NOTES ON BARZIZZA'S CORRESPONDENCE

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While investigating Barzizza's studies of Cicero and his treatise on imitation I had occasion to study his familiar letters and to make extensive use of Daniela Mazzuconi's recent inventory of the correspondence.¹ Mazzuconi did a fine job of collecting and organizing this correspondence, but, as to be expected in such work, some errors of detail crept in. In addition there are several letters which escaped her attention. The purpose of these notes is to correct and supplement Mazzuconi and to publish a hitherto unknown letter of thanks and apology which Barzizza wrote John XXIII after his appointment as apostolic secretary.

I

Mazzuconi repeats an error which, since Ludwig Bertalot called the attention of scholars to Oxford, Balliol College 132, has become received opinion.² The story goes that this manuscript contains familiar letters which Damiano da Pola copied in Padua in 1425. The evidence for this rests on an incorrectly transcribed subscription from f. 60v which Bertalot was careful to say comes at the end of the Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae but which Mazzuconi assumes to come at the end of the familiar letters. R. A. B. Mynors, who suspects that Damiano is not the copyist, gives the correct transcription:

Has epistolas Gasparini pergamensis viri eloquentissimi scripsit
Bertalot made a small mistake; he read "decima" for "etc." One can see that Mynors' transcription is correct by comparing the "etc." at the bottom of the page. If Damiano had written these words himself, he surely would have put the date as he did in all of his other subscriptions. One need not, however, resort to conjecture because the handwriting is not Damiano's. About a year before the supposed date of the manuscript, 31 August 1424, Damiano bought Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on Dante's Inferno from one of Barzizza's sons; his note of ownership appears at the end of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. 90 sup. 116,3:

Has expositiones Dantis super Inferno secundum Benvenutum de Immola emi ego Damianus de Pola die iovis ultima augusti 1424 a Iohanne Augustino de Barziziis Padue, ducatos ii° auri et solui sibi. Ego tamen non darem librum hunc pro ducatis sex auri. The handwriting matches Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V G 14, which contains six of Bruni's translations of Plutarch in Damiano's hand and his subscriptions from Vatican City, lat. 5222, f. 247v (from 1415, 1430, and 1442) and Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 3123, f. 147r (from 1414). The handwriting of all of these differs markedly from Balliol 132.

The scribe of the Balliol manuscript must have copied Damiano's subscription from his exemplar of the model letters. There is no evidence that Damiano had anything to do with the transmission
of Barzizza's personal correspondence. The Balliol manuscript contains no indication of the scribe; nothing is missing at its end, and there is no explicit. William Gray, who was to become bishop of Ely, probably commissioned this manuscript, or perhaps merely purchased it, during his stay in Italy in the 1440's.6

II

John XXIII appointed Barzizza apostolic secretary in Bologna, 13 August 1414.7 A few days later, 21 August, Barzizza assigned three "procuratores" to accept the position for him.8 Barzizza's only known letter to Ognibene Scola is dated Siena, 27 November. In an effort to provide this letter with a year Cessi thought Barzizza might have gone to Rome at the end of 1414 to assume the secretaryship and stopped at Siena on the way (p. 112). Magni, without referring to Cessi or the letter, accepts the presence of Barzizza in Siena in November 1414 and says it might be in connection with a hypothetical trip to Rome to assume the position, which he believes Barzizza may not have exercised (p. 159). Mazzuconi apparently accepts Cessi's dating because she adds "(1414)" to the letter in her listing (M286). In the most recent work on Barzizza the Sienese trip receives a new twist:

Again, there is some evidence which suggests that in 1413-14 he was offered a teaching post in Siena, and his visit there in 1414 may have been in connection with this, as well as with the fact that the Pope was in temporary residence there, and Barzizza went in person to receive his appointment as apostolic secretary.9 Cessi's original conjecture of a trip to Rome at the end of November
1414 and Mercer's Sienese trip smash on the same rock: John XXIII, the antipope who appointed Barzizza, was in Constance from the beginning of November until his flight thence towards the end of the following March.10

An unnoticed letter from Barzizza to the pope confirms that he did not go to Rome to accept his appointment. It is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 407, ff. 226v-227r. This manuscript contains seven other letters by Barzizza:11

ff. 227r-228r, M165. Expl. Vale tu, pater humanissime.
ff. 228rv, not in M. <G>uasparinus ad eundem [Francesco Zabarella]. Nisi magnitudo tuorum in me beneficiorum/verba expectare. Vale, pater reverendissime. Et me velud tuum satis recommissum habeas. This letter appears in three other manuscripts: Milan, Ambros. P 4 sup., ff. 35r (no addressee; Nisi magnitudo vestrorum/Valete, pater reverendissime), Wurzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek M. ch. f. 60, f. 150v-151r (Oracio Gasparini pergamensis. Nisi magnitudo vestrorum/Vale, pater reverendissime et me vestram velut facitis et commissum habeatis), Wurzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek M. ch. f. 68, f. 148v (anonymous although in the midst of letters by Barzizza, no addressee; Nisi magnitudo vestrorum/valete pater reverendissime et me vestrum velut faciatis et recommissum[?] habeatis).

f. 228v, M31. Expl. ut me tibi insolitum dabo. Vale.

f. 229r, M130. Expl. facile tibi parabit. Vale.


In the letter to John XXIII Barzizza apologizes for not thanking the pope in person either in Bologna, where the pope was at the time of the appointment, or on the way to Verona en route for Constance. This leaves about six weeks from the date of the appointment to the pope's departure from Bologna (1 October 1414), enough time for Barzizza to make and unmake his plans for a trip. Barzizza probably wrote the letter towards the end of October or the beginning of November, after discovering he had missed his chance to see the pope, and he writes as if the council has not begun. The letter contains a curious inconsistency. In one sentence Barzizza says he was near the pope's route; two sentences later he gives the length of the journey as an excuse for his not making it. I reproduce the letter in an appendix.

III

Mazzuconi's inventory lists 11 letters which she knows only from a description of a now lost manuscript from Vercelli. Eight of these appear in London, British Library, Harley 2268:

ff. 65v-66r, M166; f. 66r, M32. According to Bertalot (II 35, 40 n. 2) Giovanni Campiano is the author of these letters.

f. 66v, M60. Epistola captanda (?) amiciciam et benevolenciam cum eo cum quo prius amiciciam seu familiaritatem non habuerat. Et si multorum/quanti hoc munus facias. Vale.

ff. 66v-67r, M202. No addressee; expl. amiciciam vestram
redibo. Valete.

f. 67rv, M61. No addressee, but Barzizza says at one point, "Bernarde vir optime"; Et michi apud te/res mea cura tibi sit. Etc.

f. 67v, M224. Gaspar pergamensis captando prius benevolenciam scribit amico ut recommendatum habeat alium amicum [Bonacursus Pisanus]; no reference to a Gerolamo; expl. amantissimum esse cognoscant.

ff. 67v-68r, M82. Gaspar pergamensis gratias refert amico suo cui scripserat recommendatis [sic] litteras pro amico...; no reference to a Gerolamo; inc. expectanti michi cottidie.

f. 68r, M188. Gaspar pergamensis scribit excusando se amico si non scripsit...; calls the addressee Antonio, but no indication that he is from Bergamo; expl. deficiam. Vale.

Only three of the lost Vercelli letters are still unaccounted for (M65, M262, M290). Among other letters attributed to Barzizza in Harley 2268 is M200 (f. 71v); this is not a familiar letter but rather one of the model letters. 14

Mazzuconi's list contains eight pairs of duplicates: 2=48, 20=264, 58=70, 77=250 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. misc. 319, f. 5v, reads "Excepi"), 97 is the end of 37, 192 is a shorter version of 253 (which therefore is to Daniele Vettori not Valerio Marcello), 199=212, 210=235. M26 and M42, and M79 and M80 do not differ enough in their readings to deserve separate listings. M59 reads like a postscript to M38 rather than another letter.
From the inventory one does not realize that seven of the letters are in print. M34 and M215 (along with part of M192) are reproduced in Bertalot, II, Abbildung 1. Furietti, I 136-137, gives M100. The reference to Sabbadini's earlier inventory would lead one to the others: 15

M37: J.-B. Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiariun, Venice 1779, 437-38; in part in Sabbadini, Storia e critica di testi latini, Padua 1971 2 , 64.

Barzizza did not write M161. It is a letter from Zaccaria Trevisan in Dalmatia to Ognibene Scola in Bologna from the autumn of 1410. 16

Aside from the two letters in Riccardiana 407 there are 14 others that escaped Mazzuconi's notice. 17 Three are published in the "Anhang" to the reprint of Bertalot's 1929 article on the correspondence (II 101-102). One was listed by Sabbadini as oration 18, but it calls itself a letter in its first sentence:

Etsi vereor, invictissime Cesar, ne vel parum prudens vel nimium arrogans existimari possim qui audeam et sapientissimum imperatorem et prudentissimum regem in tanta mole agendorum quanta nunc versaris meis litteris interpellare.... (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. misc. 484, f. 1r; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 779, f. 45r)

The letter is a long, impassioned plea to the emperor Sigismund to
return to Constance to complete the great work of church unity which he had initiated. I have seen it in three manuscripts: Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica f V 20 (a collection of Barzizza's works made in 1785 from fifteenth-century sources; this is the manuscript Sabbadini names under oration 18), pp. 46-50: Oratio Gasparini pergamensis ad imperatorem. expl. fecisse homines iudicabunt; Ricc. 779, ff. 45r-47v: entitled in red in margin, "Oratio de laudibus principis," anonymous; Can. misc. 484, ff. 1r-3v: untitled, anonymous. 18

I list the other additional letters by manuscript:

Harley 2268, f. 65r. Sepe te exortatus fui/Fac ut valeas et me diligas etc.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 78, f. 138rv.
Gasparinus pergamensis salutationem dicit Petro Iacobou Marrchiano.
Quod nullas ad te litteras adhuc/tuorum carere. Vale et me dillige. 19

Vatican City, Chig. J V 160, f. 189. Guasparinus. Tres una die absolui/de me cogites. finis etc. This may be one of the model letters, although I do not find it among them in Furietti's edition.

Wurzburg, Universitats-Bibliothek M. ch. f. 60, f. 142rv. Oracio alia Gasparini pergamensis lamentosa ad filium suum. Bene de te iudico/tuum factum laudasti. Vale etc. Not a speech but a letter of consolation to someone who lost his father, brothers,
and one of two sons, and was sent into exile at the same time. The copyist began the next letter, Barzizza's consolation to his nephew Giovanni (M21), at the bottom of 142v, copied all but the last few lines, then recopied f. 142v and the whole of M21. Wurz. 60, f. 143v (the manuscript has two folia numbered 143; this is the second). Oracio Gasparini pergamensis plurimam dicit salutem Johanni salernitano homini doctissimo. Intellexi ex litteris nobilissimi viri domini Siluestri Mauroteni/amicicie nostrre bene consules. Vale etc. Wurz. 60, ff. 146v-147v. Oracio magistri Gasparini. Littere tue reddite michi fuerunt/semper usque fuisti. This is a letter to Daniele Vettori. Barzizza promises to send the Orthographia soon. He has almost finished it, and it has been a difficult task. "Ceteraque pollicitus fui me de passionibus rethoricis tuo nomine scripturum." At the close of the letter he urges Vettori to console his sister on the death of her husband. The reference to the Orthographia suggests that the letter is between 1417 and 1421.20

Wurz. 60, f. 153r. Oracio magistri Gasparini pergamensis Ruperto [Nuperto MS] Mauroceno veneto cum pre precor [sic] desi<gnatus> fuit. Nulla res maiori me/hoc tempore facere. Vale Patavii viii kalendas etc. Roberto Morosini appears in the records of the University of Padua from 10 October 1416 to 14 September 1417 as "potestas Padue."21

Wurzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek M. ch. f. 68, f. 140v-141r.
Gasparinus pergamensis. Binas accepi a te litteras/non in hunc usque diem distulissem. etc. Also from the time when Barzizza was at work on his Orthographia, as he says, "me homine occupatissimo de ratione diptongarum."

Notes

* I would like to thank Giuseppe Billanovich for several helpful suggestions and for an emendation to the letter printed in the appendix.

1. Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza, "Italia medioevale e umanistica", 20 (1977), 183-241. I will refer to the letters by the number in her inventory preceded by "M".

includes the subscription. O. Paecht, *Italian Illuminated Manuscripts from 1400 to 1550: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library Oxford 1948*, Oxford 1948, 29, follows Morison in attributing the manuscript to Damiano's hand.


4. Sambin, *Il grammatico*, 377, transcribes this note and lists others who have done so or have referred to it. See plate 2.


6. He received a doctorate of divinity in Padua, 14 September 1445.


9. Mercer, *The Teaching*, 127, who cites Magni, not Cessi. He also refers to a letter Barzizza wrote his son Niccolò in Bologna which Sabbadini, *Dalle nuove...,* 885, Mazzuconi, M131, and C.
Colombo, Gasparino Barzizza a Padova. Nuovi ragguagli da lettere inedite, Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova", 2 (1969), 15, all date to the end of 1412. The only evidence that Barzizza was offered a post in Siena is an extrapolation from the following sentence:

Amicum illum Senensem convenies et ei dices non posse me in annum sequentem aliquid ei spondere—sum enim conductus—, sed cum tempus erit, si ab eo aut ab his qui suae rei publicae praesidebunt, appellatus de ea re fuero, non eis spem mei adimo. (Bertalot, Die Wlteste..., II)


11. See Kristeller, Iter..., I 191, for a description of the manuscript.


13. L. C. Bollea, Un codice umanistico vercellese, "Bolletino storico bibliografico subalpino", 26 (1924), 292-95, lists 35 letters attributed to Barzizza, one to his son Giovanni Agostino, and one anonymous letter to Gasparino.


17. The letters to Lodovico Sambonifacio which she mentions in her "Addenda" are new, not reworkings of known versions to other recipients. For the one which begins, "Posteaquam ad te," see my Barzizza's Studies of Cicero, "Rinascimento," 21 (1981), 136-37.

The other two manuscripts which she mentions in the "Addenda" do contain letters by Barzizza. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rossi 36 E 40, f. 153r: M8, ff. 154v-155v: M16, ff. 155v-156r: M108, ff. 156r-157r: M63, f. 157rv: M286, ff. 157v-159v: M87; Rossi 33 E 27, f. 10r: M91 (anonymous), f. 10rv: M125 (anonymous), ff. 10v-11v: M87, ff. 11v-13v: M211, ff. 13v-14r: M180. I have not recorded the variants of the incipits and explicits. A. Petrucci, Catalogo sommario dei manoscritti del fondo Rossi, Sezione Corsiniana, Rome 1977, lists Rossi 33 E 27, ff. 14-15v (inc. Illustrissime) as Barzizza's. The letter is anonymous in the manuscript, but the author names himself; he is Albertus de Sala and is the acknowledged author of the following letter.

18. E. Walser, Poggius Florentinus: Leben und Werke, Leipzig and Berlin 1914, 44, n. 3, says this letter is attributed to Poggio in Berol. lat. 667, f. 14r. On the basis of style and content he
judges the letter to be Barzizza's, not Poggio's. Walser is wrong, I believe, about the date and purpose of the letter. Barzizza is not urging the emperor to put the selection of a new pope before church reform, but to put church unity before all the other business he is engaged in. The whole of the sentence which Walser quotes reads:

Quamobrem te omnes exoramus atque obsecramus ut non postpositis sed posthabitis ceteris que complexus es quamprimum redire digneris ad hoc tuum opificium absolvendum. (Can. misc. 384, f. 3r; Ricc. 779, f. 47r, inverting "complexus es")

19. Sabbadini, Epistolario di Guarino Veronese Venezia 1915-19 (Torino 1959), Il 697, says this letter is ascribed to Guarino in Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 2720, f. 139; he thinks it might be by Guarino's son Battista.


Appendix

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 407, ff. 226v-227r.

Gasparinus pergamensis summo pontifici etc. Nisi in dies [Billanovich; indiges MS] sperassem, pater beatissime, non <per> litteras sed per me ipsum agere gratias tue Sanctitati quod me secretarium tuum fecisti, non certe tantum hoc necessarium officium in hunc usque diem distulissem. Sed cum statuerem procumbere ad pedes tuos et vultu ipso ac verbis significare quanti hoc tuum facerem immortale ac sempiternum beneficium, nichil de hac re adhuc scripsi. Persuadebam enim michi illas secreciores grati animi partes facilius posse, si ego ad te accessissem, viva voce aut gestu quam litteris tantum absente me significari. Neque secus factum esset si aut per facultates meas aut per valitudinem unquam [inquam MS] postea incliti facere id michi licuisset. Constitueram quidem cum Bononie adhuc te contineres ibidem quo in te animo essem ostendere. Sed cum iam in motu esses et ego nondum res meas composuissem, statui pocius Sanctitati tue occurrere dum iter Veronam ad concilium faceres. Et erat id facile cum partes vicinas locis in quibus eram forte esses illis diebus preteriturus. Sed valitudo, ut dixi, ei rei impedimento fuit, deinceps vero cum alia causa se ex alia implicuerit multaque [multoque MS] michi fuerint ad te prosequendum adversa. Nichil tamen magis proposito meo obfuit
Ego panus sum definitionem tuam sustiner: Tu me admoneri, quintus aditus opus habi luc. Et ego neque penuria mea necque consilia ab eo faci.}

[Plate 1]

[Image of a decorative frame with Latin text in the center]