with Bartolomeo da Campania, so that you can give him another to bring back, unless I came before then. 4. My master keeps changing his mind whether to send us to Oliveto for a vacation or not.
Sabbadini identifies the correspondent with a member of a Veronese family called -conesio. Evidently he was tutor to Lodovico Merchenti (Letter 154) the owners of Oliveto.

Letter 253 to Battista Zenirata

Montorio, 26th May 1424

1. You seek advice upon entering into your new appointment as a magistrate, a position of trust for which your character and record make you eminently suitable. Your birth and education ensure that you would face death if need be. But you can form a better estimation of the danger of the plague than I. Serve the state, but save yourself for future service if the plague strikes hard. 2. P.S. I am going to Pola.

In 1424 Zenirata was made "provisor Comunis" (Del; Isotae Mogarolae Opera I. p. 317).

Letter 254 to Maio (dei Razi)

Montorio, 5th June 1424

1. Your letter has stirred nostalgia in me. Man is born for social intercourse, not solitude. 2. Let me know as soon as you return to S. Sophia, that I may draw comfort from your nearness. 3. This reply has been delayed because I was away for two days visiting Vitaliano (Faella), also because I wished to take positive action on your behalf concerning Pelatus. Caratius and I attended to the matter and you will find Pelatus will keep faith. 4. (Leonardo) Giustinian and (Francesco) Barbaro have written me, asking for you. They were disappointed you did not come as ambassador to Venice. They commend Bernardo and Ernolao to you.

1. Faella was staying at Jerio.

2. The business referred to in sec. 3. is quite obscure.

3. Bernardo (Giustinian) and Ernolao (Barbaro) were pupils of Guarino. At Verona, Guarino ran a course on Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, the inaugural
lecture being delivered by a young scholar called Bernardo — in all probability Ciustinian. Only Guarino's reply is extant in ms. under the title "Responsio Guarini ad Bernardum in Augustinum de civitate del ... The oration ends with Verses II. 53-69 of the Carmen Paschale of Pas- dalius. These lines were falsely attributed to Guarino in Carmina praes- stantium postarum (Prixiae, 1565).

Letter 255 to Cristoforo (Cubbion) Montorio, 6th June 1427

1. Having found Giovanni Pellegrino writing to you, I took thought that it was time I communicated with you. Letters bring us together in absence, and are preferable even to conversation, which is not abiding, like the written word — Homer calls conversation ἐνεποδειγμένα, "winged words". No need for long letters, but write often. 2. I only wish to enquire after your family's health.

Letter 256 to Lodovico Gonzaga Montorio, 9th June 1427

1. Last night, Giacomo Terzo delivered your letter, which I welcome as a reflection of your splendid talente. It evinces such humanity ("humanitas") and affability, that it hardly seems the letter of a prince's son to a lowly man. This is admirable modesty in ordinary men, but miraculous in princes. 2. Since I have ever striven to please great and good men, my expectations are surpassed to find I have won your esteem. There is no greater happiness in life. Praise others, and you will find yourself inspired to do deeds worthy of praise. 3. It is a fine thing to inherit power and wealth, but many others have these blessings, and some may ascribe them to the whim of fortune; but your erudition and enthusiasm for literature is a commendation peculiar to yourself. Many ignoble men seize power, but learned nobles of blue blood are scarce. In a letter of Alexander to
Aristotle, we read that he preferred learning to power. Learning will make you a prince of princes and hold forth yet more brilliant a promise for later years. Seek counsel in books, let them be your constant companions. They cannot injure or flatter, they teach one how to live and speak, and provide tried and truthful guidance in all things. I know, however, that your wise father, and Vittorino (da Feltre), your learned tutor, daily instil these thoughts in you. Congratulate the beauty and sonority of your style. It was harrowing to see how your talents were wasted by your former tutors. Good seeds bring forth a fine crop when they are sown by a good husbandman; so will your studies produce fine fruits. Scholars have said that it is better for states to be governed by men of wisdom, because the subjects imitate their rulers. I forecast that you will put your learning to use in this way. It was wrong of your old tutor to turn you from Cicero and Vergil, the glory of Mantua and all Italy. Vergil will bring you fame, skill in Latin and guidance in life. The ancients testify that what they learned from him as boys, they never forgot. One good result of this is that you will appreciate Vittorino's practice. I love and praise this great scholar with good reason. Only his honesty and gratitude makes him call me his master. He exaggerates the help I gave him, which was little enough. I urge you to take him as your model, as Achilles took Phoenix as the best teacher in speech and action. I started to send Cicero's Orator. It is finished, but not perfect. I have quite a good Terence, but as yet unamended, like some other books of my pupils, who have scattered from fear of plague. If you want what I have, I shall send them. Give my respects to your father and to Simon, my friend.
1. Lodovico Gonzaga: one of Vittorino's pupils at Mantua. He must have been studying Greek, because Guarino interspersed Greek words throughout. He was then in his twelfth year.

2. Vittorino (da Feltre): Although Guarino had been invited to tutor the Gonzaga children (Abbadini, "Documenti Guariniani," in Atti dell'Accademia di agricoltura di Verona XVIII, 1916, p. 230), he recommended Vittorino, who took up his post in 1423. No finer testimonial of Guarino's generous nature could be found than the praise he lavished here on his Mantuan colleague. The fact remains, pace Woodward, that Guarino's reputation was greater, and apparently so recognized to be by Gian Francesco Gonzaga, who had issued him the prior invitation, and by Vittorino himself.

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**Letter 257 to Francesco (?)**

**Montorio, 8th June [1425]**

Men were born for action, not lethargy; so when I ask you what is going on, I want you to say you are studying and working to become wiser and better every day. You must use your time away from me to revise past work and study new authors. You have every advantage, so do not fail yourself. Where would you turn if you had no wealth or your uncle died? Pull yourself together and do not be like the grasshopper who enjoys the summer but is heedless of the coming winter. Hunting, fishing and hawking should take second place to study, and my affection for you as a pupil compels me to say so. If you fail to work, it will be an admission that you are vegetating.

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**Letter 258 to Battista Scondrata**

**Montorio, June, 1425**

1. Our friend Mariotto wishes to trade letters (literature?) with me. Go to Francesco the parchment dealer and have eight quaternions made to fit this volume. As the sheets are prepared, have them put in the volume.

2. Take my children out of danger. 3. Regards to Giacomo (Scondrata) and Leonardo Cante.
1. Mariotto was apparently copying Justinus for Guarino. cf. Letter 280, postscript.

2. "my children": i.e. Girolamo, Sopo and Samuèl Guarino. The plague was rampant at this time in Verona, as we gather from a letter of Traversari, who writes: "nam cum in urbe et agro Veronense pestis, ut certum est, acriter deosierit" (Sabbadini, Guarino, Istolario III p. 162).

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Letter 259 to Vitaliano Faella

Montorio, 17th June [1426]

1. The memory of our friendship and studies together gives me great joy. I recall with particular delight the visit I recently paid you at Zovio, to which I went for a break from study. Man is taught by study to shun solitude, and I seek out the company of friends; hence my visit to you.

2. As soon as I entered your house, was I not shown an ancient manuscript? It invited me in and pleased me with the precepts of the holy fathers. Your table was liberally spread, and the fare spiced with conversation. You knew I like those Socratic banquets where though the fare was frugal, there was much jesting and witty talk and speeches on virtue. Gian Nicola Galerno and Nasso del Nasi were also there, with flute-players to complete the atmosphere. The ancients always had restrained music at meals—Homer describes the pleasure Ulysses felt on hearing music at Alcinoos' table; Plato's Symposium featured music and did not David sing his psalms at dinner? 3. I was glad to hear how much your magistracy was praised—no wonder, when you seek glory before profit. We owe our country all our best qualities when we are young; and then relaxation is the due of old age. 4. Recently, Lodovico Gonzaga sent me a stylish letter. Being his friend, I know you will congratulate him. Study puts forth fine fruits if it can find good soil in which to grow.
Letter 260 to Battista Zendrata

Montorio, 16th June [1425]

1. I wish you to ask Leonardo Lanto for a mule and a horse to take me next Sunday – the 25th – to Val Policella. I have to supervise there. 2. Please also give my mother-in-law the financial assistance she will be asking.

Letter 261 to Iacopo Lavagnola

Val Policella, June 1425

1. Though your estate at Poiana and mine at Val Policella engage our present attention, we must keep our association alive by frequent correspondence. 2. lest your leisure time pass unproductively, I am sending you Plutarch's *contentiones*, collected and recently translated into Latin by me. my labours will have been worthwhile if they inspire and give pleasure to other young men. Your noble spirit and the glory of your grandfather invite you to great deeds that will adorn Verona. 1. This letter was the dedication of these short pieces.

2. "your grandfather": Iacopo Lavagnola, a famous physician, died c. 1409.

Letter 262 to Battista Zendrata

Val Policella, 21st July [1425]

The plague is spreading daily and the signs are bad. A man in 3. Pietro caught it and another died in bigarino (districts of Verona). wishing to reserve myself for the good of my country, I have decided to withdraw to Venice. Please obtain permission for me to do so from our rulers. I have fixed on next Thursday at dawn for my departure (27th July).

Letter 263 to Ermolao Barbaro

Val Policella, 23rd July [1425]

1. Your letter delighted me, especially since I know you and your family are well. Again, it showed your sense of duty to me. Though I owe everything to
you and your people, you are kind enough to acknowledge a similar debt to me - a family characteristic. 2. The beauty and maturity of your Latin style also pleased me: but I must not over-praise it, lest I appear to be praising my own work rather than yours! 3. I have decided to take your uncle's advice and come to the safety of Venice. I shall come soon, alone, and make arrangements to bring my family. 4. My wife and her mother send their love and beg you to commend them to your uncle and aunt. Give Bernardo (Giustinian) my good wishes, and old Maria.

Letter 28d. Gian Nicola Salerno to Guarino. Toulouse Compaise, 18th July [1424]

1. News of your well-being naturally delights me, for your incomparable virtue is forever helping others and winning immortality for yourself. Lodovico, the bearer of this letter, tells me you are going this evening to Concoregio's house, and on the next morning to Venice. Take care of yourself; for I cannot write without tears of the heavy losses we have incurred. The further away you go, the better. Preserve yourself for our state and the world, since your work has made bearer to all. 2. I commend our friend Clorio, who asks me to say he is going to Venice to escape the plague.

Concoreggio was staying at San Martino (Letter 25c). Guarino left Val Policella on the 27th, spent the night of the 28th with Concoreggio and embarked the next morning on the Argo for Venice.

Letter 28e. Seleco Polentia to Guarino

Padua, 30th July, 1424

1. I have been meaning to write for some days, but I have been tied up with many trifling matters. Also, my humility gave me pause; but finally, I have stolen time to ask a question of you. 2. To what district does Pliny
belong? I have often heard of the two Plinys from Verona, but, recently, I saw a fine codex of the letters of the Younger Pliny. Included was a life of the Elder Pliny, taken from Suetonius, I think. There was also a life of the Younger Pliny by one called "John." This I have never seen before. According to Suetonius, Pliny the Elder was from Como. "John" thinks that he was Veronese by birth, but called "Novocomensis" from the possessions he had at Como. I believe Suetonius, who was Pliny's friend, and describes him as a native of Como in the Do viris illustribus. Yet Pliny the Elder in his preface to the Natural History calls Catullus his "countryman." Thus he appears to disagree with Suetonius. You are the man to solve my doubt!

Fratel Polentia had seen a volume containing the "old" letters of Pliny, that is, the first hundred, plus the other eight books brought to light by Suetonius. (Letter 141). Prefixed to the volume was what is virtually the idyllic life and the gravis annotation of James Pliny, a priest of Verona, called John. This man claims that both Plinys (who were thought of as one person in the Middle Ages) were from Verona. Apparently, Suetonius decided in favour of John's claim, because Polentia mentions this solution.

Letter 266 [to Battista Zencreta]  
Venice [August 1424]

Your letter reassured me that our family is well. Thank you for bringing comfort to Tadea in my absence.
Letter 267 [to Battista Zandrata] [San Martino, August, 1424]

1. I had hoped to enjoy a pleasant re-union with you, but alas! I must instead offer my sympathies on your sad loss. God's will be done! 2. I have no time to write more, but send back the horse, for which I thank you and Guido. 3. I have decided to go to Venice with my family, that is, with Tadea and the children. 4. Lodovico and Giovanni send their best wishes.

On his return from Venice to collect his family (no pupils were to be accompanying him) Quarino heard of the death of Battista's father, who is therefore never mentioned in the letters from Trentino (e.g., Letters 268, 269).

Letter 268 [to Battista Zandrata] [San Martino, August 1427]

1. Yesterday I received your letter, which showed your bravery in misfortune. 2. I intended to return to Venice along the Adige, but since it is difficult to get a boat, I shall go instead to Concoraggio's house - he intends to go to Venice. There I shall buy horses and convey Tadea, who is pregnant, to Este Castellum. I shall hire a mule or a mare to carry the two boys. See that I have two horses at San Martino - perhaps Leonardo (Gianco) can supply them. I shall ask Concoraggio to send me his horses on Sunday, so that I can ride on Monday at dawn. I would be glad to have Guido also with a horse. 3. I should be grateful for an advance on my salary. 4. I shall write to Antonio. 5. My good wishes to Vazo (dei Nazi) to whom I cannot find time to reply.

Letter 269 to Battista Zandrata Trentino, end of August [1424]

1. On arrival, I wrote you a longish letter, detailing my plight. Since
the new moon three people are said to have died. Most have fled, and I shall, if need be. There is hope that nothing worse will happen. 2. Write frequently to say how the family is keeping.

Letter 270 to Battista Zandrata  

Pergino, 9th September [1424]

1. Though I have written twice to say we are well, I have had no reply. You must have written, considering the danger. The further away I am, the worse I fear. 2. I left Trentino when plague struck it and have leased a house in Pergino, which the locals call Perzen - a good oven (περί γαρ or per γαρ = for life) the way I interpret it. It is a pleasant locality - a high citadel with the village on level ground, surrounded by fertile green fields and with a clear stream running between the houses. There are three lakes, hunting, hawking and fishing. The people are hospitable and helpful. I pass my time in study. 3. Write often. I shall not return until you give the word; but Tadea must have her child first, since the plague is not clearing and the winter snow is not good for the children. 5. I commend my father-in-law to you. Regards to Leonardo (Dante) and his tutor. 6. I shall soon need financial help. 7. Regards to all from my mother-in-law and Tadea.

1. On hearing of a decree of Venice forbidding entry to refugees from Verona, Guarino took his family first to Trentino (Letter 270) then to Pergino. His opinion of the place soon changed to disgust (Letters 274, 277, 278, 279).

2. The tutor of Dante was probably Antonio da Broscia (cf. Letter 250).

Letter 271 Leonardo Giustinian to Guarino Venice, 17th September [1424]

Urges Guarino to leave the barbaric environs of Pergino and come to Venice,
pleading sophistically that the edict banning Venetian refugees from Venice will not apply to one coming from Pergine.

Letter 272 to Battista Zendarata Pergino, 18th September [1424]

1. I have written so often that I have no news left, but I know you will welcome this letter in any case. I did not wish to dismiss the courier empty-handed. I can repay you only with gratitude for your many kindnesses.

2. Please send me some money to save us from starvation. In this fortress there is a shortage of every commodity but health. Send the money to Perotti, the Florentine, at Trentino - an easy thing to do, as our merchants will be going to the markets there. Also pay Agostino's nurse, who lives near the Church of San Floriano, her salary of four pounds.

3. I took the death of Jacopo (Zendarata's) wife badly, and have written in sympathy.

4. Your aunt and Tadea send their good wishes. Regards to Leonardo (Dante) and all my friends.

Letter 273 to Domenico and Giovanni Guglielmo Pergino, 11 October 1424 da Lendinara

1. I read with pleasure the imperial charter (privilegium) which you gave me to examine; for I learned therein the glorious deeds of your distinguished ancestors throughout many centuries. Outstanding, indeed, is the grant of the Roman imperium (supreme command) - usually the preserve of non-Italians - to that member of your family, Guglielmo (da Lendinara), for his splendid military talents. It is amazing how many of your family have brought honour to the state and won immortality by their lives and achievements.

2. But I must deplore the wretched lot of mortals, when I
see that you two are almost the only survivors of this ancient and once flourishing line. Honourable deeds alone are abiding; therefore, I observe in both of you, Domenico in particular, a natural love of noble and virtuous men and a hatred of scoundrels. The example of your ancestors compels you, indeed, to greatness. Therefore take heart, and revive the vigour of your line in your children and through your own merit.

"Roman imperium": what Guarino seems to mean is that it was rare for a native Italian to receive the imperial insignia of a general, as Uglicioso had done. The same sentiment is echoed in Letter 736.

Letter 274 to Girolamo (Gualdo) 
Perugia, 12th October [1424]
Translation: In view of your affection for me and mine, I know you will be wanting to know where I am and what I am doing. I am at a stronghold, which the locals call Perugia, in the territory of Trent. There, with my household, I am putting off time, waiting for the day when the epidemic lifts, and it is possible to return to the city, which has been so bedevilled that it must be an object of pity even to its enemies. I had previously gone to Trent, because there was a prohibition on the entry of Veronese citizens into Venice; but as soon as I arrived, a deadly plague began its ravages and has scattered many of my countrymen, and me with them. I therefore retired here for safety; for the locality and its entire neighborhood has so far been immune. I am well, then, if anyone can be well in the midst of rough savages. I pray God that you, also, are in good health, since the love and long-standing good-will we bear one another does not allow your well-being to be dissociated from mine. I wish good health to our friend, Alerardo, as well. [Postscript] Made sure that this information reaches Cristoforo as soon as possible. I know he is worried about me.
because of his love for me as a son. Again, farewell. All my family are well.

1. Already it is obvious that the barbarous sect and its inhabitants were disgusting Guatino. cf. Letter 275, n. 1.


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**Letter 275 to Damiano dal Borgo**

Pergino, 17th October [1424]

1. Your letter gave me incontrovertible pleasure. In reading it, I saw you and heard your voice. Recalling our studies together, I forgot that I have been forced to live amongst uncouth barbarians. 2. The desire you express to feel obliged to my many benefactors springs from the rights of friendship, which make all that is mine yours also. I shall strive to show my gratitude, not so much in teaching you anything - almost an impossibility - as in returning affection. I shall not discourage your high opinion of me, lest I disillusion you and weaken your love. It is kind of you to praise me as the man you would wish me to be. 3. Tadea sends her regards to your wife.

1. Damiano dal Borgo, a Veronese pupil of Guatino, was in December 1429 public notary and chancellor in Verona. He corresponded much with Isotta Nogarola, for which see L. Abel, *Isotta Nogarola opera*, i. p. CXXV and i. p. 206-209.

2. The autograph of this letter is in Verona. Squarcini lists, in his apparatus criticus, variant readings taken from another manuscript in Ferrara (cod. ferrari. i. 2, n. 1, 19) to show how the texts of the letters vary. Generally speaking, apart from intercalations and the common omission of names of addressees and dates, the errors in the manuscript tradition of the letters seem to be accountable from the ordinary errors of copying. e.g. 'sum' for 'suum' and 'solicitudinis' wrongly corrected' from 'solicitudinis'.

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**Letter 276 to Battista Zemarata**

Pergino, 23rd October [1424]

1. You must know what a comfort your letters are to me! Please see to it that you write often - long letters are unnecessary when you are so busy. Just
say you are well. 2. I renew my request that you send me ten ducats to
repay a loan from Perotti. I have arranged that Guido return to you,
as soon as he has sold that piece of cloth. 3. Regards to your brother,
Giacomo, and to Pasquale (Borgo). Give Taddei’s good wishes to your mother, to
visit my mother-in-law sends her regards also. Both send their greetings to
your wife. My son Girolamo has recovered from his attack of worms.
1. Guido Contelese was a prominent citizen of Verona and close friend of
Battista Zambatra and Guarino.
2. Girolamo was Guarino’s first-born son. The worms were probably thread
worms, such as frequently attack infants.

Letter III to Inzo (Gal Inzi)

Forlì, 9th November 1632

1. You are surprised that I have been so long in writing; but the truth is
that I have been tossed about from place to place, like a ship in a storm,
looking for a haven for my family. Besides, my pen shrank from discussing
our wretchedness, the sad plight of our native city, and your separation from
us, all of which have taken the joy out of living. 2. This is a healthy
place, but the locals are uncouth beasts. Their only god is Bacchus, whose
rites they celebrate all year, day, all their lives! On the one day in the
year especially dedicated to him, they drink morning, noon and night. They
believe that if one can drink a bumper off in one gulp, this feat guarantees
a healthy life; pause for breath, and it means a lifetime broken by illness.
Some people, after “drinking” a long life to themselves, go on to do the same
for their progeny. I dare not disapprove openly, lest they tell me to “drink
up or get out” and it is dangerous to talk openly of temperance in such com-
pany. It teaches no endurance. They call us “ignoble” and “a crane” because
of my slender neck; for a bloated neck is considered a distinguishing mark.
of nobility in men and women. Recently, one of two rival priests was appointed
to a vacant living solely on the superior thickness of his neck! 3. I knew
that you will welcome this light vein of mine in the midst of our worries.
Give my regards to the chief magistrate's vicar, that truly Cato-like Catone
(Sacco), and to Portoleno Vetraluni.

1. The duplicity of the Trentini is also discussed in Letter 276. In the
former of Italy, there were then, as now, many people of Teutonic origin;
and the Trentini have always been noted for their capacity for alcohol. In
contrast, the Italians are abstentious. The duplicity of the protectors
of the community of Secchi could aptly fit similar scenes on "Domesticus"
(see "Domesticus" letter 276, page 829). I cannot discover to what extent
Curtius was duplicity, but it is certain that it was a situation, not a
personal feat. 1. Perhaps, the Trentini worshippers of Bacchus partly to accent-
uate their boring or so surroundings.

2. Catone Sacco was "vicarius" of Giovanni Contarini, pedarch of Verona.
In 1454 (Letter 666) he is spoken of as Curtino's friend from boyhood.

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**Letter 278 to Mattila Zemmeta**

**Pergino, 8th November [1424]**

1. If you are busy, short, but frequent, notes would be welcome. Your recent
letter enabled me to act as I did in Verona: pay you a visit, and, if you
were busy, enjoy a short chat and depart content. Thank you for remembering
me. 2. I know you welcomed Guidetto's news that we are all well. I have ex-
perienced the depth of your affection and will love you for it. Your kind-
ness and practical help is an anchor in the storm. 3. Concerning the letter
on financial matters, and the one afterwards received, which explained how
you anxiously sought out by Guidetto and entertained him with food and rest.
now wonderful is friendship, which brings those absent together, to enjoy a
joke, and which makes poor men rich! 4. In finance, I was under the impression
that there is a mention of time in one of those fellows' written agreements
(chirograph). That man is lying. I trust you and by lawyer were to see I
am not cheated. I swear that I thought my bond had been cancelled by that
fellow for the reasons I have detailed and others I shall tell you in person.
I shall only the old woman all I can, but the debtor lives far from Verona
under another jurisdiction. 5. It was good to hear you will send for me as
soon as the plague lifts. I propose to send Tadea off with the children
and her mother; but unless Trent is safe by the 7th of next month, she must
bear her child here. The only drawback is that only the kitchen has a fire-
place, and that is an unhealthy place for a child-birth. 6. Thank God, Costino,
ymy son, is well. 7. Thanks for what you did and wrote about that man from
Corio. I owe everything to Antonio. 8. The clock would have been returned,
but I know that it has not yet come from Perotti's house. 9. I think your son,
Lodovico, will have a brilliant futuro. 10. It is an honour that our rulers
think so well of us. 11. God has been good to our state in preserving such
good, wise and honest men as Gian Nicola (Salerno) and Fazio (del Vezzi). 12.
What you say about that popular agitator (Graccho illo?) is disturbing. His
own cleverness will destroy him. 13. By contrast, your good citizenship will
assure you a place in heaven. 14. Give regards to your mother, wife and
brother Giacomo from me, Tadea and her mother. Good health to Leonardo (Pante),
Mariotto and his teacher (Antonio de Brescia?)

1. Sec. 4 is obscure. It would appear that certain men owed Guarino money,
but were trying to wriggle out of paying. But what the bond was that Guarino
signed is not clear, nor is how the 'old woman' was concerned.

2. "your son" (sec. 5): Lodovico Zondrita, who afterwards became famous
(cf. Santamaria, "Documenti Guariniani", Atti dell'Accademia di Agricoltura

Letter 279 to Mariotto
[Fergina, November, 1424]

1. When I left you promised to write me about your own and Leonardo Pente's
health, also how my little Agostino was keeping. I have no fear you will fail to keep your promise. 2. The memory of our good fellowship comforts me in this rough place to which the plague has driven me. Their very speech here is like an animal whimpering. Write to me, lest I lose the speech and manners of an Italian. 3. Regards to Leonardo (Dante).

(Sec. 2.) 'their...speech here': Despite this abhorrence of Germany, a scholar like Guarino could not help picking up some of the language. In fact, he was made an official interpreter by the Merchants’ Guild soon after his return to Verona. His speeches on accenting the office is published by Sabbadini. "Documenti guarniani" in atti dell’Accad. di agricoltura di Verona XVIII, 1916, p. 242-45.

**Letter 260 to Mariotto**

Pergine, 15th November [1424]

1. Two letters come from you arrived simultaneously. The courier is leaving soon, and I must be brief. 2. The doubts you express arc groundless: I shall always love and admire you. I will not fail you in any way. 3. What is happening at Florence? The rumours are torturing me. 4. I was delighted to hear that my infant Agostino, is well. 5. Give Leonardo Alighieri (Dante) my regards. Write more often. 6. P.S. How is our Justinus coming along?

1. Leonardo Alighieri di Dante was a fourth generation descendant of the great poet, when Guarino never mentions.

2. Justinus: Mariotto was transcribing a Justinus for Guarino (cf. Letter 258).

**Letter 261 to Sazo (Ceiazzi)**

Pergine, 16th November [1424]

Translation: by the rights entailed by our mutual friendship, everything that concerns me should be passed on to you and I must resort to your help in forming and carrying out my intentions, in view of your loyalty, your commonsense and your unique affectation for me. Not to beat about the bush, I am herewith sending you two letters that were sent to me, the one inviting
no to Venice, the other to Bologna. I am torn by conflicting loyalties. On the one hand, my native city calls me and since it was where I was born I must go for it whatever lies in my humble power; and I feel the call to do this by reason of the love and kindnesses it has lavished upon me. On the other hand, Bologna, the most famous seat of learning in the world, sends me an invitation. In addition, there is a multitude of young noblemen who as my future audience hold forth the promise of warm friendship; and there is no dearth of a decent salary. These are the things that spell glory, praise, position and profit. And that of my second motherland, Venice! From that quarter comes quite a tidy offer — everything, in fact! That about the attractions of long standing friendships and the inducements of making new ones? I have often experienced that great blessing and grace these can be, and one of their outstanding advantages is that my family and myself have a considerable influence with those who are likely to benefit up through tenure of office, authority or affluence. But all doubt would have been removed if I were self-sufficient and had in my own account, as the usual saying is, means sufficient to feed and maintain my household. But since my family needs many comforts to help it along, so long as I have the bodily strength to work, such means must be sought by which I can bring up my family, if not in luxury, at any rate moderately, while not forgetting my own requirements. And so, my sensible son, who have shrewdness and foresight, tell me that course I should follow and that to pass over, so that coulded or assured by your judgment I can see a clear path for my feet. This will add to the many other favours you have done me. Farewell, glory of our state.

The biographical significance of this letter is discussed in my Life of Murzino, etc. 90.
Letter 282 to Battista Zandrata

Verona, 10th November [1421]

1. I must begin with a complaint about the unreliability of our couriers. I have written more letters to you, to Nato (Nato) and Nato (Naples). If they have not received them, I am exasperated. 2. Thank you for the careful report about Nato (di Bertoldo da Folgaria). You have done a favour to my creditors and it was good to hear about his will and his impending death — when did he ever "live", anyway? 3. I count it a blessing and an honour to have won our ruler's esteem. 4. It is good news that the plague is lifting. Let me know who have died, and how many. Have any died who came back? 5. It is good that Bartolomeo Zenoesio has been made tutor to the chief magistrato's sons. His character — the first consideration in a teacher — and his learning are excellent. 6. I am glad Agostino is well. Tadca and her mother thank you for your care. 7. Inazo anticipates the future like a prophet, but a true one, for you will see a letter sent to one of my pupils from Bologna. I was going to ask Nato whether I should go to Bologna or Venice. 8. Give our regards to my father-in-law; tell Giacomo to keep warm. I am writing (Cristoforo) Sabbion asking him to get that money from (my?) father-in-law and give it to you.

1. Inaco's will (dated 10th November 1424) made provision to repay a debt to Guarino.

2. For Bartolomeo Zenoesio cf. Letter 252, note.

3. Sec. 7 provides a clue as to why Guarino refused the offer from Bologna (Letter 281), although conjecture must play its part. Nato had apparently already advised against accepting the offer, and his advice must have been confirmed by something written in a letter from Bologna to one of Guarino's pupils.

Letter 283 to Battista Zandrata

Trent, 22nd November [1424]

1. Yesterday, I heard that Trent has been clear of plague for eighteen days. Everyone, including the Bishop, has returned. 2. I am just waiting until your
cousin bears my child, then I am off to Venice. 3. I am being tempted to
\text{go permanently to Venice, but I shall return to Verona, provided I am paid
the same salary as before. If there is to be any difficulty or refusal, I
shall have to think of my family's welfare. Write and tell me that you and
I have think my prospects are. Meanwhile, I shall put off replying to Venice.
As proof of how strongly I am attracted to Venice, here enclosed is a letter
from (Leonardo) Giustinian. Others from (Francesco) Barbaro and Giuliani
contain private matters and I shall keep them. Send Giustinian's letter
back when I have seen it. 4. Can I have some money for present needs?
5. My wife and mother-in-law send their regards to your family. Tell us
especially about Giacomo, whose ill-health worries us, and how things are
in the city.

\begin{flushleft}
\textbf{Letter 204} to Vitaliano (Faella) \hfill Siront, end of November, 1467

1. I know this long silence has worried you, as you had no idea where I was.
No more did I, except that I have been amongst pigs in a sty and was afraid
I might turn into one. As Chrysoloras used to say, μελέτη ἐλεφάντια ταπίνων,
"habit becomes nature.". Your letters have been the only of Mercury that has
preserved my human nature. 2. It comforted me to read your recollections of
the time when you were compelled by misfortune to work with no as a cook;
cook grocer, cook chamberlain. At least it was a man's work; but I have been
made into a nursemaid, cook serving-wench and even had fears of having to play the
mid-wife! You put up with it cheerfully and philosophically, having learned
from the moral philosophers that necessity often calls us to assume a dif-
f erent role. 3. That is funny to recall; but the slaughter at Zorio is
another matter. God is fighting against us; but may this sharp lesson teach
us that it is better to placate a kindly master than anger a severe judge.
4. I am pleased you have been reading sacred writings, the source of wisdom and virtue. 5. But why no mention of Gian Nicola Salerno? Give me news of this man we both know so well. 6. When I left the mountains for Trent, my anxieties eased off, especially my fears for Tadea, who might well have given birth to an animal amongst those lairs of wild beasts! I have been shorn every kindness here. 7. I am well, if I can say that when my native land has been laid waste.

There is a great deal of true humour in this letter, especially in Guarino's description of himself doing incongruous female duties. This is gentle and subtle; whereas the remarks about Tadea, though amusing, have an indelibly brutal note. Much Renaissance humour is of this kind. It can be hilarious, but a certain subliminal savagery spoils it for us. See for instance, a letter of Machiavelli, printed in J. F. Hare, Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy (J. M. L. London, 1960) p. 116. The ever-present threat of violence and disease could not but exert a distant influence on even the most light-hearted writing of the Renaissance.

Letter 285 to Battista Zandrata

Trent, 28th November [1424]

1. I could never repay your many kindnesses: indeed I wish to stay in your debt as your captive to use as you will. 2. I received the money. 3. It was a relief to hear Giacomo (Zendrata) is well. 4. You give me a father's love and a son's respect, and therefore think well of my letters, with the mistaken indulgence of a father. Persist in the mistake, lest you love me less. It does me credit to be praised by such as you. 4. I am glad to hear Bartolomeo Pellegrino is well. I have now got his letter about the wine-press at Val Policella. That knight is trying to cheat us and I withdraw the favourable terms I gave him, since he broke his word first. 5. I wrote my brother-in-law about the "Gracchan" money, but the matter's done with; from now on I say nothing. Let the cash destroy him! I shall use your money, if need be. 6. It is splendid to hear the city is recovering and that Agostino, your mother and your father-in-law are well. 7. So much for answers to yours
of 22nd November - now for yours of the 24th. 8. I am glad you got so many letters from me together. 9. I am pleased you and Vaso spoke in my favour.

10. The sad death of such a man as Roberto Salerno must frighten others. 11. In reply to your third letter: you deplore my having to go elsewhere, but some people will claim that the state does not need me. 12. Write and say if the cloak has been delivered. 13. Please don't give me an account of money.

14. Thanks for sending my letter to Gian Nicolo Salerno - he will get a laugh at it. Some travellers from Reggio told me he was keen to hear from me and censured my slowness. 15. Included is a letter to Bartolomeo Pellegrino.

16. If the groom Balthasar, once nurse to Agostino, is in your employ, can him for 8 pounds he owes me. 17. Tecla and her mother send regards to your mother, yourself, your wife and brother. Give mine to Basso, our ruler in Verona and to Leonardo Dante and Mariotto. 18. I shall write again to my brother-in-law. 19. Tecla will soon give birth, to a boy, one hopes. 20. Urge Mariotto to finish the Justusius.

1. This sanguine diffusive letter, which answers three from Battista, is full of snippets, some of them most obscure. e.g. "the Cenachian money" (Cenachanus), sec. 5.

2. Sec. 11 in another proof that Guarino had enemies at Verona and that he felt his position insecure. As the time for a renewal of contract was not far distant, his enemies were plotting either to reduce his salary or dispense with his services altogether.

3. "travellers from Reggio" (sec. 14): Salerno was still in Reggio.

Letter #85 to Battista Andrade, 8th December [1426]

1. Last night Tecla gave birth to a son. Like Giralamo, the boy was born on a feast-day, that of San Ambrogio, a happy coincidence, since my father-
in-law had favored the name "Ambrogio" months ago! 2. After I had made up
my mind to go to Venice for a few days, Guidotto came and advised me to await
your instructions. What am I to do? What prospects are there? I expect
Guidotto and Guglielmo any time. 3. Tell me how things are in town and give
my regards to Mazo (dei Nazi).

1. Girolamo had, in fact, been born on the 20th September, 1421 (Letter
205), ten days before the feast of St. Jerome. I suggest that Guarino wil-
fully glossed over the discrepancy, being unwilling to sacrifice the effect.

2. "prospects" (sec. 2): It was not yet settled whether Guarino was to
be hired for a further five years. Battista and Mazo were obviously still
working to that end.

Letter 387 to Leonardo Giustinian
Trent, 9th December, 1424

1. Two days ago, Tadea delivered a lovely son, whom circumstance, or God, has
made a citizen of Trent, not of Venice, as I had hoped. 2. I am pleased
the child is a boy, because I have given him the name of Manuel, and so
prepared him to follow in the steps of Chrysoloras. Children are often given
names inappropriate to their later character; but this generation has wit-
nessed the greatness of Manuel (Chrysoloras) and posterity will acclaim it,
and my son will draw inspiration from that. Simply to use the name "Manuel"
reminds me of Chrysoloras. 3. Though a humble fellow, I have as much right
as any king to fuss about my children, and I know you will not think me a
fool for talking about this at such length. You value my triflings, share
my thoughts, and know how I love and patron children.

Letter 288 to Battista Zandrata
Trent, 13th December [1424]

1. A letter from you turns the day into a festival, and I have just received
yours of the 7th, together with one from Gian Nicola Salerno. 2. I rejoice
in his praise; for I aim to please great men, and to deserve their praise.

3. I had decided to go to Venice via the Sarzana Valley, but, as it is blocked by snow, I have left the family hero and will come myself to Verona around Christmas to talk things over with you. 4. May I have two months' salary to cover expenses and provide for my family? 5. It is good you are using reliable couriers, as so many of my letters have gone astray. 6. The cloak, and the coarser piece of cloth, have been dispatched. Deliver the cloth to Sor Micheli. The cloak came originally from the house of Casparo de Quinto. 7. My mother-in-law will thank you if you have wrung any money out of Balthasar. 8. I am glad Agostino is well. 9. Tadca has done your bidding, and borne a son. I have called him Manuel Ambrogio, that he may have at least a rich name from me! 9. The news about Gracchus is typical of his sliny nature. God will eventually punish him; but I beg you to dissemble until the lucre he has squeezed from the poor has destroyed him. 10 Thank Aleardo (Gaforino) - I am writing him anyway - for the services he has rendered me. 11. What a pity I missed Mazo's two speeches! 12. I am wasting time amidst snow-covered hills and barbarians that drink riotously. It is worse than death. 13. I have heard no more news about that presumptious fellow who has shown himself a true member of the Gracchuan clan. Beware that his silence does not portend trouble for me. 14. Advise my lawyer Mazo and do what is needful. My hopes are pinned on you.


2. "Gracchus": This is the same man whose financial oppression is referred to in Letter 285, sec. 5; but exactly what the nature of his power was is no clearer. At any rate, he was one of Guarino's opponents in Verona (sec. 13, if the 'presumptious fellow' there is the same man).
Letter 289 to Battista Zandrata  
Trent, 14th December [1424]

1. You continually delight me with your affectionate letters. I see in you an image of myself, not, as in a glass, darkly, but clearly delineated and living. 2. Thank God for your kind and considerate nature, which even extends to complaining that you were not asked by me for money! But do not worry; for the money you believe was sent to me by Concoreggio.

3. The time has come to put words aside, and act. I shall come to Verona before Christmas, but I shall live with my father-in-law to make up for my long absence. We shall be constantly in touch, however, so get your ears ready! 5. Tadea thanks you for the gifts you sent to help ease her childbed. She rejoices she bore the son you wanted. 6. Please send about half of my salary, before I leave. If it cannot be sent before the 20th, send nothing, as I shall collect it on arrival. 7. We all send regards to your wife, mother and brother.

Letter 290 to Battista Zandrata
[Trent, end of December, 1424]

1. I would have arrived, but for heavy snow. 2. Please read the enclosed letter, that you may advise my father-in-law what answer to give anyone who accuses him - and, by implication, me - of a shameful act. Then send the letter to the addressee. Some people need curing by words, not medicines.

Letter 291 to Battista Zandrata  
Trent, 26th December [1424]

1. The pen in my hand refuses to write, because we shall soon be talking together and writing is not appropriate. Therefore, be sure to send horses, lest I remain mute. Write me a line, so that I have something to think about on the journey. 2. Antonio de Quinto will give you one of the two horses I
need, and Guidotto or Leonardo Dante the other. Ensure
they are shod for the ice. 3. Tadea commends herself and
Manuel to you. We are well. Give my regards to your family.

Antonio da Quinto was a civil servant in Verona, described
in 1411 as "provisor mercati bladorum" and in 1424 as
"ratiocinator publicus". (Ant. Arch. Veron., Hoschinus.
Index locupletissimus). He may be the same man as is mentioned
in Letter 221 as an opponent of Guarino. Perhaps a reconcilia-
tion had been effected.

Letter 292 to Francesco Barbaro Trent, 28th December [1424]
1. I urge those who have done me a favour to show as much de-
votion to you as to myself; for I have often experienced
your generosity in paying off my debts. 2. I therefore send
Antonio of Vicenza to you for help. He has done me and mine
every conceivable service since we came here. 3. A fugitive
from Vicenza, he explained his case to the Doge when the
latter was returning from Germany. I urged him to go to
Venice to have his sentence rescinded. If you assist him,
it will be a great favour.


2. The Doge, Francesco Foscari, had passed through Trent
on his return from a diplomatic mission in Germany.

Letter 293 to the excellent lawyer, Galesio Verona 11th Jan-
uary [1425]
1. I heard today that a recently discovered speech of Cicero
had been brought to Verona. I rejoice because I admire
Cicero and desire glory for Verona. What finer distinction
than a visit from the master of life and learning to be the
augur of the revival of learning in Verona, nurse of poets, philosophers and orators? 2. But his host sent him away to Mantua, it is said, before we could share his company. You must intercede with the kindly Bishop of Mantua, to whom the manuscript went, for its restoration. Have a correct copy made and send it. You will earn the eternal gratitude of scholars here.

1. Galeso della Nichesola was vice-podesta of Mantua in 1425.

2. The speech of Cicero was probably one of the eight discovered by Poggio in 1417 (Pro Caccina, the three De lega agraria, the two Pro Rabirio, In Pisonem and Pro Roscio Corondo). Barbaro had copies: these from Poggio's exemplar, and they were in common circulation at this time.

3. The Bishop was Giovanni degli Uberti, who reigned 1417-1428.

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Letter 293A
The text of this letter is lost; but its contents are described in the Codex Tiolus as a recommendation to the Lady Paola of a knight who had been reduced to beggary. The letter was to Galusio della Nichesola.

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Letter 294 to Giovanni Lamola  [Verona, January 1425]
Translation: I could not express the troubles, inconveniences and perils of this year, the additional and crowning misfortune of which has been the fact that you, a delightful person and the choicest of companions, were not here. But now that I have brought myself and my family back to this city, which is now absolutely safe, I must open my heart to you. For specific reasons, necessary ones, in fact, I have
been forced to hang on here for this year at least; so if you want me to help you with your literary studies, to further which I refuse no amount of work, fly to me. You will be with me under the same roof, we shall eat at the same table and our studies will be shared: that would suit me and give me the utmost gratification and delight. Already I am crediting it to my praise and glory. But if you care to take up the offer—and you must take it up to satisfy this longing, no, burning eagerness of mine—you will let me know; for I shall provide for you in the matter of a safe conduct, so that your journey may be both comfortable and advantageous. Please come and share my fortunes. Farewell.

Letter 295 to Giacomo Ponzone  Verona, 7th April [1424]
1. Our common friend, Talamacio Rosseto, recently came from Cremona and told me you desire to make my acquaintance. His description of your literary interests and virtues has won my goodwill. 2. If you impressed the unlettered warrior, Talamaccio, as a scholar with the same interests as you, I should like you. 3. He asked me to write. If you want affectionate letters, well and good, but you must seek a fine style in Cicero.

Giacomo Ponzone, a patrician of Cremona, with whom Guarino here corresponds for the first time. By 1425 (Letter 297) their friendship had been sealed.

Letter 296 to Giacomo Ponzone  Verona [1424-1425]
1. While thinking of you recently, I recalled a conversation I once had with Biagio (Bq son e) about you. 2. You have a noble ancestry, wealth and a natural instinct for glory.
and virtue. Add to these the distinction of learning and you will exceed even your inherited glories. Consider how many of the ancients and moderns have become famous and conferred immortality on their native cities, through the study of literature. I therefore urge you, as a friend, to cultivate your natural talents. 3. I have written, lest you think I had forgotten you. 4. Regards to Biagio.

Biagio Bosone was a tutor and copyist to the Ponzoni. He is referred to as a copyist in letters 297, 298, 299 and 455.

Letter 297 to Biagio Bosone Verona (January, 1425)
1. I was delighted to be reminded of you and Giacomo (Ponzone). What better news could you give me, on my return from barbarian tribes, than that you are well? 2. How can I thank you for your solicitude for my health? You cannot be out-done in expressions of affection and good-will, to say nothing of your learning, which makes me want to live under the same roof as you. If you ever need a break, and a short time away from Giacomo, please come and share my house. We should help each others studies. 4. I have some money belonging to you left, which I shall give to you in person or send on, as you inform me. 5. I left my family at Trent, because of the snow. 6. Regards to the noble Giacomo.

Letter 298 to (Giacomo) Ponzone Verona (Spring 1425)
1. When Bosone was here, he assured me he would soon be back in Cremona. Please let me know if he has returned safely. 2. Does he have the Pro Deitano? I would send it
if not. I also want him to copy the Pro Murena for me, as
I am presently to lecture on it. I shall send it, as soon
as you tell me he has come back.

Letter 299 to Biagio Bosone       Verona [Spring 1425]
1. After you left, the father and uncle of Giovanni Porri
wrote from Vicenza, requesting Cicero's "Letters to Lentulus".
If you have a correct copy, will you transcribe at least
one volume for them? They also want the Tusculan Investi-
gations, the Verrines, the Philippics and the De Oratore--
the latter only if you can get hold of the complete version,
not the old, defective text. Write and tell me what you can
do. 2. Everyone in the house sends their regards.

1. "Letters to Lentulus": These letters were not collected
under any specific title. Only in the fifteenth century were
Cicero's letters given the title Epistolae familiare, and (slightly later) Ad Familiares (Cf. Sabbanini, Storia
e critica di testi latini, p. 57-58).

2. "Tusculan Investigations": Cicero called these the
"Tusculanae disputationes" (De div. II 2), but in the Middle
Ages and in later mss., they were called "Tusculanae" or
"Tusculanae Quaestiones".

3. "De Oratore": Guarino means the complete text, discovered
in 1422 by Gerardo Landriani.

Letter 300 to Vitaliano (Faella)   [Verona, Spring, 1425]
1. Your presence has been missed. I recently heard you
were in the country and had decided to chide you for not
being here to enjoy Cicero's spirited defence of Murena,
his oratorical skill and the wit with which he pours scorn
on Cato, the professing Stoic. But when I think of the
fertile plain and flowering valley of Caciana, I praise your
choice of locality—a true haunt of the muses. I should be glad of an invitation there, but I shall not come uninvited. 2. Two close friends of yours have spoken so well of you to our chief magistrate that he wants you to deliver a public eulogy of him. I do not know whether to congratulate him on his choice of you, or you in being chosen by him. The choice of Apelles by Alexander reflected glory on them both.

1. "Murena": cf. Letter 298. Guarino must have begun his lectures with the *Pro Murena*.
2. "our chief magistrate": Vittor Bragadino.

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**Letter 301 to Biagio Bosone**  
Verona, 15th October, 1425

1. I received your unassuming and affectionate letter.
2. I wish you had those books, or the exemplar of them, so that you could satisfy our studious friends and do yourself a favour. 3. When Giacomo's servant comes, I will carry out his wishes. As I must go to Venice on a state mission for a few days, I shall leave a letter here addressed to friends in Trent, who will do what Giacomo wants. 4. Please write yourself to Rudolpho, who, together with his father (to whom I shall write), will take care of the matter of the horses. 5. Regards to Giacomo. Antonio (da Brescia) and the rest of the household send their good wishes to you.

1. "a state mission": By a decree of 15th October 1425 (Ant. Arch. Veron., Liber Provis. cg 80v) Guarino was sent, with others, to Venice to discuss the taxes.
"the horses" (sec 4): Presumably Ponzone's servant was going to Trent to purchase horses for his master.

Letter 302 to Giacomo Ponzone
Verona, 2nd half October 1425

1. Your servant tells me all went well at Trent. 2. I was away at Venice and have done nothing about getting the Tusculans for Biagio; but I shall do so as soon as possible.

Letter 303 to Giovanni Aurispa
Verona, 5th February [1425]

1. On returning recently from the mountains of Trent, I heard no better news than that you were teaching the good arts in Bologna. I foresee greatness for you in this haven to which you have come after wandering so wide, like Ulysses; and it is your genius, modesty, serious-mindedness and wide knowledge which prompt the forecast. 2. I am delighted that an old friend is to be so near, for, as Catullus says, lovers desire to be close to their beloved. 3. This is just the customary short letter of welcome; but I shall write at greater length when I have regained the favour of the Muses, on whom this plague has caused me to declare war!

Aurispa was born at Noto, in Sicily, about 1376. After passing his early years at Naples, he went to Greece from 1405-1413. During this period he learned Greek and began collecting Greek manuscripts. After returning to Italy, he taught at Savona 1414-1419, although not continuously, for in 1414 he went on an embassy to Pope John XXIII, visited Pisa in October 1417, and Bologna and Florence between 1416 and 1418 (cf. Letters 41, 45, 85). In 1419-1420 he joined the Curia of the new pope, Martin V, at Florence, and in September 1420, accompanied it to Rome. In 1421 he taught Valla Greek at Rome, and later in the year went again to Greece, probably on behalf of Gian Francesco Gonzaga, and returned with John Palaeologus in December 1423. From this voyage he brought back an even larger collection of manuscripts.
than in 1414. From Venice, he went in February 1424 to Milan, thence in June to Bologna where he was appointed public lecturer in Greek for one year. In September 1425 he was appointed to teach Greek in the University of Florence and there he remained for two years.

Letter 304 to Ugo Mazzolato [Verona, February 1425]

1. Many travellers from Ferrara have passed on your greetings to me. Thank you; but I am a little ashamed of my silence. This year, however, the plague has driven me far afield amongst barbarians, an atmosphere alien to literature. Please pardon my silence, which was not due to forgetfulness of you. 2. I am sending the Suetonius, which I could not emend properly, as there are no Greek characters. I could have guessed what they would be, but I did not wish to take liberties with the text. 3. I shall send the Aulus Gellius, when I have read it. 4. Commend me to Giacomo Zilioli.

Mazzolato had obviously requested Guarino to emend a copy of Suetonius. Very probably the scribe had omitted the Greek and written either a Latin translation, or the usual 'greco'. Guarino's respect for the manuscript tradition is almost unique amongst the humanists of his time.

Letter 305 to Ugo Mazzolato Verona, 14th-28th February [1425]

1. Filippo Canuccio, the tutor of Andrea Zulian's children, told me you were well. You must congratulate us both, for my well-being depends upon yours. 2. He added a veiled accusation from you of negligence on my part in not translating the Greek sections of Aulus Gellius into Latin. Filippo says he told you how busy I am; but I don't wish to excuse myself in this way. What business could come before a
friend's request? I swear that I had no idea what you wanted when I received the A. Cellius, for there was no covering letter. I actually thought you wanted me to have it, because I had sent mine from Florence to you. If you believe me, I shall carry out your request. 3. Let me know if you have received the Suetonius. 4. Give my regards to Giacomo Zilioli. 5. P.S. I need pens.

Letter 306 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 1st March [1425?]
1. I rejoice in the honour of being known as your friend. It will reflect even more credit on me, if you heed my plea on behalf of Antonio Molaspina, the deputy ("vicarius") of the Bishop of Rimini. 2. He is coming with some request from the marquis, which he will detail to you. Please expedite his business, as he is due to go to Rome.

"vicarius" (sec. 1): The official title of various classes of administrator and military officer. (See Souter, Glossary of Later Latin, Oxford, 1949)

Letter 307 to Francesco Barbaro  Verona, 7th March [1425]
As in the Greek proverb, friends have all things in common; so I have ventured to promise your aid, as though it were mine, to Antonio Corneto, a one-time inhabitant of Vicenza. I am much indebted to him, for he has been steward, guide, servant, assistant and nurse on my behalf! Please relieve me of my debt, so far as the dignity of your office allows. You will hear his plea from him or from his family.
1. Antonio Corneto: The same man as is mentioned in Letter 292.

2. "your office": Barbaro was chief magistrate at Vicenza from February, 1425. For other letters of intercession by Guarino, cf. Letters 308, 309.

Letter 308 to Francesco Barbaro  
Verona, 9th March [1425]

1. As a gift, I send you the priest, Giovanni Gasparo, and his brother, Nicola, both of Vicenza. As old friends of mine, make them yours also, and help them if ever they need your favour. 2. I do not claim, as some do, that a judge should have no friends in dispensing justice; rather that the judge should be the friend of all men, and vice versa. 3. What has been done about Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana, and the Pliny? Should I give up hope? Let Flavio (Biondo) answer for you, to keep him busy!

1. Sec. 2: Note Guarino's adroitness in making what was a bare-faced request for favouritism.

2. "De Doctrina Christiana": (sec. 3) It appears that Guarino had asked at Venice for this work, but, failing to obtain it there, had applied to Ambrogio Traversari (cf. Traversarii Epistulae VI, 27, where Traversari tells Leonardo Giustinian, "To this volume of yours I have added not only Iogenes Laeritius, but also that new volume containing Augustine's books on Christian Doctrine, which I have had copied on behalf of our friend Guarino, and which I have asked Aurispa--for he said he would presently be setting out for Venice--to pass on to you."

3. "Pliny": (sec. 3) The ancient exemplar, which had been sent to Venice (Letter 248).

Letter 309 to Francesco Barbaro  
Verona, 11th March [1425]

Boneto, who bears this latter, is a great friend of mine. He intends to plead for the restitution of a hunting dog, which, he alleges, was stolen from him. The dog will
convict the thief by barking at him. I know you will see justice done, but I have written, at Boneto's request, to give him good luck.

Letter 310 to Ugo Mazzolato Verona, 14th March [1425]
1. It is unfair you should give me so much, and get nothing in return. My letters are empty, but yours is laden with the fruit of Persia, and even the Persian ritual; for the Persians do not think it proper to approach their kings or betters empty-handed. You add eels, too, as though in yearly tribute. Receive my whole self as thanks. 2 Please let me know whether you received the Suetonius. I shall work on the Aulus Gallius, as soon as I know your wishes. 3. I am sad and astonished that my three letters to you were not delivered. 4. Commend me to (Giacomo) Zilioli.

1. (Sec. 1) "fruit of Persia": i.e. the peach (Persicum malum). Ferrara was noted then, as it is today, for the quality of its peaches.
2. (Sec. 2) "Suetonius", "Aulus Gallius": cf. Letters 304, 305.

Letter 311 to Flavio (Biondo) Verona, 13th April [1425]
1. The only apology that needs to be made for this delay in writing arises from the cessation of our pleasurable intercourse. Silence cannot diminish our friendship. 2. It would have been an added pleasure had I been able to see you and your wife. 3. Thank you for looking after Girolamo. 4. There is a threat of plague here. If it is confirmed,
I shall retire to Val Policella. If I have to go further afield, I don't know what I shall be doing, for I have had so much trouble avoiding death this last year, that death seems preferable to more worry. I am eternally obliged to you for your invitation. 4. Guglielmo Haffei has no horses for sale. Do not apologise for giving me this lowly task—nothing is to difficult for a friend! Perhaps you will join me in country walks, military exercises, swimming, fishing and playing at ball, all activities I use to keep me fit and sharpen my appetite. 5. You will have the manuscript as soon as I find a reliable courier. 6. If you are looking for Chierichino (da Vicenza), perhaps he will see you this autumn. 7. Commend me to my patron ("regi" i.e. Barbaro). Tadaa sends her love to your wife.

1. (Sec. 4) "activities": Besides encouraging physical activities, Guarino practised them himself.

2. (Sec. 5) "manuscript": i.e. the Brutus (cf. Letter 313).

3. (Sec. 6) Chierichino: A humanist of Vicenza.

Letter 312 to Niccolò Dotto Verona, 18th April [1425]

1. At Vicenza recently, Giovanni da Castelnuovo told me he was sending me a Greek boy (servant?). Please ask him what he intends doing and let me know his wishes. 2. Can I have your volumes containing the De Amicitia, so that I can have a copy of the De Fato, which is also there? If you intend delaying your return, send me the key so that I can get it from the box. 3. Regards to your father.
1. Niccolò Dotto was a pupil of Guarino's at Verona, where had obviously left some belongings locked up and in Guarino's keeping.

2. Giovanni da Castelnuovo is recorded as having been imperial notary at Vicenza 30th December 1407.

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**Letter 313 to Flavio (Biondo) Verona, 18th April [1425]**

1. Recently I sent the Brutus. Let me know if you received it and my two letters. 2. Please acquire some copy of Justinus by which I can correct mine. Ask the podestà for advice. I intend to write some letters of commendation to him, and therefore do not wish to ask this favour for myself. 3. I shall do the copying you ask in return for what you did in the matter of the horses.

1. "Justinus" (sec. 2): Mariotto must have finished the copy he was doing for Guarino.

2. "horses" (sec. 3): cf. Letters 311, sec. 4, and 314, sec. 2. It seems that Barbaro had asked Guarino to negotiate the purchase of some horses, possibly at a sala, and that Guarino had made a good deal, due to some advice from Biondo.

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**Letter 314 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 15th May [1426]**

Translation:

Guarino of Verona to the most famous gentleman, Francesco Barbaro, chief magistrate of Vicenza, greetings.

I have received your letter, "fair" of form and "flavored fair" by the pen of the writer, and not so much "barbarous" as "sonorous", that is to say, weighty. It gave me the utmost delight to know that your wishes were not in the matter of that horse---in fact, I have even begun to preen myself
on having some competence in a thing I know nothing about!
That's a true saying; then, "ἡ ἐλλάδα πάντως ["] and
"Do what you love doing, and love will find a way." What
do you think I would accomplish for you in those matters--
if any such exist--of which I do have knowledge? But I
took it hard that the seasoned judgment of such gentlemen
should be bettered by the dreamy notion of one insignificant
fellow, who is more at home on a seat than a saddle, and not
a seat of office, but the seat of his pants!

Our friend Pellegrino, a yokel by name, but a wit by
nature, delivered the money. In addition, there was that
corrected speech by Bissaro, which you call a "virgin
undefiled." What changes this age has witnessed! The
Bissarii, who, in another era, used to distil so much poison,
now at last are exuding honey; and the Barbari, once stig-
matized by all the Ancient World, have surpassed all manner
of praise. Here is a third instance for you; this very
"virgin without taint" of Bissario's, without losing that
same maidenhood and chastity, will give birth to several
sons.

I shall ensure that I am not called in question about
my promises, or appear to have made empty ones. But the
day has not yet been fixed; be prepared: I would rather
you didn't know the day or the hour. The fore-going remarks
were to you, my most learned Flavio.

Now let my remarks come back again to the chief magistrate
himself. Marco Tavola, a fellow townsman and very close
friend of mine, who carries this letter to you, is having
to fight some people in your court, to protect certain
rights and privileges of his, which are being called in
question. He has high hopes that, when he delivers my
letter of recommendation to you, your integrity, wisdom
and sense of justice will free him with all speed from
all his worries, and keep him safe in the position he and
his ancestors have held, and strengthen it, like an
immovable pillar against the roar of the blast. I ask
you not to let him be disappointed in this opinion of you
and me, and to help the man as much as the dignity of your
office permits, that is, help me by helping him; for nothing
can happen to him which I do not consider as having hap-
pened to me also. Farewell, glory of your country.

From Verona, 15th May

I address you, Flavio. Verlato came to you sooner than
he ought to have done; you do what I would have done my-
slef very well.

1. This letter is full of puns, most of which are render-
ed in English, although it was necessary to stray a little
from the strict sense of the Latin to do so.

2. "that speech by Bissaro": Matteo Bissaro had delivered
the customary speech of welcome when Barbaro came to Vicenza
as chief magistrate. Guarino made several copies, here
called "sons".

3. "my promises": He refers to a promise to come on a
visit to Biondo at Vicenza (cf. Letter 311).

4. "an immovable pillar," etc.: "ut immota contra ventorum
murmur columna firmatura," perhaps an imitation of Dante Purg.
V,14-15: "Sta como torre fermo che non crolla
Giarnai la cima per soffiar de:vanti."
Letter 315 to Cosimo (de' Medici)  Verona, 18th May [1425?]
1. Recently, I wrote both you and Giovanni Corbinello. 
   Please tell me if both letters were delivered, and ask 
   Giovanni for the small sum I asked from him. Our old 
   friendship prompts me to request this. 2. I think my 
   Aulus Gallius is at your house. Send it back if you are 
   not using it. 3. Regards to Niccolò Niccoli and your 
   brother Lorenzo.

Letter 316 to Flavio (Biondo)  Verona, 11th June [1425]
1. I am pleased to be your friend, especially now you are 
   a magistrate; for you call on me to help you. 2. Farewell 
   to the Muses! To give you advice about catering, I have 
   assembled a senate of lackeys, parasites and gourmands. 
   They all sing the praises of the bishop's cook. He cleans 
   the plates with his tongue and breeches, and is so thrifty 
   that he garnishes dishes with snot and lice. And he is 
   very quiet, for he sleeps day and night, helped by liberal 
   draughts of wine! Do not hesitate to send for Chichibio. 
3. As I have to transcribe Pliny's Letters for a powerful 
   friend, the Archbishop of Milan, give your copy or mine 
   to the courier. At least send what you have finished with, 
   and copy what remains meanwhile. 4. A quinternion is 
   missing from a volume of Cicero, containing the Academics. 
   Ask Ermolao (Barbaro) if he has it amongst the books he 
   took from Val Policella, for I used to slip odd sheets 
   into books to prevent them getting dirty. Tadea sends re- 
   gards to your wife.
1. Chichibio (sec. 2): A cook whom Biondo was obviously considering hiring. Guarino's light-hearted vein (set by the salutation "sal. pl. dicit coquinaria") cannot conceal that this Chichibio, if that was his real name, was a good-for-nothing. It may be that "Chichibio" was simply a representative name for the type of filthy, lazy cook in Venetian folk-tale (as "Scaramella" was the type of clown, cf. Letter 196, n.) and that it was a Venetian tale which inspired Boccaccio's caricature of the cook Chichibio in *Decameron* V. 4.


3. Ermolao (sec. 4): He had gone with Guarino to Montorio and Val Policella in 1424 (Letter 261) and then left for Venice (Letter 263). For part of 1425 he was with his uncle Francesco, podestà at Vicenza for the year.

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**Letter 317 to Ermolao Barbaro**  
Verona, 1st July [1425]

1. It is comforting that you share my grief at the death of my mother-in-law. I will gradually learn to bear it. Philosophy allows us to grieve, but I gather strength daily to bear the loss. 2. Transfer your affection now to Girolamo and her other grand-children. 3. Tadea, who regards you as her own son, sends her affection.

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**Letter 318 to Girolamo (Gualdo)**  
Verona, 4th July [1425]

1. I would like to help you, but cannot. I have tried everything to get the Firmicus, but I get no response. The only hope is to send some quinternious to you before you leave; some are being copied by a skilful copyist. 2. Such is the power of that literary ape, I could not get the exemplar of Zeno, by which to correct our copy and send it to you. I will send you the one I have. It was good to hear that Barbaro, Flavio, and Gregorio Lucano are well. My mother-in-law, alas, died of fever, but Girolamo, Esopo
Agostino, and Manuel, my treasures, are all well. Regards to Gregorio Lucano and your father.


2. Zeno (sec. 2): Discovered in 1419 along with the ms. of Pliny's Letters.

3. "my treasures" (sec. 3): Sabbadini thought Guarino had four sons, but see my Life of Guarino sec. 143.

Letter 319 to Flavio (Biondo) [Verona, 1st half July, 1425]

1. I received some quinternions of Pliny's Letters and understand what you want done with them, but the bitter blow of my mother-in-law's death has delayed a reply.


3. When you have finished, let me have my copy. The scribe had almost finished copying from yours, so it would have been too late to send it back at the time. It is incorrect at the beginning. Do not send the sheets I asked for now, but make sure the stray page is replaced.

An obscure letter. Guarino had not yet received back his exemplar of Pliny. It seems that he was having a copy made for Capra (sec. 2) from a ms. of Biondo's that was incorrect at the beginning. He therefore does not wish more of this ms. sent, but his own back. Biondo appears to have had access to it, or to be in possession of it.

Letter 320 to Girolamo Gualdo [Montorio] 27th July [1425]

1. Yesterday evening a letter from Flavio informed me you are moving to Tuscany on the first of next month. I have remembered to write letters of introduction for you to my friends there. They are all scholars, except Giovanni.
Corbinello, but his common-sense is compensation for any lack of learning. 2. I shall go to town tomorrow and get that quinternion, failing which, it will be sent to arrive in Tuscany with you. 3. Thank you for your condolences on the death of my mother-in-law, a bitter loss to me and my household. Her virtue was unsurpassed. She made light of heavy duties, better fitted for a man. Her advice, conversation and clever housekeeping were outstanding.

Letter 321 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  Verona 8th August [1425]

1. Even to hear your name mentioned today came as a relief. I had heard bad news; but thank God you are safe! 2. Niccolò Pirondolo wrote me about the Aulus Gallius, which will be finished in a few days. Tell me where and to whom I must send it. 3. You have not answered my letters for a long time. Let me know you are well.

1. "bad news" (sec. 1): Probably this refers to the flight of Niccolò III's son, Heliaduse. His father wished him to enter the Church, but the boy fled with a Venetian, Fantino Michiel, to Milan on the 24th July 1425 (Muratori, R.I.S. XXII, c. 963) and from there to France. Doubtless Heliaduse was helped in his decision by the execution in March of Ugo and the Marchesana Parisina (cf. Letter)


Letter 322 to Ugo (Mazzolato)  [Verona, about middle Aug. 1425]

1. You keep heaping gifts on me, the latest being a new friend, Luca Cantarello. He has my fullest affection. He will give you more news about me than this letter. 2. Thank you for the excellent quills, for which I shall return letters. 3. Rumour had it that you were involved in
disasters better left to be discussed by posterity. 4. This same courier will bring you the Aulus Gallius, corrected.
If I had known your intention to start with, I would have been quicker. Mine has not returned from Florence: has it run away from the Viper? 5. Andrea Zulian and Filippo Camozzo wish you well. The former will give you the table of contents in the A. Gallius.

1. "disasters" (sec. 3): Either, or both of the events referred to in Letter 321 n. 1 or Letter

2. "Viper": The Visconti insignia consisted of a viper swallowing a man. Milan and Florence were at war from 1423–1425.

Letter 323 [Guarino to unknown correspondent] [Verona, 1425]
1. Tadeus has often shown me your letters and spoken of your kindness to him. I am pleased because you have confirmed my good opinion of him. 2. As a climax to my joy, I learned that I can become your friend. What is more splendid than the affection of praiseworthy men? I have decided to write and ask if I may be your friend as well as his. 3. If the overture succeeds, I shall love you with the passion your qualities invite.

The style of this letter is undoubtedly that of Guarino.

Letter 324 [Guarino to unknown correspondent] [Verona, 1425]
1. Thank you for the letter informing me that mine concerning the Aulus Gallius was delivered to Ugo (Mazzolato). I put his silence down to pressure of business, not negligence.
2. You would do me a favour if you let me know that the Gellius has been sent from Florence. 3. The Greek proverb often used by Cicero is explained by the presence of many owls sacred to Minerva, at Athens. Hence "to take owls to Athens" means to say something unnecessary, such as telling a doctor his business, etc. 4. Give Ugo my regards and think well of Tadeus.

The style of this letter is also Guarinian. It is almost certainly to the same addressee as in Letter 323.

Letter 325 to Daniele Vitturi  Verona, 23rd August [1425]

1. I must tell you about the strife that is threatening the public weal, which the memory of your father and the great office you hold call upon you to protect. We are fighting for our lives; for the country-folk are rioting without control. 2. You know how Vittore Emo was butchered while exacting the corn dues, how many strangers and lowly folk have been hounded, how our fortress of Sanguineto was stormd, with many dead and wounded, how the Vicar of Val Paltena narrowly escaped ambush, how his companion was dealt a fatal wound, how another Vicar was beaten by the yokels and how Luigi Ciorano was only fortunate to be away when his house, not far from town, was attacked. The latest and worst outrage was the murder of Bartolommeo Maffei, administrator of the Vicariate, while he was negotiating a settlement with the rustics. 3. And this took place in the Venetian Empire! Things are so bad that only
threats, and danger outside the walls, await those who ask for what is due to them. Will our government allow this? His person has been violated by the outrages done to his Vicars. Light treatment will lead only to rebellion and riot on the widest scale. Bring help, and stop the evil before it gets out of hand. Warn the Government to make an example of those scoundrels and murderers.

Letter 326 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 9th September [1425]

I was requested today by an excellent fellow to write this reference for him. Our deceased friend, Zaccaria Trevisano, would also wish you to assist Amico della Torre, who worked as an official under him. Amico's brother, Luigi, has served as a soldier for Venice. He is seeking the new command due to fall vacant at Vicenza.

Letter 327 to Filippo (Regino) Verona, 9th September 1425

1. Your letter, received two days ago, exuded honey, like the bees, but had a sting in the tail. You will surpass my expectations if your literary progress continues; but my pleasure was shattered by the news of (Antonio) Corbinello's death. 2. I have lost a great and good friend, who shared my studies and intimate thoughts. Though reared amidst luxury, he chose a frugal life to gain riches in Heaven. He chastened himself by fasting, knowing that the pleasures of the flesh are short-lived, but the pains of Hell are forever. Education, and study of scripture, made him loyal,
honest, compassionate and helpful to the needy. All men
know how passionately he studied Latin and Greek. Shall
we lament him? His life was passed amidst wars and disasters
and disease, but the Creator has called him now to a haven
of rest. Let us thank God for lending him to us, and
venerate his memory. I shall love you dearer the closer
you approximate to his virtuous character. This will be
all the easier in view of my long friendship with your
father and uncle. I should love you for the excellence
of your parents alone, but I embrace you also as a man
of letters. Give my regards to my friend, your father.

Antonio Corbinello died at Rome, 14th March 1425 (Doc.
di storia italiana, Firenze, II p. 368). He left his books
to Niccolo Corbizzi, with the provision that they should
pass, on Corbizzi's death, to the Abbey at Florence (R.
Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici, 1905, p. 52)

Letter 328 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 11th September [1425]
1. Giacomo dei Fabbri, octor of Laws, has asked me to
intercede with you for his relative, Francesco dei Fabbri,
that he continue in his magistracy for a further year. I
understand the request is honourable. 2. It was bitter
to hear of the death of my friend, Antonio Corbinello;
but his virtues have insured his immortality and a joyful
liberation from the wars, disasters and diseases of life.
He died at Rome, to which extortionate taxation had driven
him. 3. P.S. Francesco dei Fabbri has just come, imploring
my aid to ensure that his term of office is extended. He
is an old man and his family depends on his employment.
Please help him for his sake, or mine, or Giacomo's. Otherwise, Giacomo says he must come to Vicenza to plead with you.

Letter 329 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 12th September [1425]  
1. Although I ought to wait for you to write, you must ask what you think of the city. 2. Ask Leonardo Guistinian to write me. 3. Study while you can; revise old work, start on new. Filippo Camozzo will help you. 4. Commend me to Giovanni Tagiaci and Buonsignorio.

Rizzon, a favourite pupil of Guarino's, had gone to Venice as tutor to Tagiaci's children. F. Camozzo and Andrea Zulian had returned to Venice (Letter 322).

Letter 330 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 20th September [1425]  
1. Recently I wrote on behalf of Francesco dai Fabbri, who had displeased you. I was sorry, for his brother Giacomo's sake, to hear Francesco has now been dismissed, but even sorrier for Francesco, who is old and can no longer support his family. 2. I appeal to your kind nature to overlook his faults and flippancy, and to re-appoint him. Pity his advanced years and destitute family. But I know you will do the right thing.

Letter 331 to Pietrobono (Giosippo) Verona, 21st September, 1425  
1. It's a pity I can offer no help but words. At least I can say that I tried to help you. It vexes me that the fair promises made you have not been fulfilled. Shinola
promised to keep us informed; but he has put off doing so, for fear of his life. Your friend and I will strive to help you. Pietro and others have plenty money. 2. We are all well. Tadea is in the country with her father looking after the vintage. She now does the work her mother used to do. 3. My regards to Francesco Boci.

1. Pietrobono Giosippo: cf. Letters 247 and 444. He and his brother Costantino were sons of Verita Giosippo of Udine.

2. As in Letter 247, the matters referred to in sec. 1 are obscure.

Letter 332 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 27th September, 1425

Translation: When I received your letter today, gentle Concoreggio would have come racing to you, if your nephew and Ermolao Donato had not chanced to meet him half way along the road. Their arrival as a pair was all the more welcome to us (Qui nobis ambo cariores advenerunt). If I am not mistaken, I shall see to it that, when Donato returns from our neighbourhood, he will say, "Your boast is exceeded by the truth"; but if he does not praise the surroundings, as one expects, he will have no cause to criticize the people. I am guiding this expedition, and when I get back from it, I shall be most careful that Andrea Barbaro, whose wife has turned into skin and bones, gets satisfaction in the matter of the skins. He is a humorous old fellow, with nothing barbaric in his nature, because he belongs to your family of Barbari.
The distinguished lawyer, Jacopo dei Fabbri, asks you, and so do I (if it can be done without compromising your honour and dignity) to restore Francesco dei Fabbri to Office, at least until the end of the five year period for the duration of which he was appointed a magistrate by the Council of Vicenza. Eighteen months have still to run. He will be very grateful for that, and it would please me too.

I am glad that you have got such a pleasant colleague and one so like yourself. I pray God that this office will prove not only lucky but productive for him, and that the change of air will improve his health and enhance his reputation, so that he may be able to "find sweetness in his father's name." How fortunate are those twin cities of yours to have such outstanding friends holding the same post! Let us take thought. The present chief magistrate [lacuna] but the future one [lacuna]. It is better to keep quiet.*

I have passed on your best regards to the splendid knight, Gian Nicola, an excellent lawyer and a most honest citizen; also to Bartolomeo Pellegrino and the most gentle Battista Zendrata. Farewell, and love me, light of my life.

* Ermolao Barbaro and Ermolao Donato had been living with Francesco, then podesta of Vicenza. Ermolao Barbaro was returning to school, but Donato was merely on a visit.

* "cuius res cum uxore in pellem redit," a play on the phrase "res ad restim redit" (cf. Terence Phormio 4, 4, 2) = "The matter has got to the rope" i.e. "One might as well go hang." It seems (cf. Letter 334) that Andrea Barbaro had written Guarino asking him to obtain some skins (parchment?) for him, and made a joke about his own wife, who had turned, as we should say, into skin and bones. In Letter 334, Guarino keeps up this joke: "Is enim in nervorum opore confugiat ad pelles oportet, et quas pelles! pelles meras, hoc est sine carna et adeo sicci plenas ut omnis humectandi spes evanescaet". The joke centres on the contrast between the parchment-skin of Andrea's old wife and the quality of
the skins Guarino has obtained for him. Such humour may strike us as cruel, but it is affected by Mediterranean peoples; cf. the common Spanish expression: "No te arrugas cuero viejo que te quiero para tambor."

* Cf. Letters 328, 330.

* Giovanni Navagero, newly-designated podestà of Verona.

* "Let us take thought ... quiet" is in Greek. Guarino must have made an opprobrious comment on the present podesta of Verona.

Letter 333 Francesco Barbarigo to Guarino Venice, 4th October [1425]

1. Thank you for your congratulations on my appointment as "capitano" of Padua. Only true affection, such as we have always borne each other, could have made you rejoice so sincerely. 2. On your recommendation, I have employed Carlo as a secretary. Urge him to live up to your words. 3. Carlo is copying the manuscript of Lactantius you asked for. Girolamo (Donato) told me in a letter I got yesterday that he is still in Rome, but has recovered from fever.

The writer of this letter was capitano of Padua in 1425, and must not be confused with Francesco Barbaro.

Letter 334 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 7th October [1425]

1. Ermolao Donato graced our city and left us with a thirst to see him again. We tried to please him and I introduced him to all your friends here. 2. I did as you ordered, and sent the skins to Andrea. I laughed at his joke -- what skin he has to resort to, fleshless and dry! But what am I saying to a censor of morals! He should pay the lawyer, Aleardo Gaforino. I got him excellent skins.
sec 1: Letter 332 sec 1.
sec 2: Letter 332, note 2.

Letter 335 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 7th October [1425]
1. I am delighted that Giovanni Tegiaci has been blessed with a son, who is mine also, for friends have all things in common 2. I am pleased you are taking my advice. Be virtuous and modest, and study hard. Revise old work and start on new. 3. Your brother is being looked after by us. 4. Command me to Tegiaci.

sec 3: Martino had a brother, Iacopo, who travelled in Greece, became tutor to Pietro Barbo and was made a count palatine by Nicholas V; but it is not clear if this is the same person referred to here.

Letter 335 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 12th October [1425]
1. Many important men have asked me to intercede with you for the recall of Boniaco di Trossino from exile. His action in "betraying a betrayer" alone calls for pardon. 2. Do not allow wagging tongues to influence your sense of justice.

Letter 337 Martino (Rizzon) to Guarino Venice, 21st October [1425]
1. When I was in a villa eight miles from Venice, to which Giovanni (Tegiaci) had sent me with the children to relax, Buonsignore brought me your short, but affectionate letter, asking for my impressions of Venice. 2. I like those marble palaces in the water, filled with gold and paintings,
the huge galleys, the cosmopolitan atmosphere, the many craftsmen, the dignity of the Doge and his patricians, the luxury of the food and dress -- all familiar to you. This is a paradise of delight and the glory of Italy. I would not wish to leave, in spite of those who criticize the narrow streets and a slight stench from the canals. 2. Excuse my delay in replying. I have been too enthralled by my surroundings. 3. From your second letter I saw that you had received mine, which I was afraid had not been delivered, for my cousin Giovanni Pietro said you had been wondering at my silence. I would begin something new, if I could think of something useful. Can you make a suggestion? Leonardo Giustinian will supply me with books. 4. My cousin wrote me that you had placed my brother with Benedict of Cremona, for Lamola, to whom I had entrusted him, went to Bologna. 5. Regards to Buonsignore.

1. The two letters sent by Guarino were 329 and 335, in the second of which he had recommended "novis stude."
3. "Lamola" (sec. 4): It appears that Lamola had accepted Guarino's invitation in Letter 294.

Letter 338 to Francesco Barbaro Verona, 22nd October [1425]
1. I hurt my thumb and could not write for four days -- hence the delay. 2. I rejoice that we did something for Ermolao Donato. 3. I have persuaded that man to give Flavio (Biondo) his place at Padua. 4. I commend to you the archbishop of Illasi.
Sec 3: Guarino had recommended a certain Carlo as secretary to Barbarigo at Padua (cf. Letter 333) but managed to persuade him to renounce the appointment in favour of Biondo.

Letter 339 Mazo dei Nazi and Guarino to Francesco Barbaro [1425]

1. As soon as we told Ernesto and Onofrio Bovilacqua what you wanted, all delay in the matter of Leonello Michelotti's steward became unnecessary. They ask you to ensure that he is sent back at once, for Onofrio has decided to leave for military service next Sunday. 2. Make Leonello promise not to beat the fellow. It would hurt your reputation more than his back.


Letter 340 to Martino Rizzon Verona 28th [October 7 1425]

Translation: I thank you, and am personally delighted, that whereas previously you were "much indebted to me," now you are "very much indebted, as you say in your letter. That willingness to acknowledge a profound debt, not only to those who have done you favours, but to me as well, whose contribution to your welfare has been in words only, is part of the duty of an honest young man, and a most pleasing young man, for that reason. I am not only pleased, but honoured, that you admit this debt, either out of your own generosity or because of any good that I actually have done
you; for you are winning a reputation for honesty, uprightness, modesty and learning, and so people will think that I am not unlike you, surmising that "birds of a feather flock together." All I ask and require of you is your affection. This is the kind of reward I seek from you, my dearest Martino; and carry over your affection for me to my little sons, as a kind of heirloom, so that in one particular point you may out-do me, namely, that although I love you, you love both me and mine.

I press upon you the advisability of showing respect and a sense of duty towards Giovanni, and of vying with him in this most lovely of rivalries, in which victory is a splendid thing but defeat most shameful and unpleasing. You will pass on a bounty of learning to his little sons, not only conscientiously but with kindness and consideration; you will imbue them with good and honourable habits, which ought to be regarded as a teacher's duty no less than the business of teaching; and it will be particularly helpful in achieving this end if they see in you an example of pure and moral living. It will, moreover, help considerably in forming their characters if, when teaching or correcting them, you use no bad language, foul-mouthed threats or fierce blasphemies, because pupils take on their teacher's habits of speech or abuse, with the result that, even as they are being deterred from indulging in cursing, railing and anger, they are made the more prone to imitate these habits.
But what am I doing? Somehow or other, the conversation has lapsed into a lesson, and points in particular that you are familiar with yourself, and which your own instinctive restraint has implanted in you. It was wonderfully pleasing to take a roll-call of the children again, in your letter, and review their abilities and performance. I shall repeat one point to you, and in doing so, "caution you about it again and again," namely, to train the children's memories; let them commit certain passages to heart, for example, verses of Vergil, with the emphasis on frequency of repetition rather than quantity. Get Lodovico used to epistles now, and mix the rules of syntax in with formal exercises, so that he may begin to familiarize himself with correct, stylistic speech.

I should like you to mark out some reading for yourself as well, so that you may be learning at the same time as you are teaching. Choose some new author for yourself to read through, one you have not seen before, perhaps Ovid's "Metamorphoses" or Valerius, or both; for you will easily manage both, if you divide up your time, devoting, for example, four days of the week to reading one, and the remaining two days to the other. The reading of history and mythology is absolutely essential for a study of literature. Do not be daunted if you make nothing of them at the first tackle; just keep hammering away and call them again. In this way, the door will open and you will get a reply the second time. I should have no objection if, at the beginning, you just dip, or read through the first
book in a cursory fashion; but when you have done this, start at the beginning and revise carefully and conscientiously. Go through everything with a fine tooth comb, so as not to let even a single word go unchecked. It will be a not unpleasant task to look at the "De Saturnalibus" of Macrobius, who will be able to enrich your studies with a lot of material, because of his varied subject matter.

If, however, you lack the leisure and opportunity for writing—for everything that should be read cannot be written down—take the trouble to buy it. It will be a capital investment for you, moveables that will yield profit and fame; for I would rather have you well-supplied with books than well clothed. Clothing is a useless and unnecessary expense, but the possession of books is pleasant and profitable, and there are always times when you can sell or exchange books, which cannot be said of clothes. I am only saying that allowance should be made for buying what one needs.

I have had my say. You see, dearest Martino, how I love and cosset you, giving you advice even when it is unnecessary, like a father to his children. I should not wish you to put this down to presumption on my part or a disrespect for you, since you value your affection for me, and mine for you, and praise unnecessary advice. Farewell, my dearest Martino.

For a discussion of this letter, which contains the kernel of Guarino's teaching methods, see Guarino and humanistic education.
Letter 341 Pier Candido Decembrio to Guarino  Milan [November] 1425
1. All men desire to see famous people. I am not very
learned, but have always hoped to see you. 2. When I was
sent as an envoy to Venice, I rejoiced that I would see
Barbaro, and then you, on my return journey. I was
frustrated in both hopes. Fate will arrange it some other
time, but meanwhile, I have written to say I am your friend
and willing to help you if you wish.
Cf. Letter 388.

Letter 342 to the Council of Vicenza  Verona, 23rd December, 1425
1. You honour me by your invitation to write the introduction
to the new laws compiled by Francesco Barbaro, whom I have
known from my youth and always thought would be great. 2. I
fear my talents may prove unequal to the task, but I shall
obey.
For the significance of this letter, see my Life of
Guarino sec. 133.

Letter 343 To Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 26th January [1426]
1. I received your characteristically kind letter. 2. You
have selected a good time to send your sons to me. 3. The
eel you sent is magnificent. In exchange, I shall give you
affection, my greatest possession. 4. P.S. Give my regards
to those learned men.
Letter 344 to Giovanni Lamola  Verona 26th January [1426]

1. I could never match your sense of loyalty, but I encourage it. I would do anything for you. 2. Your letter delighted me, with its clear handwriting and beautiful style. 3. The news that Cornelius Celsus and Tacitus have been brought to life is wonderful! How can I get a copy of Celsus? 4. Your praise of Antonio (Beccadelli) has made me want to know him, but I have not seen that product of his genius you say you sent. Curses on those careless couriers! 5. Time is short and the messenger is waiting. 6. Thanks again.

I am well, and so are the children, who came with me to Trent.

1. Celsus...Tacitus (sec. 3): The Tacitus had been found at Hersfeld in Germany, the Celsus at Siena. Cf. Life of Guarino Sec. 135.

2. Antonio (sec. 4): Guarino's acquaintance with Beccadelli dates from this time.

Letter 345 to Lamola  [Verona, end of January, 1426]

1. I have been too busy to write anything but hasty letters. 2. I had to go wandering in many places, and have just returned from Trent, so make my excuses to Antonio (Beccadelli) if I have seemed an indifferent correspondent. 3. I thank you for making him my friend. 4. My father-in-law, wife and children are all well.

Letter 346 to Giovanni Lamola  Verona, 2nd February [1426]

1. I had written the other letter, when yours came, and with it the Hermaphroditus, a charming and learned work. 2. The subject smacks of wantonness, but one admires its
ease and rhythm. Apelles, Fabius and others left parts of
the body naked in their paintings, but still deserve praise.
I admire the man and his ability, enter into the spirit of
his work, and praise the lascivious verse. 3. I value the
opinion of my countryman (Catullus) more than the clamour of
fools, who do not know that there is a difference between
life and literature. Even Jerome uses prurient language
when he describes a harlot. I can cite numerous chaste,
Christian writers who used foul language, when it was called
for. 4. I praise our poet and his work. Excuse my brevity,
but I am busy. I shall shortly let you know what our
students think about the poem.

1. For a discussion of this letter and 666, which is a
retraction of it, see Guarino as a figure in controversy.

2. Sabbadini (Vol. 1, p. 702) prints a longer version of
this letter, which he believes is the work of a student of
Guarino's.

Letter 347 Antonio Panormita to Guarino  Bologna [February 1426]
1. Many praised my Harmaphroditus...but you are a simple,
honest and frank man and I count your praises of it as
really worthwhile...Now it is safe from the criticism of
the envious and vulgar, because of your approval... 2. My
thanks to your excellent pupil, Giovanni Lamola, who sent
you the poem without my knowledge...

Letter 348 Aurispa to Guarino  [Florence, February 1426]
1. I thought when I escaped the Greeks, I would find peace;
but here I meet with nothing but malice and stupidity.
Even patience cannot conquer my distress. But letters from
friends help. 2. I have one correspondent called Antonio
Panormita, a noble Sicilian, learned in civil and church
law, second only to you in humane studies. He writes like
Cicero. In prose he is almost unequalled, but in verse
second to none, especially in elegiacs. If Augustus and
Maecenas were alive, he would be supreme. 3. I shall get
him to write you something. This letter is to introduce
his name to you. 4. I shall stay here this year, although
I would rather live among beasts. 5. I wrote to you when
I left Bologna, but no reply has come. Did you get my
letter?

Letter 349 Lodovico Benanzano to Guarino  Venice, 22nd February
1426
[Thanks G. for sending him a copy of Basil]

Letter 350 to Giovanni Aurispa  Verona, 27th February [1426]
1. When I heard you were bound for Florence, I thought you
would be acclaimed there, because the young men are keen
about humane studies. But your letter has dashed my fond
hopes. Flee this coast, where the people only pretend to
be learned. Show courage, and ignore petty jealousy.
2. I know about Antonio (Beccadelli) whose work I have seen
and liked. But beware of telling this to the wrong people,
lest both Antonio and I fall under criticism. Meanwhile,
let the envious ones burst a gut. 3. I received no letter
from you, when you left Bologna. 4. Please try to obtain
a copy of Herodotus for me. I had asked our friend Diano to have a copy made.

1. For significance of this letter, see Guarino as a figure in controversy.

2. Diano (sec. 4): a Florentine copyist (cf. Letter 89, l. 30).

Letter 351 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona; 15th March [1426]

1. I miss your letters so much that I beg you to write more often. 2. I was glad to get the carefully written Aulus Gellius. 3. You say you wrote thanking me for something. I don't recall it, but I am glad if I did you some favour. 4. The rest of my letter will be cryptic. No one can advance without patience. When someone else has the say, one must obey. Salaries are "large" or "small" according to one's own thinking. Since people have been whispering about your discontent already, be patient, so that you may expect better terms from one who is generous and, I think, likes you. Study and get learning at another's expense. I will help you when the time is ripe. Stop throwing around silly remarks. You need only food and shelter, not sumptuous apparel. Buy books rather. Gain the man's favour, and it will be easier for me to help. Throw away thoughts that distract from study, and seem loyal to your word rather than greedy for gain. 5. When I meet Brother Gioacchino, I will give him another letter to you. 6. Regards to Filippo (Camozzo).

For this letter, cf. Life of Guarino sec. 140.
Letter 352 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 21st March [1426]
1. Calcia visited me on your behalf and spoke kindly. 2. I must admire your kindness in remembering me, busy as you are. I am glad to have such a friend, the likes of whom have been few in living memory. 3. Let us vie in affection for one another. 4. Give our boys my regards. I expect them in May.

Letter 353 to Martino (Rizzon)  Verona, 1st April [1426]
1. Even unpolished letters from you would be welcome, but they are delightfully written. 2. I believe you when you say you are "working", because you are rather shy of work and are doing something you dislike. 3. I am glad you are serving your mistress. But why complain that you are degraded to the level of a book binder when all you have to do is say you don't know how to do it? Now you can't get out of it. Hope and your master's kindness should give you patience. 4. The rest will have to be discussed later.

Letter 354 Poggio to Cuarino  Roma, 6th April [1425]
1. Your archpriest Filippo delivered your letter. I promised to help him see the ruins of the city, and asked him to deliver a letter to you on his return. But after seeing our princes here, he forgot me... 2. I asked him about you. Let me know what studies you are making, or planning... 3. I hear Barbaro is so busy with public duties he finds it difficult to write... 4. I am friendly
with a Veronese priest called Alessandro... He is not a rogue or a liar... so on my testimony deny a story, originating from the Bishop's house in Verona, that he is having an affair with a woman here... He does know Caterina di Rinieri, but not on carnal terms.

Letter 355 Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita) to Guarino Bologna [April 1426]

1. My Sicilian friend, Aurispa, wrote me today. Especially gratifying was the news that you had written him praising my verses. Your approval is valuable and will spur me to greater heights. 2. I have the long lost Cornelius Celsus, loaned to me by a friend, who had left it with his harlot of a wife in Siena. In the end, he had to order her to give it to me. It is beautifully written in ancient letters, but the parchment and ink is faded. The length is about that of Quintilian, and it is in eight parts. The last page is missing, as are three about the middle—the fault of that whore. 3. I dropped all my legal studies and read it. I think Celsus is as eloquent as Cicero even. You will probably change from an orator to a physician when you read it. 4. Another joy—Tacitus' De Origine et situ Germanorum and De Vita lulii Agricolae have been found; also Frontinus' De Aqueductibus qui in urbem Romam inducuntur, written in gold letters, also another book by Frontinus beginning "Cum omnis res ab imperatore delegata mentionem exigat." There is also a dialogue on oratory which I suspect is by Tacitus, and Suetonius' De Grammaticis et rhetoribus. All of them,
plus manuscripts of works already known, are in one place. They will be sent to a friend of mine, then to me, and you will be the third. 5. Write and tell me whether this news has pleased you or not.

1. Sec. 1: The letter Beccadelli had seen was probably 350.
2. For the significance of this letter, see Life of Guarino secs. 135, 136.

Letter 356 to Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita) Verona, 1st May

1. Your first letter (347) so dazzled me--like a bat in the glare of the sun--that I did not dare reply. Your next (355) convinced me I could never match your style; but at least I can overcome you in affection. 2. I wish you could find some really worthwhile subject. When Polyclitus turned from limestone and lead to gold and marble, what glorious effects he achieved! 3. Before, I was able to make a balanced judgement of your work, but now that you glorify my name, I am bound closer to you. Nothing would be more pleasant than to please you and all those who have read your praise of me. 4. What a banquet your second letter was! I should feel like a god to read and converse with the authors you listed. It was a good omen that Cornelius Celsus escaped that harlot, "Elencha". She must have had some lustful thoughts about him! 5. It is a pleasure to be alive when so many ancients have survived and will be my guests. I shall keep this day as a feast to Panormita (Panormitalia) if I can only get these manuscripts! I shall ask Aurispa's aid for this.
1. For significance of this letter, see *Life of Guarino* sec. 135.

2. (Sec. 2): Although Guarino admired the *Hermaphroditus*, he considered, or affected to consider, that it was a trifling book.

3. "*Elencha*" (sec. 4): Panormita had called her "*Helonca*" (letter 355). Guarino changed it slightly to produce a pun: "vera elencha, idest ἓλθα γένος digna." There is also a pun on "*Celsius*" ("*celas*" = "lofty," with reference, here, to the erect male member).

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Letter 357 to Stefano (Todesco) Verona [1426]

1. I rejoice that our friendship is becoming well-known, for only merit can ensure the respect of a man such as you.

2. I apologize that I cannot give the friends, to whom you commend me, more than words. But I have welcomed Paganino and he will find me a true friend.

3. I take your attention to the matter of that Greek ms. as a good sign.

4. I am sending back your Varro. I long for it but I want it properly adorned.

5. Your son, Lolio, is working hard at school. He will come home much improved.

6. P.S. I hear an old ms. of Lactantius has been found at Nonantula. What work? Is it ancient?

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Letter 358 to Giovanni Lamola [Verona, 1st May 1426]

1. I got two letters from you, sweeter than honey.

2. I have reason to hope that those mss., of which you still say nothing, can be found, but am too busy to write much about it.

3. You have encouraged me to go to Nonantula, where Lactantius' *Epitome* was found by Tommaso (Parentucelli).

4. Pay no heed to detractors—not everyone likes honey.

5. Regards from Mazo and Tadea. Give mine to our friends.
1. Epitome (sec. 3): This work, a summary of the *Divinae Institutiones* prepared by Lactantius himself, did not come to light until 1426, when Parentucelli (future Pope Nicholas V) discovered it at Nonantula.

2. "detractors" (sec. 4): Probably critics of the Hermaphroditus. Their number grew steadily over the next few years until Guarino could not afford to neglect them.

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**Letter 359 to Ugo (Hazzolato) Verona, 1st January [1426?]***

1. It is a long time since we wrote, but let us repair that. If you have no news, at least write and say so! 2. Is there a monastery near Ferrara in which there are said to be old manuscripts?

Sec. 2: Guarino had probably heard about the Abbey of Pomposa.

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**Letter 360 to Giacomo Zillioli Verona, 4th June, 1426***

1. I was delighted to know when your sons will arrive. I now call them "mine" and will teach them frugality, as well as making them learned. I am sorry that the illness of you and your wife (mother?) has prevented their earlier arrival. 2. The marquis is winning glory by rooting out robbers from the countryside. It will be good to hear you have stormed that nest of grave robbers.

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**Letter 361 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona 13th June [1426]**

1. Your letters always delight me, but I am slow to answer because I am continually busy. 2. I am pleased to hear of your progress with Legiaci's children. Remember you are their teacher. Do not be familiar. Keep discipline by
your own example, not by corporal punishment. 3. Please
tell me how long you have been employed—perhaps you know why.
4. No wonder you grieved over the death of Gian Nicola
Salerno, your countryman and a fellow student. Everyone
wept when I spoke at his funeral. I am sending a copy of
the speech to Leonardo Giustinian. Glorify Salerno’s name
at every opportunity. 5. Lodovico (Tegiaci) seems precocious.
6. I approve of your putting your brother to some trade.
He has literary talent, as Benedetto and I observe, but
the rewards of learning are slow, and it is wise to learn
how to make a living early in life.

Letter 362 to Giovanni Lamola    Verona, 19th June [1426]
1. Recently I saw your letter to Brugnara. It showed your
affection and care for your friends. I praise you, and
congratulate myself on being admired by you, no slight
credit to me! 2. When I have time, I will testify to
my love for you in a letter, as I recently did in my replies
to you and Panormita. Were they delivered? They were sent
care of the notary Bartolomeo Trebelli’s banker.

Letter 363 to Martino (Rizzon)    Verona, 20th June [1426]
1. Experience has proved your loyalty to me. 2. Thank
Niccolò for helping us in our negotiations. Your employer
may not have found the right moment to discuss your position.
If he seems overlong about it, approach him frankly.
3. My suspicions about the copper wire have been confirmed.
Without seeing the finished product (formam) even the
rather thick kind looks most slender. I am sending a sample,
which is also on the thick side. Say what you can do. 4.
Regards from Mazo. Tell Filippo (Camozzo) to remember
about the Dio and the table of contents of Aulus Gellius.
5. Make sure Francesco Barbaro sees the speech about Gian
Nicola Salerno. 6. Command me to Tegiaci. I entrust
Lodovico (Tegiaci) to your teaching and good faith.
"copper wire" (sec. 3): The reference is obscure. One
would have expected "De filo auroo" rather than "De filo
aeroo," since the context suggests some made-up article
(or garment?). It would be an easy textual change: but
"aeroo" is probably right, since it is lectio difficilior.
Cf. Letter 368.

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Letter 364 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 1st July [1426]
1. I have done little to merit your excessive praise, but
I love you as those hasty letters of mine testify. 2. I
wanted to know how long you have been employed, because
it is about a year and I want to help you. 3. Most im-
portant, please your employer, who is a liberal man and can
enrich you. Listen to him rather than others in whom there
is little profit. 4. Approach Leonardo Giustinian as a
friend, and ask him to persuade Tegiaci to allow you to
take his relative as a pupil. Discuss it with Tegiaci,
and do not gossip about it to others. 5. I am glad you
received the speech on Salerno. Have it copied and spread
his fame, for in this way he will live on. 6. I approve
of your brother learning a trade and living under your
supervision.
Letter 365 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 4th July [1426]

1. Many commitments have delayed my reply. 2. I am glad that the quinternion (quinternum) of the list of contents in Aulus Gellius is finished. Macro will be pleased. 3. That wire is not the kind I wanted. I sent a sample in another letter. When you have seen it, send (some more?) on, if you can.

1. quinternum (sec. 2): Like "quinternio" a binding of 5 sheets (See Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis).

Letter 366 to Giacomo Zilioli Verona, 3rd August, 1426

1. When your messenger left, I gave the Servius to our copyist, a man of some learning: but he refused the work, since the manuscript is illegible at some points. What now? 2. Work has begun on copying the Plautus. I have emended the exemplar carefully and with reference to old authorities. 3. The bearer of this letter is Mariotto, a cultured Florentine of good stock. He writes beautiful (Carolingian) script, so it would pay to employ him. He worked for the son of the Marquis of Mantua for some months.

Letter 367 to Giacomo Zilioli Verona, 6th August [1426]

1. Not wishing your messenger to return empty handed, I simply say, as the ancients did, "If you are well, all is well and we are well also." 2. I await your reply to my letter about Mariotto.
Letter 368 to Girolamo Gualdo  Verona, 13th August [1426]

You must have gone home, because I heard you have completed your term of office at Florence. I am surprised and hurt that you did not tell me. Am I too poor now to count? In affection, I am richer than Croesus, so let me know if I am still your friend.

Letter 369 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 18th August [1426]

1. Although busy, you still contrive to write me, which proves your worth. 2. Another sign of it is that humorous letter about Mariotto, a "windbag" and unstable. When you get the Servius, send it to me. Meanwhile, press him in letters to fulfil his promise. If he returns, just praise him and he will do anything for you. 3. Your son Paolo had a sore head, but it is better. My wife looks after the boys’ health, and Antonio (da Brescia) and I attend to their education.


Letter 370 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 24th August [1426]

1. Your letters provide a feast of enjoyment. 2. I admit I did not remember Mariotto’s rather uncommon surname, which is "Nori." 3. I am glad you have decided to let Mariotto write the Servius. 4. I have entrusted the boys to my wife, if only to please your mother. Have no fear. Tadea treats them as her own. 5. Your friends visit the boys and give them presents. 6. We are all well. Regards to Mazzolato.
Letter 371 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 2nd September 1426
1. I cannot repay your kindnesses except by introducing you to men of talent. One is Antonio Panormita, a humanist studying law at Bologna. Equally skilled in prose or verse, he writes like an ancient. I recently saw a work by him and thought him clever enough to bring to your notice.
2. Antonio (da Brescia) and I are still looking after your sons.

Letter 372 to Martino (Rizzon)  Verona, 4th September 1426
1. Your love is manifest in your praise for my writings, even though I know they have no enduring qualities. But it is dutiful of you to pretend my work is what you would wish it to be.
2. I have decided to set your position straight with your employer. Let me know your plans and leave the rest to me.
3. I am sending what you asked for back to you. Continue to work hard and learn something every day, for literature can raise one to the heights.

Letter 373 to Mariotto (Nori)  Val Policolla, 9th September 1426
1. Your letter, received two days ago, gave another sign of your friendship. I was delighted you are doing as I wished.
2. I am expecting Augustine's De quantitate animae. I will re-imburse your expenses.
3. We do not have a Propertius here. I saw a copy once elsewhere, and would be glad if you could arrange for me to see it again.
4. You will get my Regulae as soon as possible. It will be a pleasure to
help the young men of Florence even in my absence. 5. Make
sure Giacomo Corbizzi and you do what I asked in my letter,
if possible. 6. Regards to Niccolò Niccoli and Ambrogio
Traversari, also Leonardo if he has returned from Rome.

1. For significance of this letter, cf. Life of Guarino
sec. 137.

2. Leonardo (sec. 6): i.e. Bruni. In May 1426, ambassadors
from Florence, Venice and Milan gathered before Pope Martin
V in an attempt to compose differences (Florence and Venice
were at war with Milan). Bruni headed the Florentine delega-
tion (cf. Letter 382).

Letter 374 to Giovanni Lamola  [Val Policella, September-
October 1426]

I am too busy to answer you at length. Tadea is pregnant
and has cast all the business of the vintage on me.***

Letter 375 to Girolamo Cualdo  Val Policella, 11th October [1426]

1. Having received your letter, I realized our friendship
has been too long in abeyance. You won my forgiveness and
you must write more often. 2. I am glad you entrusted
Niccoli and Traversari with my books. What is mine is
yours to dispose of as you please. It is true that Niccoli
alienates his friends, and Ambrogio is now experiencing
the treatment I once had, but I just laugh at Niccoli and
pity him. 3. Today I was blessed with a fourth son. 4. I
put out an edition of Cornelius Celous today. It was highly
regarded by the ancients, and will prove useful today,
especially to physicians. Have you any news about scholar-
ship from Florence? 5. Regards to Giacomo Tansignano, to
whom I wrote some time ago. 6. P.S. Cicero's *De republica* has been found.


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**Letter 376 to Filippo (Regino)**  [Val Policella, October, 1426?]

1. Your letter shows how you miss me, because you accuse me of being a dilatory correspondent. 2. But I have been busy with the vintage. All else has had to come second. 3. I take more pleasure from literature than anything else; but I cannot write great prose. You must seek that from others.

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**Letter 377 [to Mazo dei Mazi]**  [Val Policella, October 1426]

1. In the time I could spare from the vintage, I translated Plutarch's *Philopoemen*, as a companion piece to the *Flaminius* (sic). Antiquity was rich in great men, but one age was especially fortunate in producing Scipio, Hannibal and Philopoemen. 2. This translation is the more timely, since we have seen all the generals of Italy gathered together, when Foscari and the Venetian senate are curbing Filippo (Maria Visconti), who had filled Tuscany and Apulia with terror.

1. This is the dedicatory letter to Guarino's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Philopoemen*. For the *Flaminius*, cf. Letter 6.

2. 'Sac. 2: Milan and Florence had been at war from 1424-25. In 1426, Venice joined Florence against Milan.
Letter 378 to Girolamo (Gualdo) Verona, 14th October [1426]
1. A friend of mine from Trent, called Filippo, is coming (to Vicenza) to study law. He is a charming fellow, as I found out in the two years he studied under me. 2. Guide him, for he is still a learner. 3. I value men with character above those who are merely learned.

Filippo (sec. 1): Probably Filippo Molveno, who may have returned with Guarino from Trent in 1425 (cf. Letter 303). Gualdo seems to have been teaching private courses in law at Vicenza in 1426. After a year with Gualdo, Molveno appears to have moved on to Bologna (cf. Letter 453).

Letter 379 to Giacomo Zilioli Verona, 29th October [1426]
1. What pleasure to hear you are feeling better! I feared the worst. 2. I shall always strive to live up to your faith in me, especially as regards your sons' education. Paolo is the more promising. 3. Your news about the Servius surpasses hope. You have exerted a good influence on Mariotto. Have the ms. sent to me in parts, as they are completed. 4. I hear you have been through Reggio. In a church there, is an old ms. of Papias. I could have it copied, if it could be brought here. 5. The copyist has finished the Plautus. You will not grudge the cost when you see how elegantly he has done it. 6. Regards to Feltrino Ederdo.

Papias (sec. 4): This ms. was seen in 1434-35 by Ciriaco d'Ancona (R. Sabbadini: Le scoperte dei codici 1905, p. 123).

Letter 380 [to Giovanni Lamola] Verona, November, 1426
1. **** I read Mariotto's letter as dessert on the frequent occasions that friends visited me in my pleasant villa.
Lavagnola, Bartolomeo of Genoa, Brugnara, Vitaliano, Hazo and others perished with laughter when they or I read about that paltry wretch. A few Florentines have brought discredit upon their city by their behaviour when they came to ours. Let us profit by their bad example. 2. The arrival of Cornelius Celsus delighted me. God has helped our studies in this age. 3. You must have heard of the discovery and transcription of Cicero's *De republica* at Cologne by the secretary of Cardinal Orsini. There were 800 mss. in a dusty library. Such is my news from unimpeachable sources in Venice. 3. Regards to Alberto (Zancari) and to Panormita, if he has returned.

1. In the ms. the text of this letter is a continuation of Letter 374. Sabbadini, in the apparatus criticus, establishes that there has been a "contamination" of the two letters, probably because the scribe skipped a page in his exemplar.

2. "paltry wretch" (sec. 2): It is not clear to whom this refers. Since Mariotto was a Florentine, had been in Verona, and was known for his vain temperament, it may be that Guarino meant him. "Nonnulli" ("a few") does, however, seem to present a difficulty; but the use is probably vague. Mariotto is just another example of the kind of men Florence produces, numbers of whom occasionally came to Verona. The breed was familiar.


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Letter 381 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 12th November [1426]
1. I have been busy with the vintage, and send these few words simply to say I have not forgotten you. 2. P.S. I have written Giovanni on your behalf (supor re tua).
Guarino was attempting to have Rizzon's salary raised.  
Cf. Letter 383 and Life of Guarino sec. 140.

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**Letter 382**  
Francesco Barbaro to Guarino  
Venice, 22nd November [1426]

1. I wish I had the leisure to discuss what I saw and learned on this embassy . . .  
2. The Pope left Rome about 18th July for a vacation at Genazzano in Campania, and we followed.  
The envoys from Milan were returning home without peace having been made, and the Florentines, under Bruni, went to explain the senate's decision to the Pope.  
3. A friend and I took wrong turnings, and met at the monastery of Santa Maria, where the Greek rite is celebrated and the monks are Greek. We found many Latin and Greek mss. in a room at the right, containing wine jars also. I thought you should know how Barbaro discovered this neglected treasure near Rome.


2. "Genazzano" (sec. 2): This was an ancient fief of the Colonna family, from which Martin V came.


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**Letter 383** to Martino (Rizzon)  
Verona, 1st December [1426]

1. Negligence and indifference did not prevent me writing, but I have been so busy that I must deny myself meals to
write letters. 2. I am sorry Giovanni (Tagiaci) has had such undeserved trouble. 3. Since you ask, I wrote him asking for a raise in your salary, pointing out you need books, and clothes for your mother and family, and that you wished me to be the interlocutor, as I was when you were appointed. Giovanni will now ask me how much the increase should be, so you must allow me a free hand. 4. When you send me questions, leave a space in your letter for answers, to save me time.

Letter 384 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 21st December [1426]
1. You may surmise how pleased I am to get your letters, since you show such gratitude and zest for study. 2. Do not be put off writing because I am so busy. I will find time to reply. 3. You must have got my letter in which I told you and Giovanni what I thought were fair terms. Let me know his reaction. 4. I am sending back the answers to your questions.
Cf. Letter 383.

Letter 385 to Francesco Zulian Verona, 20th December [1426 or 1427]
1. I was delighted by the style of your letter and the fact that you are studying hard. No wonder, since your father is Andrea Zulian, and your family is ancient and honourable. 2. Your birthplace, Venice, is also to your credit, but all that is futile unless you acquire learning. I preserve your letters, so that I can cite you if I wish. 3. Keep the image of Saint Jerome ever before you. 4. Regards to
your father, brother and tutor.

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Letter 386 to Pisano (verse epistle)  [Verona, January-February 1427]

1. 1-9: Had I the poetic gift, I would ensure your immortality.

1. 10-14: But I wish to immortalize you. It will be something to mark our friendship with a poem, and I will have helped to preserve your name.

1. 15-22: Such a fine painter of captains and heroes should not go without a tribute, especially when the likenesses you paint offer their subjects everlasting life.

1. 23-30: We are both from Verona, which you are making famous by reason of your wisdom, seriousness, modesty, generosity, loyalty, good morals, and good taste in clothes.

1. 31-47: Your genius enables you to copy Nature exactly. We can see and sense animals, birds, calm and stormy seas, hear the waves, neighing of warhorses and the snarl of trumpets, etc.

1. 48-63: But I have a noble example of your work in the painting of St. Jerome you are sending. He has a shock of grey beard and a severe expression. Though absent, he is present. I scarcely dare to whisper lest my voice disturbs his contemplation. What play of light and shade! What perspective and symmetry! What proportion! Who could fail to admire it?
Nature made painting the sister of poetry and both immortalize men. Plato and Socrates were artists, as were the Roman patricians Fabius and Lucilius. Verona produced Turpilius, a knight. Famous also were Canacus, Euphrenor, Polyolitus, Apelles, Praxiteles, Myron, Polygnotus Timanthes and Zeuxis. The latter used to give away his finished paintings, for divine creations are beyond price. Kings and emperors have sought honour through art.

Our age has produced their equal in you. You can win more glory by painting God and the saints. They knew only how to paint false gods.

For a discussion of Guarino's views on art, see Life of Guarino sec. 147.

Letter 387 to Martino Rizzon Verona, 4th January [1427]

1. I am glad you recovered from your illness, and that Giovanni (Tagiaci) took such care of you. 2. You can follow his example, and repay his generosity by attending to his sons' education. 3. You must show the boys that your life is free from taint, but if their parents show a bad example, you must suffer it in silence. At this juncture, "compliance breeds friends, the truth breeds hate." If Lodovico is allowed by his parents to flout you, ignore it. 4. It is good that you promise lasting affection for me and mine. 5. What would you do, if you want to Bologna? Medicine and
law are honourable professions, but take a long time to learn, and the rewards are uncertain. I could advise you to study to be a procurator; but I really recommend that you try to be an Apostolic Secretary. Tegiaci has friends in the Curia. 5. Come to Verona first, wherever you go. 6. I do not think I can easily find Cicero's Letters, but I shall keep my eyes open to help Lodovico's studies. 7. What news of your brother? 8. Visit me, if Tegiaci allows it.

Letter 388 Barzizza to Guarino  [Milan, February 1427]
1. Francesco Mariano, whom I value more than any of the students I have had, was setting out for Venetian territory, and since his way passed through Verona, he asked me if I had a letter for you. His departure saddened me, but through him, I would be able to pay you a visit. Please welcome him as a friend who respects you. He would be glad of a chance to learn Greek, if you have room for him. 2. It was reported to me that, before this war started, you were offended that I did not visit you on my way back from Venice. This argues your affection for me. My excuse is that I was in a terrible hurry to get back to Milan. If peace is concluded, I shall pay my debt with a visit. 3. I could say more, but it must not be put in writing.

1. Francesco Mariano (sec. 1): A private schoolmaster at Milan, but also a student of Barzizza (who had moved there in 1420), Mariano stayed in Verona for a year or two. In October 1428, he went from Milan to Ferrara to work with Aurispa.

2. Sec. 2: This refers to the embassy on which Barzizza
went with Pier Candido Decembrio and explains why the latter was unable to see Guarino then. (Cf. Letter 341).

3. Soc. 3: War between Venice and Milan began in 1426. A peace was made on 30th December, but hostilities began again in February 1427. Barzizza would not wish to compromise his position by writing any comments about the war to Guarino, who lived in a Venetian protectorate.

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Letter 389 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona 25th February [1427]

1. When your steward Niccolò left recently, I saw no reason to send a letter with such a competent spokesman, but now the priest Gioacchino refuses to go without one. He begs me to commend him to you, which I do gladly. 2. We are all well.

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Letter 390 to Gioacchino (verse epistle)  [Verona 1427]

1. 1-4: No wonder Orpheus moved birds, beasts and stones, when your two hands attract the deaf and the dead.

1. 5-11: You are chaste, serious-minded, witty and religious. Rejoice in your blessings, you who shine among the muses, and in whom the muses shine. There are many witnesses of that.

This priest seems to have been an accomplished musician. In Letter 389 1 7-8 he is called "a modern Orpheus" ("alter huius aetatis Orpheus"). His instrument needed two hands to play it, so it was probably an organ. The last two lines suggest that he composed also ("Qui musis luces, quo musae auctore relucunt tibi grandes undique testes").

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Letter 391 to Antonio Becadalli (Panormita)  Verona, 25th February [1427]

1. Previously, I was content in our mutual affection, but now
I do not know whether to rejoice or be sad, for I cannot ever repay you adequately for your kindness in sending me the Herodotus. Through you, I visit vast areas of the earth and see mighty deeds, and more wonderful still, talk with the dead. 2. I have always striven to please outstanding men, and now begin to take an unwonted conceit of myself, because I have pleased you. I shall write frequently, if my endless labours permit. 3. Your letters are a haven of rest; for example, the recent one, in which you said that Alberto Costabili and Giacomo Zilioli speak well of me. 4. I am glad Lamola is well. Please write him, and say I want Macrobius’ Saturnalia sent.

1. "Herodotus" (sec. 1): Probably this was the first time Guarino had access to a complete text of Herodotus.

2. "Saturnalia" (sec 4): Guarino had already made efforts to get this work; cf. Letters 223, 224, 445. Lamola had left Bologna for Milan, where he was staying from at least the 1st December 1426. The Macrobius was held by Giovanni Corvini.

Letter 392 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 27th February [1427]
I have been too busy to reply sooner. A reply will be put off until you can visit me, or vice versa.

Letter 393 to Martino (Rizzon) Verona, 12th March [1427]
1. I am surprised my letter, which I addressed to your cousin, was not delivered. Though briefly, I answered every question.
2. I see all is up with Lodovico (Tagiaci). Invite him to read something. If he refuses you have done your duty at
least. Don't worry, but transfer your attention to the others. 3. I am glad you are well. Don't work too hard until your stomach is entirely healthy.

Letter 394 to Giacomo Zilioli  Verona, 20th March 1427
1. As soon as I got your letter, I interceded with Galeotto Malaspina, the designated podesta of Nonantula, for Gentile. He said he wished to obey the marquis, who had written him about the matter, and please you; but he had already appointed someone else. If the latter changes his mind, he will accept Gentile. 2. We are all well, and the boys are working hard. Antonio (da Brescia) sends his respects.

Letter 395 to Mariotto  Verona, 1st April [1427]
1. We have not corresponded for a long time, but I have been busy with my work and family, you with affairs of state. 2. The Servius you are copying will reflect glory on you, as did the statue of Minerva on Phidias. I know Zilioli's generosity too, and in serving him you will be doing yourself a favour. Besides, the first fruits of the Servius have been promised to me, so do not fail me or yourself. 3. I cannot wrest my Homer from the harpies, so do what you can to help. 4. I shall send the Regulæ you asked for when I find a reliable courier. 5. My regards to Leonardo Bruni, Niccolò Niccoli (to whom I have written two letters) and Ambrogio (Traversari). Ask the latter if Lactantius' De Ira dei and De hominis formatione are there.

Letter 395 to Giovanni Boscolo Verona, 1st April 1427

1. I had thought of deploring the ill luck that prevented us meeting, but I do not wish our friendship to start with a bad omen. 2. When Bartolomeo (Casciotto) said you were coming, I almost seemed already to know you. Please return the affection I offer you. 3. I would like a favour. Marco Campesano, who bears this letter, was a pupil of mine. He wishes to visit Rome, and is setting off for the Curia. Please help him. This will please me, for it will be known that a great man such as you has helped me.

1. Giovanni Boscolo, a Florentine living in Rome at this time. In 1423, he had lectured on Law at Bologna and in 1424-25 was vice-rector of the "citramontani", i.e. the students who came from beyond the Alps.

2. Bartolomeo Casciotto (sec. 2): A pupil of Guarino's from Florence. He went with Guarino to Ferrara, and there composed a panegyric on Leonello d'Este, an epitaph for Niccolò III, and many other works, both in Latin and Italian.

Letter 397 to Niccolò (Niccoli) Verona, 1st April [1427]

1. I have written you several times, but got no answer. I expect you have been busy. 2. I do not wish our friendship, like inferior wine, to get sour with time. 3. Please welcome this young student, Marco Campesano, into your circle. He is on his way to Rome. 4. P.S. Command me to Ambrogio (Traversari).
Letter 398 to Mariotto  
[Verona, 1st April 1427]

1. My one time student boarder, Marco Campesano, is coming to see Florence. Please show him the many points of interest.
2. Discuss me as you are doing so. 3. Commend me to Leonardo Bruni.

Letter 399 to Giacomo Zilioli  
Verona, 3rd April [1427]

1. Your last letter was another proof of your kindness. Instead of blaming me for bothering you, you excuse yourself for not writing sooner. No wonder you are your prince's favourite. I take conceit of myself to know that you admire my work. 2. I give your boys all the care I can. 3. I have spurred Mariotto on, as you bid. 4. I wrote back about Gentille. 5. I sent good vine plants to Melara. Gentille (sec. 4); Cf. Letter 394.

Letter 400 to Giacomo Zilioli  
Verona, 27th April [1427]

1. Today Tadea received your mother's gift, which I shall regard as made to all of us. I can never adequately repay your kindness. 2. I am afraid your regal gift of such a big fish will make Lent stay with us. It was being starved out, and Fabius, Lentulus, Cicero, Porus and Macrobius were going too. Now they will stay. But reinforcements are ready in Vitellius, Porcius Cato, the sons of Capella, the priests of Cybele, and Perdiccas.